

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF KING

CHARLES THE FIRST

IN TWO VOLUMES

BY JOHN WATTS

Author of the History of the

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE SECOND

THE
ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

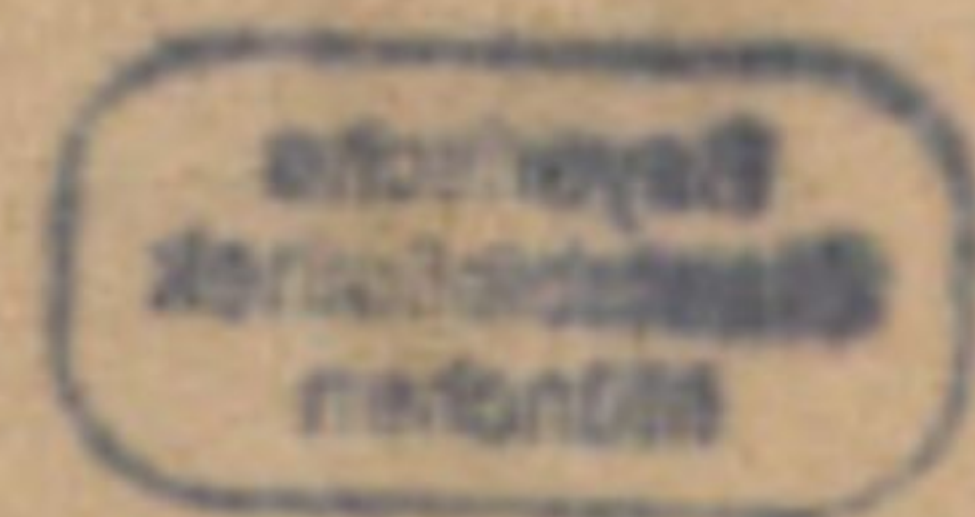
BY FERD^o. WARNER. L.L.D.

RECTOR OF QUEENHITHE, LONDON.

VOLUME II.

LONDON:

Printed in the Year MDCCLVII.



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TO THE
DUKE of NEWCASTLE
CHANCELLOR
OF THE
UNIVERSITY of CAMBRIDGE;
AND TO THE
EARL of HARDWICKE
HIGH STEWARD.

My LORDS,
IT is very natural, and thence I suppose
has become usual, for the writers of
works of any consequence, to usher
them into the world under the protec-
tion of some great and illustrious names: and I hope
therefore

therefore your Lordships will excuse me for presuming, on the common privilege of an author, to derive an honour on the second volume of this history from a dedication to your Lordships.

This is a work, My LORDS, which relates entirely to the establishment of learning, of true religion, and liberty in the English nation, in opposition to ignorance, to popery, and to arbitrary power, which had before enslaved it. To whom then could I address myself, for a patronage of this performance, with more propriety than to your Lordships, who are at the head of one of our ancient and renowned seminaries of literature and religion? Besides, My LORDS, the cause of liberty which is so much illustrated in the following sheets, is a cause, in the support of which your Lordships have all your lives been eminently engaged: and in the same cause ---- I flatter myself your Lordships are not ignorant ---- I have endeavoured to distinguish myself according to my rank, by other services to the publick, as well as this.

But I have another reason, My LORDS, for this address. Your Lordships have now divested yourselves of those high posts of state which you filled for many years; and I can now therefore declare my sincere attachment to your Lordships, without any suspicion of flattery, or design. The world is ill-natured

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HENRY. The king publisheth his book of sports, allowing recreations on Sunday. Contention between the king, and the house of commons about his prerogative. Strange proceedings at Oxford. All ecclesiasticks under the degree of a dean forbid to preach on the Calvinistic controversy. Extraordinary speech of the king to his parliament. His death and character. CHARLES the first succedes his father in the throne. The commons attack a book of one of his chaplains—they present articles to the king relating to the growth of popery, and remedies to prevent it. The king's answer. A committee for religion in the house of commons, the first we meet with in the English parliament. The king dissolves the parliament—compounds with popish recusants, and promises to dispense with the penal laws against them. The clergy employed to preach up passive obedience in its full extent. The archbishop suspended for refusing to license one of these sermons. The commons attack one of these sermons—The preacher of it pardoned, and promoted. The archbishop restored to his jurisdiction. The commons enter into a vow about religion—are dissolved in great anger by the king, who governs by proclamations and orders of council. The administration of the church conducted arbitrarily by LAUD. The death and character of ABBOT. LAUD succedes him in the primacy, and persuades the king to republish the book of sports. The king calls a parliament after intermitting it eleven years—and dissolves it hastily—continues the convocation under a new commission as a synod, which passes several canons. A parliament called. A great party of the puritans in the house of commons. They pass several votes against the canons. The archbishop impeached. The root and branch petition. A counter petition from the nobility and gentry. The ministers petition. A bill for excluding the bishops from the house of lords—rejected. The committee of scandalous ministers. Proceedings against papists. Deans and chapters voted by the commons to be abolished. Thirteen bishops impeached at the bar of the house of lords for passing the canons under the name of a synod. The king

goes to Scotland. The parliament adjourned. The king fills the vacant sees. A petition from the commons. The king's answer. Twelve bishops committed to the Tower for high treason. The bill brought in again for excluding bishops from the house of lords — passed. A declaration of the commons. The king removes to York. A bill for extirpating episcopacy passed the two houses ---- refused by the king. State of the nation as to religious and political principles. Reflections on it.

B O O K XV.

A Treaty at Oxford, of no effect. Assembly of divines. Character of them by MILTON. A solemn league and covenant subscribed by both houses of parliament. The king forbids it. The universities purged by an ordinance of parliament. The puritans direct every thing in the church. Independents, their principles. Ordinance for ordination. A directory for public worship. The trial and execution of archbishop LAUD. His character. A treaty of peace at Uxbridge. The king put into the hands of the parliament. The church under presbyterian government. The army takes the king out of the custody of the parliament. A faction of levellers and republicans. The university of Oxford purged by the army. Ordinance against hereticks. A treaty of peace in the isle of Wight. Proceedings in parliament. Trial of the king. His character. The engagement. The miserable state of religion. The government of the church. The rise of the quakers. King CHARLES the second crowned in Scotland. CROMWELL dissolves the parliament — declared protector. The instrument of government as it concerned religion. The parliament meet — proceedings in it. The unsettled state of religion. A project to make CROMWELL king. The humble petition and advice. Proceedings in parliament. Death and character of CROMWELL. State of the nation after his death till the proclamation of king CHARLES.

B O O K XVI.

PROCEEDINGS at the accession of CHARLES the second. Conference between some of the bishops and presbyterian divines. The king's declaration as supreme head of the church. Conference at the Savoy for reviewing the liturgy. A new parliament, and convocation. Proceedings in both. The king's declaration for liberty of conscience. Death and character of archbishop JUXTON. The method of taxing the clergy altered. A plague. Severity against the nonconformists: City of London burnt. The lord CLARENDON disgraced. Further severities against nonconformists. The cabal. The parliament summoned. The king's speech. Altercations between him and the parliament. The king breaks the seal of his declaration and recalls it. The test act. The parliament prorogued. SHELDON, his death and character. The popish plot. The duke of YORK sent to Holland. The meeting of the parliament---dissolved. The duke of YORK recalled—presented as a popish recusant. A new parliament. The king's speech. A bill to exclude the duke of YORK, thrown out. Another to repeal the penalties of nonconformity withdrawn by the king's order. Votes in the house of commons. The parliament dissolved—another called. The king's speech—his death and character.

B O O K XVII.

THE duke of YORK proclaimed by the name of JAMES the second. The parliament meet. The king's speech. The duke of MONMOUTH's rebellion. The parliament prorogued. The clergy study the controversy against popery, and preach continually against it. Proceedings against Dr. SHARP. The ecclesiastical commission revived. Proceedings against the bishop of LONDON. The king's attempts on the two universities. He shews favour to the nonconformists—Sends an ambassador to the pope—Suspends the penal laws, and grants

a general indulgence. A correspondence carried on with the prince of ORANGE. The king pursues violent measures. Project of providing an heir to the crown. The king orders his declaration for liberty of conscience to be read in the churches. The bishops consult about it—petition the king—sent to the Tower—tried and acquitted. The proceedings of the several parties in England. The king calls a parliament—treads back the steps he had taken. The prince of ORANGE lands in England, and brings a declaration with him. The king withdraws privately into France. The convention parliament. The proceedings of some of the bishops and clergy. The prince and princess of ORANGE proclaimed. Proceedings in parliament. A synod of divines appointed—their proceedings. The convocation—proceedings in it. Some bishops deprived and others appointed to succede them. Dr. TILLOTSON made archbishop of Canterbury—his death and character. The controversy about the Trinity. The bishop of St. DAVID's tried for Simony. The conclusion.

A P P E N D I X. The insufficient maintenance of the inferior clergy—proposals already published by the author of this work, for the support of their widows and children—and a further scheme for the augmentation of small livings, which will be as much for the interest of the state, as of the church.

N: B. The reader is desired, before he begins the work, to correct the following

E R R O R S.

P. 34. l. 13. for *executed*, read *excused*. p. 174. l. 3. dele *him*. p. 201. l. 6. for *every*, read *ever*. p. 242. l. 13. from the bottom, for *to*, read *by*. p. 258. l. 4. from the bottom, for *Bishop*, read *Archbishop*. p. 305. l. 7. after *acts*, insert *and*. p. 306. l. ult. for *care*, read *cure*. p. 334. l. 19. for *terms*, read *forms*. p. 380. l. 1. for *too*, read *two*. p. 382. l. 7. from the bottom, read *WOODVIL*. p. 394. l. ult. read *Colleges*. p. 447. l. 12. from the bottom, for *Diocese*, read *Province*. p. 567. l. 13. read *Cuddefden*. p. 604. l. 14. for *legal*, read *regal*. p. 606. l. penult. for *call*, read *cast*. p. 613. l. 21. for *their*, read *the*. p. 634. l. 8. after *of*, insert *such*.

D E D I C A T I O N. v

natured enough to ascribe intentions of interest, when an author avows his veneration and respect; and I should not perhaps have escaped the imputation of insincerity, where I meant only to express the real sentiments of my heart. But at a time, My LORDS, when you have both retreated from power, it must be a great degree of malignity indeed, to interpret the regard which I now shew for your Lordships, into any other motives but those of love and honour for your personal virtues.

It is not for me, My LORDS, to inform you, that the great distinctions of men arise from the particular situations in which they are placed; and that there are certain conjunctures, when the receding from grandeur reflects a nobler lustre than the possessing it. Your Lordships at this time are both happily placed in one of these conjunctures. You both, My LORDS, retired greatly: and in parting with your power, and subduing your resentments, for the sake of the public interest, when the clamour and prejudices of a deluded people made it prudent, you have given the highest proof of love to your country that could be given.

You rested, My LORDS, and you rested nobly on your own integrity: and it is an illustrious testimony to the uprightness of your administration, that your Lordships have the happiness, tho' you are out of

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place, to have preserved the attachment, of the great, the sensible, and the sober part of the nation, notwithstanding all the artifices of your enemies.

You know, My LORDS, that amidst the many felicities to be valued and enjoyed in a free state, it has one misfortune much to be deplored, that it is always subject to faction. We have several instances of this misfortune in the following history; and the government of England has been oftentimes disfigured by popular clamour. But there are instances of it in states, which had infinitely more strength than we could ever boast of, and which brought them in the end to ruin. Your Lordships must remember, that it was owing only to the pride and petulance of a faction, that the same able statesman, who had been unanimously proclaimed the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, was reduced to the necessity of retiring into exile till the storm was over. My LORDS, you may discern from hence, how much it will be remembered to the honour of your Lordships in the English annals, that whilst others sacrifice every thing to their own ambition, without regard to the voice of fame, or the voice of danger, your Lordships voluntarily resigned the two first posts in the kingdom to the public quiet.

D E D I C A T I O N. vii

In such a retreat as this, My LORDS, you manifest your real greatness : and it is such greatness only as gives dignity and honour, from which true nobility, or true felicity, can be derived. Upon this view of your Lordships present situation, you will give me leave, I hope, to add, that if I have any vanity in this address, it is in desiring to be known as one of the disinterested friends of the DUKE of NEWCASTLE and the EARL of HARDWICKE, WHEN THEY WERE OUT OF POWER. When you were in power, My LORDS, you saw, that I was never one of those who troubled you with that sort of attendance, by which others often make their way to fame and fortune among the great. But I esteem it now a peculiar honour, to declare in this public manner, how much I am,

My LORDS,

Your Lordships

most obedient

most devoted

humble servant

FERDINANDO WARNER.

D E D I C A T I O N

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FERDINANDO WARNER

THE
ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK IX.

NO sooner was RICHARD slain and the victory gained at Bosworth, than the Earl of RICHMOND caused Te Deum to be sung upon the spot by the whole army; which immediately after proclaimed him king, by the name of HENRY the seventh. This was a kind of military election, which would have served for a foundation to claim the crown, if he had had no other right than that of conquest. But he had the plea of a descent from the house of Lancaster, and his intended marriage with the eldest daughter of the house of York. It was however no small uneasiness to him, to determine in the instant on which of these he should rest his title. After having weighed in his own mind the inconveniences which appeared on all sides, he assumed the title of king in his own right, as heir of the house of Lancaster; without mentioning the lady ELIZABETH, and avoiding the appearance of coming in by conquest. This was the title he avowed all thro his life; and this, says lord BACON, spun him a thread of many troubles and seditions. On his arrival at London, he summoned all the persons of distinction that were in town, before whom he renewed his oath to marry the princess. But tho he was sincere in this engagement, yet he would not consummate his marriage before his coronation; lest it should be necessary for the queen to be crowned with him, and a joint coronation might countenance her title. Nor was he less cautious in delaying a meeting of the parliament till that so-

lemnity was performed ; lest they should take it into their heads to enquire into his right : it being one thing to debate, whether a prince who claims a crown has a fair title to it ; and another thing to consult, whether he must be turned out of a throne he is in possession of. The ceremony of his coronation was performed by the cardinal archbishop of CANTERBURY ; who, taking it for granted that HENRY'S right was unquestionable, gave him no trouble about it. A few days after, the parliament met at Westminster ; and with such a disposition towards him as the king himself could wish for. His business in this parliament, was to procure an entail of the crown upon himself ; to reverse the attainders of all his party ; and to shew, that tho he had taken possession of the throne by his own authority, yet he intended to govern by way of parliaments, like his predecessors, and not to assume a despotic power. The parliament secured the crown to him in the way he directed, in general terms ; and he applied to the pope for his confirmation. But it is proper to observe that he got all his titles inserted in the bull ; his descent from the house of Lancaster, his marriage in the house of York, his victory in the field, and the act of parliament ; all these titles blended together shew the uncertainty he was in about his right, and the perplexity which it threw him into.

About the latter end of the year, the parliament being dissolved, the king called to his privy council MORTON bishop of Ely, who had been very instrumental in the revolution ; and Fox bishop of Exeter, who had been also employed by him in his affairs before he came to the crown. In a few days after, the long expected and much desired marriage between HENRY and ELIZABETH was solemnized ; and with much greater demonstrations of joy on the part of the people, than had been shewn on the day of the king's entrance into London, or on the day of his coronation ; which awakened the jealousy of the king, and had no good effect on his temper towards the queen. The joy of this solemnity was not over, before the cardinal archbishop, who assisted at it, died. He was brother to the lord ESSEX, and as little as we have seen of him, sat two and thirty years in the chair of primate. But the times were then filled with civil dissensions, dethroning and setting up kings ; and learning and religion were in a very low condition. The only thing of any consequence, in which this archbishop bore any part, was bring-
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ing

ing the art of printing into England, in the year fourteen hundred and sixty four. The archbishop being informed that a press was set up at Harlem, prevailed on HENRY the sixth, then on the throne, to send two men over under the title of merchants, in order to conceal their business, with a thousand marks in their pocket; of which three hundred were furnished by the archbishop, that they might make themselves masters of this mystery. As soon as they were settled at Harlem, they cultivated an acquaintance with one of the compositors; and at length, by money and promises, persuaded him to carry off a set of letters, and embark with them in the night for England. When they came to the archbishop, judging Oxford a more convenient place for printing than London, he sent the compositor thither; and for fear he should slip away before he had discovered the whole secret, they set a guard upon the press: and thus the art of printing appeared sooner at this university, by the care and contrivance of this archbishop, than at any other place in Europe, except Mentz and Harlem. This was an act of public spiritedness well worthy of the care of a primate of England: and if he had taken all the expence, small as it was, as well as all the management of it upon himself, it would have been still more for his honour. But archbishop BOURCHIER was more like some of those who have followed, than like some who had gone before him, in that see: notwithstanding the nobleness of his birth, he had a mean and illiberal turn; and the only public benefaction from him that we can find, even in that age when public benefactions were in high repute, was an hundred and twenty pounds which he gave to the university of Cambridge. But if we read of none of his virtues, we meet with none of his vices, except this of avarice; which in a great ecclesiastick, whose soul can never be too much inclined to liberality, is one of the worst.

The see of Canterbury being thus vacant by the death of BOURCHIER, the king cast his eyes immediately on his faithful friend the bishop of ELY; and, that no other person might think of it, committed it to his care during the vacancy. As soon as the necessary forms could pass, MORTON was accordingly made primate, and the pope confirmed his election. Nor was this the only favour which INNOCENT the eighth granted the king. HENRY's uncertainty about his title, which was the thorn in his side that for ever goaded him, and which chiefly directed all the

the actions of his reign, had induced him to entertain a suspicion about the validity of his marriage. He and the queen indeed had sprung from the same original stock, in the person of EDWARD the third; but it was at that great distance, that their marriage was not forbidden by any law divine or civil. But HENRY was never satisfied that he had done enough to secure his title: and therefore procured a bull from the pope for a dispensation, and to decree the children from this marriage lawful heirs of the crown of England. All his pains and precaution however notwithstanding, he met with frequent mortifications from the partizans of the house of York, to whom he bore an inveterate hatred. For the English had in a great measure thrown off their bigotry for the court of Rome, and were not so foolish as to imagine, that the authority of the pope could give him a title which he really had not. He had not reigned above two years before he had a battle to fight in defence of his crown: and perceiving that it was his inveteracy to the house of York which sowed the minds of his subjects, he resolved at last on the coronation of his queen. After two days had been spent in public devotion for his victory, she was crowned at Westminster with great solemnity, in the third year of his reign. Awakened by this unexpected danger, he sent an ambassadour to the pope; that by qualifying the privileges of sanctuary, he might take away all shelter for discontented people in which rebellions might be projected. The pope consented to his request, and granted a bull to the following purpose. “That if any sanctuary man did by night or
“ otherwise, get privily out of sanctuary and commit mischief
“ or trespass, and then come in again, he should lose the benefit
“ of sanctuary for ever after. That howsoever the person of
“ the sanctuary man was protected from his creditors, yet his
“ goods out of sanctuary should not. That if any took sanctuary for cause of treason, the king might appoint him
“ keepers to look to him in sanctuary.” This abuse of churches to screen and protect villains, had been long complained of in England, and HENRY wanted the redress of it to extend further; but the pope would not consent.

About this time the archbishop held a synod at London, in which the clergy of that city were prohibited from frequenting taverns, and from an expensive luxury which had been introduced into their dress. Several rash and intemperate preachers were likewise

likewise called to account, for taking too much liberty with their bishops, and for making themselves popular by declaiming against them in the pulpit. The king also began then, as well in wisdom as in justice, says lord BACON, to pare a little the privilege of the clergy; ordaining that clerks convicted should be burnt in the hand, both because they might taste of some corporal punishment, and that they might carry a brand of infamy. But if the king was for lowering the privileges of the clergy, the pope was for preserving their persons sacred; for he sent over a bull at this time with such powers, as nothing but the profligacy of that court could furnish: powers to pardon theft, debauchery, murder, incontinence, and every kind of crime, except assaulting the clergy, and factions against the pope. The court of Rome had of late years been checked in their demands of money made openly upon the English, and therefore this expedient was tried: it was tried with such success, that GIGLIS who brought the bull, collected an immense sum of money for the pope his master, and procured the wealthy bishoprick of Worcester for himself. In order to keep the archbishop in good humour, who was at that time first minister and favourite of the king, the red hat was sent soon afterwards to MORTON, with a bull from ALEXANDER the sixth; empowering him to visit monasteries, and all other places, privileged from archiepiscopal and ordinary jurisdiction. Historians are silent as to the use which the archbishop made of this authority: but we may suppose, I think, that a man of his activity and good disposition would not receive it to no purpose, when there was such a great occasion to exert it. For religious houses had for some time made it their business, to draw parochial cures within their patronage and possession, affording a very slender consideration to those who did the duty; and their qualifications were answerable. Thus by perverting the design of endowing churches, and depriving the parochial clergy of their patrimony, religion and learning had suffered very much.

The ruling passion in HENRY, next to the love of money, was that of his family: and therefore that he might add a lustre to the house of Lancaster, he sent an ambassadour to the court of Rome, to desire the canonization of the late king HENRY. In order to gratify his majesty in this request, the pope directed a commission to the cardinal archbishop, and to Fox, the other

favourite of the king, who had been newly translated to the see of Durham. The bishops executed their commission, in enquiring into the life and miracles of king HENRY; but the ceremony did not proceed. Some historians are of opinion, that the conclave declined to canonize this prince on the score of his mean abilities; as being afraid that the dignity of the saints might suffer, if a person of such little sense was taken into their order. Others, knowing the king's excessive avarice, with more reason, I think, impute it to HENRY's unwillingness to pay the charge of this solemnity, which the court of Rome had held up too high. Whatever was the true reason, the matter died under debate; and the king contented himself with removing the bones of HENRY the sixth from Windsor to Westminster; for which he had a licence from the pope. In the last year of this century died cardinal MORTON, archbishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor, and first minister to the king. He had great natural parts, which he had improved by the study of the law, and other branches of learning; in which, considering the age he lived in, he was very eminent. These advantages procured him some great preferments in the church, in the reign of HENRY the sixth, and a place in the privy council. Notwithstanding the frequent factions and disturbances in the court of that unhappy prince, MORTON had the wisdom to keep clear of them, and to continue firm to the interest of his sovereign. On the accession of EDWARD, and at the death of HENRY, this fidelity was observed to his honour by the reigning king: his majesty courted him as it were to his favour, brought him again to the council board, promoted him to the see of Ely, and made him one of the executors of his will. The reader must remember the rest of his story till the revolution under HENRY; who gave him his entire confidence from the beginning of his reign, and continued it 'till the cardinal's death. Whatever might be his defects as an archbishop, he had genius, learning, secrecy, and experience, to make him an able statesman. His great power and interest with the king, and taking the faults of the king sometimes upon himself, had acquired him the envy and displeasure of the nobility, and the people. Thus the frequent subsidies and oppressions to fill the coffers of HENRY, were charged to the account of the poor archbishop: whereas it appeared after his death, that the minister was so far from putting the king upon these measures, that he restrained the king's avarice, and diverted his

his projects of raising money. He brought the air of reserve in a statesman into his common conversation, which made it sometimes harsh and disobliging. Lord BACON says, that he was harsh and haughty in his nature: but others say, this humour was not natural to him, and assumed only to make a trial of the temper and abilities of his inferiors; to see how they would bear up under unexpected language, disentangle themselves on a sudden, and stand the shock of a surprize. But be this as it might: the great lines of his character are still unhurt. His fortune was disposed of suitably to his rank and the largeness of his revenue, in daily munificence and liberality to those who were in need; and at his death he bequeathed it all to pious uses. He did not fill the see of Canterbury much above a third of the time that his predecessor did: but he took an oath of his executors before his death, that they should maintain twenty scholars at Oxford, and ten at Cambridge, for twenty years. Among his other good qualities, we ought not to omit the conscientious freedoms which we are assured he took with the king; representing his miscarriages to him with that gravity and reprehension which became his office and character. In truth, MORTON was a great and a good man for the time he lived in; and if religion and learning did not flourish much in his administration, it was more his misfortune, than his fault. There have been wiser and better times; and yet in these there have been archbishops, neither so great, nor so good, as he was.

There had been very few prosecutions against hereticks in the reign of this king, and those were seldom carried any further than a trifling penance. But after the death of the archbishop, there was some cruelty exercised towards the Lollards; and two very old people were burnt in Smithfield for persisting in that heresy. The king had the honour given him of converting a priest at Canterbury, who was proof against the arguments of his brethren: and his majesty has likewise the reproach of giving his convert to the flames immediately after. The story is told somewhat confusedly; and I should rather think there is a mistake in it, and that the king who was not skilled in religious controversy, having tried his strength upon the priest, could not convert him, and therefore ordered him to be burnt. The see of Canterbury having been vacant the last year by the death of MORTON, DEAN, bishop of Salisbury, was, by the king's directions,

rections, promoted to it; in which he died the following year, and was succeeded by WARHAM bishop of London. Soon after the elevation of this prelate to the primacy, he made several regulations for his court of audience, and the court of arches; with the consent of the advocates, and proctors, belonging to them. It was at this time, and in consequence of these regulations, that the judges of the court were required to assign advocates and proctors to sollicite and plead the causes of poor people gratis, and all the officers of the courts to wave their fees: in case any advocate or proctor appointed by the judges were remiss in the management of such causes, or refused to go on without money, they were to be for ever disabled from practising in these courts.

Whilst the king was wholly intent upon heaping up riches without end or measure, a gouty humour which he had been troubled with, falling upon his lungs, gave him warning of another business which he had to do, of much greater consequence; to prepare for another world, from which riches could not exempt him, and in which they would afford him no sort of joy. This warning being repeated often, inclined him, according to the devotion of those times, to accelerate the religious foundations which he had begun, to encrease his alms, to grant a general pardon, and to free all the prisons, in and about London, of those who lay confined for debts and fees under forty shillings, by paying the money himself. The bitter cries of his people, and the reproofs thundered out of the pulpits against the arbitrary oppressions of his ministers to fill his coffers, at last reached his heart: but his heart had been too much placed upon his gold to bring forth the fruits of repentance. He had a sense of the injustice he did his subjects, in letting loose his rapacious ministers armed with his authority, and he might be sorry that it was an injury: but he was so much delighted with the daily encrease of his money which these ministers made, that he could not bring himself, with all his remorse, to put a stop to their proceedings. Amazing infatuation! What a lesson is here against admitting the first advances of this vice of covetousness? The king saw the injustice that he did the nation, by the exactions which he authorized his ministers to set on foot; he saw the miseries which he brought upon them by this injustice, in draining them of their wealth, and then locking it up from circulating in

in commerce in his own coffers; he saw himself just on the brink of the grave, to which he should descend with the curses and rejoicing of all his people, and that no part of this money could retard his journey, or give him any consolation in it; nay he saw by that very remorse which was then sticking about him, goading him for his merciless and insatiable love of gold, that his end would be still more wretched; and yet, under all this conviction, he permitted his ministers to continue oppressing and plundering his subjects for more and more gold, to the last moment of his life. In short, his love of money was so predominant, and it had made his heart so callous against all considerations of duty, worth, honour, or reputation, that the only thing he could bring himself to in contradiction to this passion, under the stings of conscience and a view of the grave, was to leave directions in his will, that restitution should be made to his subjects of all the money which had been taken from them unjustly by his officers.

Thus, after a reign of two and twenty years, died HENRY the seventh at Richmond, in fifteen hundred and nine; leaving the prince his son, in his vaults there, above eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling in current coin. There is no need of any other anecdote of this monarch, for the reader to find out, that avarice was the ruling passion of his life; and that money, whether got honourably or dishonourably, justly or unjustly, was the distinguishing measure of all his administration. My lord BACON says, "he certainly was religious both in his affection and observance." What his lordship meant by this term, or from what part of HENRY's history he gathered this opinion of him, I don't know. That he observed the exterior forms of religion, in attending on the public service of the church, I believe, may be very true: but that he had those affections of mind which denote religion, "doing the will of God from his heart," I cannot so readily give assent to. We have seen in this history many princes and prelates endowing religious foundations at a great expence, whom there has been too much reason to suspect had little or no religion. If he loved to employ ecclesiasticks in his great affairs, my lord BACON himself has in another place assigned a reason for it, very wide of a regard to religion, "because having rich bishopricks they carried their reward upon themselves." He was free indeed from

those passions which usually dwell in the souls of princes: but it was not therefore from any principle of religion, that he attempted no ambitious projects, that he sought peace and not glory, and that he was continent and not voluptuous. Ambition, fame, and the pleasures of love and wine, had no charms for HENRY; and no wonder he did not pursue them. They were all swallowed up in a passion for the crown of England, and for money. I believe he never performed a single action of any moment, from the time he won the battle of Bosworth, but what had a view to one of these two objects. The only principles which he appears to me to have had, I must confess, were to secure himself upon the throne, and to heap up riches. Every thing else seems affected, and affected politically, to assist him in these principles: unless we except his public foundations, and his fine chapel in Westminster-abbey; which were apparently dedicated to his own glory, more than the glory of God. Notwithstanding the great encomiums which were given in his life time of his wisdom, and by most historians after his death, yet they were certainly owing to his good fortune, rather than to his genius, and to cunning and reserve more than solid judgment and policy. This cunning was of as much use to him perhaps in the two great points he had in view, as the most refined wisdom would have been. A good part of this cunning was to pass on the world for a prince of greater wisdom than he was, that he might be feared at home and abroad. To this end he employed spies in every court of Europe besides his public ministers; and to make them the more unsuspected he had them solemnly cursed by name at St. Paul's cross every Sunday. This may be artifice and it may be policy; but will any one say that it is wisdom or religion? He has been commended by some historians for his love of peace, and clemency. The former has been already accounted for: he had no taste for military glory, and war counteracted one of his two principles, the hoarding up of money: the latter is resolved as easily into the other; for the less blood he drew, the more treasure he took; "and he was the more sparing in the one, that he might be the more pressing in the other," says my lord Bacon. His secrecy and suspicion, were equalled by nothing but his avarice and tyranny. In truth, the arbitrary power which he exercised towards the latter end of his reign especially, his insatiable appetite to money, his haughtiness, and reserve, ac-

quired him the hatred of all his subjects. The good laws which passed in his time, and which have been generally much applauded, were not the laws of the prince but of the parliament; and he must have been a wretch indeed if he had not assented to them. In short, without any vice, but that of covetousness, which drew, and always will draw, a great deal of ill within its circle, HENRY the seventh had so few virtues as a man, and so few good qualities as a prince, that he died hated or feared by all his people, and lamented by none.

Upon the death of this king, his only son HENRY prince of Wales succeeded to his dominions. He had then attained to the age of eighteen, within about two months, was of a very lively genius well improved by education, and of a graceful person. In the life time of ARTHUR his elder brother, the late king had intended him for the church, as the cheapest way of providing for a younger son: and when by the death of his brother, HENRY became heir apparent to the crown, the king his father kept him to his studies, lest his active and fiery spirit, might have raised a dangerous competition for the throne, devolved on him, thro the line of the house of York, by his mother's death. By this means when HENRY the eighth came to the crown, he was better skilled in languages and philosophy than princes usually are. His favourite study was divinity, as it was then taught in the universities; which was only a science of hard unmeaning words, and of vain and useless questions. But the more the king was exercised in these abstruse points of speculation, the less he was accustomed to the affairs of government. He selected therefore a privy council, by the advice of his grandmother the duchess of RICHMOND, out of those whom his father had most employed and confided in, to whose deliberations he submitted. In a few days after, the general pardon which had been granted by his father just before his death, was confirmed; and a proclamation issued out, that if any one could prove himself to have been oppressed under the cover of the king's prerogative, he should have satisfaction. Numberless were the petitions sent in upon this proclamation against the two rapacious ministers of his father: but yet great difficulties occurred in condemning them capitally by the laws of England. In order therefore that they might be given up to public justice, an act of injustice was exercised upon them: and having committed

ted so many crimes within the screen of the law, for which however it was thought they deserved to die, by a fatality not uncommon, they were tried for crimes which they had not committed contrary to law, found guilty, condemned, and executed.

Whilst means were contriving to dispatch these two men out of the way, the king and his council had an affair of much greater consequence to determine, and that was the king's marriage with CATHARINE widow of his brother ARTHUR; to whom by his father's order he had been contracted ten months after his brother's death, by the consent of the father and mother of that princess, and by a dispensation from pope JULIUS for that purpose. HENRY the seventh could not bear the thoughts of refunding the money he had received in part of CATHARINE's dower; nor of letting her enjoy her settlement on the receipt of the remainder. There might be some reasons of state likewise, which induced this monarch, to propose a marriage between the princess and her husband's brother. But how agreeable soever this alliance might have been at first to the late king, whether it was only to amuse her father the king of SPAIN till he had got the residue of her portion, or whether he was moved by the remonstrances of the archbishop of CANTERBURY against this marriage, he altered his mind, and repented its being made. Some historians impute it to his remorse of conscience, and to a conviction of the illegality of the engagement. But there was the pope's dispensation, believed in at that time, to quiet any scruples of this kind: besides his conscience still permitted him to detain the princess in England as the contracted wife of his son, to keep the fortune he had received with her, and tho he caused his son to make a protestation in form against this contract, yet to keep it a secret from the princess and the court of Spain for four years, even till the time of his death. HENRY the eighth was then a boy, in the fourteenth year of his age, when he made this protestation, and could not be supposed to have any scruples of conscience about marriage. He submitted to the direction which his father gave him, no doubt implicitly; and his father, I think, had no motives of conscience, whatever other motives he had, to set aside the contract. Be this however as it might. Upon the death of the late king, the Spanish ambassador presented a memorial

morial upon this subject; and it was debated in council with great earnestness, whether the king should consummate his marriage with the princess CATHARINE. It was alledged against the marriage, that it was contrary to the laws of God, unheard of among Christians, and therefore not within the reach of the pope's dispensing power. Of this opinion particularly was WARHAM the archbishop, who considered the marriage as nothing short of incest. But Fox, bishop of Winchester, and lord privy seal, was of another mind. He went vehemently into the highest notions of the papal authority, as what no person upon earth could limit or disown; and as the pope had given a dispensation, he said it was a proof that he had the power, and the king might sit down satisfied with it. To these arguments concerning conscience, the bishop added others drawn from reasons of state, and the king's interest. Last of all he dwelt upon the sweet and virtuous temper of the princess, and who had affirmed that she was still a virgin notwithstanding her former marriage. Not a word was then said of the protestation which the king had entered four years before against this contract, nor of the late king's injunction to him never to carry it into execution: but the majority of the council being on the side of bishop Fox, which the king's own inclinations favoured, the marriage was consummated in about two months from the accession of HENRY to the throne; and they were both solemnly crowned a few days after. It was necessary to be thus particular about the king's marriage with the princess of Wales, in order to understand the important events, which it produced in this church and nation.

HENRY being then in the bloom of youth, with a crown in his possession, minded no affairs so little as the affairs of state. There was nothing to be seen at court but entertainments, balls, and consorts of musick, games of exercise, and diversion: and what with the expence of these, and the liberality which he bestowed upon his favourites and companions without measure, he soon exhausted that immense treasure which his father had sacrificed his honour and his conscience to acquire. The old bishop of WINCHESTER, who had been a witness of the care and injustice with which the late king had amassed this treasure, was hurt so much by this profuseness, that he complained openly of the Earl of SURRY the lord treasurer, with

whom he was but upon ill terms, for being remiss in not restraining this extravagance of the king. But finding these complaints were not regarded, his next business was to try to supplant his rival, by introducing one of his own dependants to the king; whose qualifications might eclipse the glory of the lord SURRY in his master's service. To this purpose, he got WOLSEY, who had been his chaplain, and was now dean of Lincoln, to be made almoner to the king. This man had made himself eminent, by his abilities in some employments, in the late reign; and was in a good measure capable of pushing his fortune on the merit of his own character. But when bishop Fox had placed him in this situation under his patronage, WOLSEY began immediately to address himself to those inclinations of the young king which he found to be most predominant in him. The dean being naturally of an open gay facetious temper, would sometimes divert himself with the king and his companions in such exercises, as were most agreeable to the levity and the passions of youth; and, if what P. VIRGIL says is true, such as did not comport with the character of a clergyman, especially in a dignity next to that of a bishop. If I had not given this account of WOLSEY, the reader would have been surprized to find the absolute sway he had so soon over the king, and that he managed all affairs in church and state. There appeared at this time, to be as perfect an union of the church of England with that of Rome, as there had been almost in any reign preceding: and if there were any grounds of complaint from that side against our bishops and clergy, it could not be on account of opposing the pope's authority, the doctrine and discipline of the Romish church, or the ecclesiastical liberty they were so fond of. They were rather to be blamed indeed for discovering too violent and unreasonable a zeal against those, whose principles were productive of a reformation of religion in these respects. Accordingly, several at this time, who propagated the doctrines taught by WICKLIFF, were persecuted, and suffered death. I have already observed, that there had been a long night of gross and profound ignorance in England; and learning was yet but in its dawn, since the invention of printing had dispelled the darkness.

The immunity of the clergy in criminal cases, 'till they were first degraded by the spirituality, occasioned the only contest that was

was in the beginning of this reign, between the secular and ecclesiastical courts. A law was made by the late king, as the reader may remember, that clerks convicted should be burnt in the hand: and a temporary law was made in this reign, that murderers and robbers, not being priests nor deacons, should be denied the benefit of their clergy. But this gave great offence to the ecclesiasticks; who being jealous of their immunities, and judging that if inferior orders were made thus free with, the sacred orders would be attempted next, they made such an opposition to it, that the act was to continue in force only till the meeting of the next parliament. To prevent its being reassumed and to fix a censure of disgrace upon it, the abbot of WINCHCOMB preached a sermon at St. Paul's cross against it; in which he affirmed, "that the act was contrary to the laws of God" and the liberties of the church, and that all who assented "to it, as well spiritual as temporal persons, had by so doing" incurred the censures of the church." Not content with thus arraigning the whole legislature, he immediately afterwards published a book, to prove that all clerks even of the lower orders were sacred, and could not be judged by the temporal courts. This open attack, in a time of parliament, incensed the lords and commons very justly; and they addressed the king to suppress the insolence of the clergy. Upon this address, the case was solemnly argued before the king and the bench of judges. Dr. STANDISH, a civilian, and one of his majesties counsel, maintained the justice and expedience of the act in question; and affirmed that by the law of England, clerks had always been convened and judged in the king's courts for civil crimes, there being nothing in the laws of God or of the church inconsistent with it: and that the public good of society, which was what all laws intended, and which ought to be preferred to every thing else, required that crimes should be punished by whomsoever committed. The abbot, who was counsel for the clergy, excepted to this, and said, the church had made a decree expressly contrary, to which every one ought to pay obedience under the pain of mortal sin; and therefore that the trial of clerks in secular courts was a sin in itself. To this STANDISH answered, that it certainly could not be true, that all the decrees of the church were binding under the pain of sin, because tho there was a decree for the residence of bishops at their cathedrals during all the festivals of the year, yet the greater

greater part of them did not obey it: but however, that no decree could have any force in England till it was received there; that this decree to exempt clerks from civil judgment had never been admitted in this kingdom; and as well since the making it, as before, clerks had been tried for crimes in the king's courts, and before his judges. This was a part of the argument to which the abbot thought fit to make no reply: he contented himself with opposing to it an authority from the scripture, "in the words," he said, "of our Saviour CHRIST, TOUCH NOT
"MINE ANOINTED; against which no custom, how general
"soever, can take place." The civilian, who it seems knew more of the scripture than the abbot, informed him that these words were put by DAVID in his psalter, above a thousand years before our Saviour, and had no relation to civil judicatories. The abbot had been boasting very confidently, like every noisy ignorant pretender, that he could baffle and confound any one who should undertake to maintain the question against him; but when it came to the proof he was found extremely wanting, and his vain flourish before served only to make him more contemptible and ridiculous. After this debate, it was moved in parliament by the commons, that the bishops should compell the abbot to renounce his opinion, since he was so evidently defeated, and to recant his sermon at St. Paul's cross. But the bishops refused to comply with this motion; averring that they were bound by the laws of holy church to maintain the abbot's opinion in every point.

Many warm contentions followed between the clergy and the secular power, in the same sessions of parliament: and the convocation that was then sitting finding a general outcry was made about this affair of ecclesiastical liberty, called STANDISH to an account for what he had said in the course of that debate. The articles they objected against him being put into writing, the bill of complaint was delivered to him, and a day assigned him to give in his answer. But the doctor perceiving what they aimed at, and knowing what a poor chance he stood in a trial before the convocation, claimed the king's protection as his counsel. The convocation excused themselves to his majesty, as not intending to trie STANDISH for what he had said in the cause against the abbot, but for some divinity lectures which he had read that were contrary to the laws of God, and the liberties of the

the church, which they were bound to maintain; and in which they desired the king's assistance according to his coronation oath. On the other side, the temporal lords, the judges, and the commons, addressed the king to defend the jurisdiction of the courts of law, and the prerogatives of the crown, according to the same oath, and to protect the doctor from the malice of his enemies. As good a divine as the king was, he found himself in no little perplexity with this dispute. On one hand he was very unwilling to give up the jurisdiction of his temporal courts; which acted in his name, and under his own authority, by judges of his appointing: and on the other hand he had no inclination to quarrel with the ecclesiasticks, from which he was withheld by interest and by principle. In this perplexity, he called for DR. VESEY then dean of his chapel, and charged him upon his allegiance to declare the whole truth of this question to him; that he might know what to determine. The dean, like an honest man, after some little hesitation, assured his majesty upon his faith, his conscience, and allegiance, that he thought the convening clerks to answer for crimes before the secular judge, which had been always practised in England, might very well consist with the law of God, and the true liberties of the church.

The king being satisfied with this opinion, commanded all the judges, and his counsel in the law spiritual and temporal, and some of both houses of parliament, to meet, and hear the matter argued. The bill of the convocation against STANDISH was first read; which consisted of six articles. "First, that he
 " had declared that the lower orders were not sacred. Secondly,
 " that the exemption of clerks was not founded on a divine
 " right. Thirdly, that the laity might coerce clerks when the
 " prelates did not do their duty. Fourthly, that no positively
 " ecclesiastical law binds any but those who receive it. Fifthly,
 " that the study of the canon law was needless. Sixthly, that
 " of the whole volume of the decretum, so much as a man
 " could hold in his fist, and no more, did oblige Christians." To these articles the doctor answered, that the third, fifth, and sixth, had never been taught by him in any public lecture, or course of pleading; and if he had asserted them at any time in conversation, which he did not remember, it gave him no con-

cern. Lesser orders, he allowed, in one sense are sacred, and in another they are not sacred; as the first article takes notice. But as to the second, and fourth, he owned he had taught them publicly, and was ready to justify them at any time. The counsel for the clergy objected to this doctrine, that as no man could judge his father by the law of God, on account of that commandment, "honour thy father," so churchmen being spiritual fathers, they could not be judged by the laity who were their children. Weak and contemptible as this argument was, it was the only one that was brought in favour of the ecclesiasticks in this debate: and STANDISH replied, that if the parallel was allowed, it could conclude for none of an inferior order to a priest, for none such were fathers; but however, that a judge was in that character superior to his natural father, and might summon such a one before him, without any breach of the fifth commandment; which, like the other, "thou shalt not kill", was not to be understood literally without some latitude and exception. The doctor was well supported by VESEY, in order to justify the opinion he had given the king. To prove the truth of the fourth article, that the laws of the church did not bind any but those who had received them, he said that in ancient time, the secular priests had been always married, but in the days of AUSTIN the monk, a decree was made to the contrary, which was received in England some time and in many other places: however, as it was not received universally, the Greek church never thought themselves bound by that decree; so that to this day their priests had wives, as well as other secular men. If therefore they had never been condemned by the church, in not obeying a decree for the celibacy of the clergy which they had not received, then the convening ecclesiasticks into civil courts, which had been always practised in England, was no sin, notwithstanding any decree of the church which had not been here received. Nor was this, he added, the case of privileges which concern only a man's private interest; it concerned the common good of the whole realm, and this was always to be preferred to all other considerations. The matter being thus argued on both sides, all the judges delivered their opinion in these words, "that all those of the convocation, who had awarded a citation against STANDISH, were in the case of a Premunire facias;" and thus the court broke up.

Soon

Soon after this debate, the lords spiritual and temporal, with many of the house of commons, and all the judges and king's council, were called before his majesty; when WOLSEY in their presence kneeled down before the king, and in the name of all the clergy protested, "that they had none of them intended
 " to do any thing that might derogate from the royal prerogative, and least of all himself, who owed his advancement only
 " to the king's favour: but that this matter of convening clerks, seemed in the opinion of them all, to be contrary to the
 " laws of God and the liberties of the church, which they were bound by their oaths to maintain according to their
 " power. He therefore entreated his majesty in their name, that to avoid the censures of the church he would refer the
 " matter to the decision of the pope and his council at the court of Rome." The king in answer to this said, "it seems
 " to us that DR. STANDISH and others of our spiritual council have answered you fully in all points." The old bishop of WINCHESTER, having no argument at hand to confute his adversary, had recourse to the usual artifice of men of power, against their inferiors who have more sense and learning than themselves; and therefore replied in terrorem, "I warrant you,
 " Sir, DR. STANDISH will not abide by his opinion at his peril:" to which the DR. very properly and truly answered, "what
 " should one poor friar do alone, against all the bishops and clergy of England?" Shame and confusion had now covered the face of every churchman that was present, and a dead silence ensued. After sometime, archbishop WARHAM recollected himself enough to say, "that in former times, divers holy fathers of
 " the church had opposed the execution of that law, and some of them suffered martyrdom in the quarrel." The lord chief justice made answer, "that many holy kings had maintained that
 " law, and many holy fathers had given obedience to it; which it was not to be presumed they would have done, had they
 " known it to be contrary to the law of God:" besides, felony being determined only in the temporal courts, if clerks accused of it were tried at all, they must be tried there, and there was no law, he said, by which bishops could trie them for it in the court spiritual. The debate being thus at an end, the king declared his resolution in the following words: "By the permission
 " and ordinance of God we are king of England; and the kings of England in time past, had never any superior but
 " God

“God alone. Therefore know ye well, that we will maintain the right of our crown and of our temporal jurisdiction, as well in this as in all other points, in as ample manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time: and as for your decrees, we are well assured that you of the spirituality go expressly against the words of divers of them, as hath been shewed you by some of our council; and you interpret your decrees at your pleasure, but we will not agree to them more than our progenitors have done in former times.” WOLSEY finding how his master was inclined upon this article, would make no other effort to risque his displeasure: but the archbishop entreated his majesty very humbly, that the matter might be respited till they could get a resolution from the court of Rome: and if they found that this judgment of clerks in the civil courts was consistent with the laws of God, they would conform themselves to the law of the land. The reader will observe the ignorance and the obstinacy of BECKET revived among his successors: but it does not appear that the pope interposed in this dispute. LEO the tenth was then in the chair, a moderate and able man; to whom HENRY was so necessary at this juncture, that it was not thought expedient to offend his majesty. The king made no answer to the archbishop’s request, but commanded that Dr. STANDISH should be dismissed by the convocation without any further trouble. Thus ended this contest between the ecclesiastic and civil power, in which the clergy suffered in their authority, as well as in their reputation among the people; their exemption being found to have no foundation at all but in their own decrees; which was a judgment of their own, in their own favour. I have been the more full and particular in relating this contest, because it seems to have had a great influence, and to have disposed both the king and people to the alterations which followed in a few years.

About this time the almoner was nominated to the see of Lincoln by the king, and had a provisory bull from the pope for that promotion; but before he was well settled in his bishoprick, the see of York becoming vacant he was in a few months translated to that see. But what of all things he seemed most impatient to obtain, was the honour of the Roman purple; and in a little time his desire was gratified. The pope being on the prospect of a war against the Turks, required a contribution

tribution from the English clergy: and that the king might fall in with his measures, who was directed in every thing, he knew, by WOLSEY, his holiness sent the favourite the red hat which he had been panting after with such a thirst of vanity and ambition. The red hat engaged the prelate, and the prelate his master on the side of the pope: but the clergy drew up a remonstrance in convocation against this demand. They alledged that they were so exhausted by the late war with France, which the king had undertaken at the instance of the late pope in defence of the church, that they were not in a condition to grant any new subsidies. They added further, that by a decree of the council of Constance, the pope could lay no imposition upon the clergy without the consent of a general council. It appears by the tenour of this refusal, that the English clergy were not altogether passive under the exactions of the court of Rome; and that they had resolution enough to make a stand against his authority and to keep their money and their privileges when they thought fit. But whilst they were thus endeavouring to screen themselves from the papal tyranny and oppressions, they beheld WOLSEY, one of their own body, rising like another pope, whom it was more difficult to withstand than him at Rome, because he was supported by the king's authority. Since his advancement to the purple and the see of York, he was grown more vain, imperious, and proud than ever; and there was no device to distinguish himself but what he invented. Tho every body, however, took offence at his pride, and were never weary of talking of it with indignation, yet no body durst mention it before the king, over whom he had an absolute sway. The archbishop of CANTERBURY was no less offended than the rest to see him affect so great a distinction, but principally to see his cross carried before him in the province of Canterbury. The reader must remember this contest in several preceding reigns, and which had been determined by the king in favour of the primate. But WOLSEY thought himself so much above his predecessors, that he prepared to revive the contest in contempt of this prohibition. Archbishop WARHAM, who was of a peaceable temper, perceiving it would be to no purpose to dispute this point with the cardinal, and that he might be less in the way of seeing such a disagreeable insult upon his authority, desired the king's leave that he might resign his post as chancellor, and retire. The

primate's request was no sooner made than granted, and the same day the king gave the great seal to WOLSEY. He wanted nothing now to compleat his grandeur, but a commission from the pope to be legate a latere; and this was expedited to him in the following year. But that which chiefly drew the hatred of the clergy upon the cardinal, was a bull which he obtained from Rome; authorizing him to visit all the monasteries and ecclesiasticks of England, and to dispense with all the laws of the church for one whole year after the date of this commission. The power that was granted him by the bulls was not more invidious than the terms in which it was drawn: for the preamble of it was full of severe reflexions on the manners and ignorance of the clergy, who are said in it to be delivered over to a reprobate mind. How true soever this public censure of them might be, it was thought by indifferent people, to be indecent in the cardinal to get it fastened upon them, whose faults were greater and more notorious. He had certainly however a mind superior to that of most men: he saw the corruptions of the clergy were so offensive, and their ignorance so profound, that unless some effectual means were used for correcting these, it was impossible but that the order must fall into contempt. Tho he took great liberties himself, and had perhaps brought himself to believe, that as a prince of the church he was not bound by the ordinary laws of ecclesiasticks, yet he intended the reformation of the inferior clergy, by all the ways he could think were likely, unless we should except his giving them a good example. To this end he proposed to visit all the monasteries, and by discovering the abuses and corruptions in them, to vindicate the design which he had formed of suppressing most of them, and of converting them into cathedrals, collegiate churches, and colleges. With this view he had procured the bull from Rome; but he was diverted from making use of it by some of his friends who advised him to suppress them by the pope's authority, without this invidious method of exposing their iniquitous practices; which would only increase the hatred that was conceived against himself, and give the enemies of the church a great advantage against it.

About this time the pope pressed all the princes of Christendom to join in a league against the Turks; and under the pretence of this war, according to the usual policy of the court of Rome,

Rome, to enrich himself by the contributions of their people. LEO resolving to follow the steps of his predecessors, opened a general mart upon this occasion for indulgences; the benefit of which was to extend even to the dead, whose souls upon payment of so much money were immediately redeemed out of purgatory. GUICCIARDINE says, that the power of releasing souls was openly plaid for in the taverns. These favors, which had been usually published by the Austin friars, being accidentally put in the hands of the Jacobins in Germany, roused the jealousy of the former, and inclined them to ridicule and complain of their competitors in this office. At length, LUTHER an Austin friar, and professor of divinity at Wittemberg, published some pieces against them; not without a good deal of satire upon the indulgences themselves. The opposition which this occasioned inducing him to enquire more deliberately into the grounds on which indulgences were built, he was convinced that they had no foundation in the scriptures, whatever they might have in the corruption of human nature; and from thenceforward he never ceased endeavouring to set the world right as to the notion they had conceived of the papal power. The pope gave little attention at first to this remonstrance; not imagining it was in the power of a single friar to shake the papal power which had stood for so many ages upon such immoveable foundations: and indeed so small a spark as that collision made, says bishop BURNET, could never have raised so great a fire, if the world had not been strongly disposed to it by the prejudices they had conceived against the clergy for their ignorance and corruption. The truth is, that the ecclesiasticks had engrossed the greatest part of the riches and power of Christendom, and lived at their ease, and in much wealth: their doctrine and worship, for which they had no other varnish than the authority and traditions of the church, were so corrupt, that a very small proportion of common sense, and a slight acquaintance with the scriptures, which since the invention of printing were now common, must necessarily discover the fraud. These discoveries being spread by LUTHER and his followers with an incredible success in Germany, and some other parts abroad, their books were brought into England translated and published, where our own reformer WICKLIFF, had paved the way, about a century and a half before. A great affinity was soon observed between the opinions that were

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taught by these two divines; which quickened the proceedings against the Lollards at this time. The least word in conversation against any of the constitutions then established in the church, was enough to subject a man to the toils of the bishops and their commissaries; and teaching children the lord's prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments, in the English language, according to WICKLIFF's translation, was crime enough to bring their parents to the stake. But yet all this severity did not produce the effect which the ecclesiasticks had proposed. Their cruelty was looked upon as an evidence of their guilt and of the weakness of their cause: and tho it taught people secrecy and caution by working on their fears, yet it did not subdue the affections, nor convince the understanding.

King HENRY having a great opinion of his learning and talents for disputation, and finding LUTHER had made very free with his favourite author AQUINAS, stepped forth as the champion of the church, to defend her against the danger she was in from the spreading of LUTHER's heresy. A copy of the book which he wrote against him, very richly bound, was presented by the king's ambassador to the pope in full consistory. His holiness received it with great joy, and spoke of it in the highest and most fulsome strains of flattery which he could invent; comparing it with the works of the most celebrated ancient fathers. It is true he had not read it, but the fame of a book composed by a great and learned king, in defence of the papal authority, was ground enough for a pope to embroider upon with a great deal of praise and approbation. But LEO went farther. He had a great occasion at that time for HENRY's assistance against France, and no man in the world was ever more fond of titles and flattery, on the score of his learning especially, than this prince: in a few days after, the pope therefore called the cardinals together, to consult in what manner they should requite the service which the king of England had just done the church. After a long debate, it was determined to honour him with the glorious title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, and a bull was accordingly dispatched with that compliment to HENRY and his successors; not omitting many praises of the king's performance. It deserved some commendation indeed, bishop BURNET says, considering the age in which it was written, and that it was the work of a king. But LUTHER was not to be silenced by

the power of his adversary: and conceiving himself to be used too contemptuously by the king, he replied with more acrimony than was thought decent towards the person of a sovereign prince.

Notwithstanding the king himself had thus publicly borne his testimony against the new opinions, and that all care was taken which could be taken by the cardinal and the bishops to suppress all LUTHER's books, yet the opinions were embraced in England as well as Germany. The new testament was translated into English with some short glosses by W. TINDAL, against which a prohibition was published by every bishop in his diocese; importing, that as some of the followers of M. LUTHER had erroneously translated the new testament, and had corrupted the word of God by a false translation and heretical glosses, therefore they required the incumbents to charge all within their parishes that had any of these, to bring them into the vicar general within thirty days; under the pains of excommunication and incurring the suspicion of heresy. SIR THO. MORE, a lawyer and speaker of the house of commons, very justly celebrated for his learning and great piety, undertook to confute the works of TINDAL; but he wrote according to the way of the age with much bitterness, and in terms very repugnant to his own humane and benevolent temper. So true it is, that a zeal for religion will sometimes only serve to make a sweet disposition cruel, and to render a man worse by grace than he is by nature! But to return. When the party of hereticks became so considerable, as that it was known there were societies of them formed, not only in London, but also in both the universities, the cardinal thought himself obliged to appear against them: and yet upon a motion of some of the bishops, that there might be a visitation appointed to be held at Cambridge for enquiring into the favourers of heresy in that university, the cardinal, for what reason does not appear, inhibited it as legate. However, when the new doctrines came more openly to be spread, the cardinal summoned a meeting of all the bishops, divines and canonists about London, where two offenders were brought before them: and after examining some witnesses and other steps in the process, which the cardinal left to the bishop of LONDON and the other bishops to manage, one of the hereticks stood out, and seemed determined to suffer for a good conscience. But in the end, what thro hu-

man infirmity, and what thro the great importunity of bishop TUNSTAL who set all his friends upon him, the man abjured, as the other had done before him: and tho he was a heretick relapsed, and so had no mercy to expect, yet thro the great moderation of this good prelate, which would not suffer him to dip his hands in any blood, the offender had only a penance enjoined, and was let go.

The many extraordinary methods which the cardinal had hitherto used to procure money for the king, having been very disagreeable to the English, he judged it would be better for the future to proceed in the usual way; and therefore the next year a parliament was called by the king. A writ was at the same time issued to the archbishops to assemble their respective convocations. The cardinal archbishop of York assembled his province almost a month before the parliament began to sit; and on the first day of their meeting they were prorogued to the conventual church of ST. PETER'S Westminster. But archbishop WARHAM, thinking the time of parliament most convenient for his province, appointed his convocation to meet five days after the sessions of parliament began. No sooner were the clergy assembled, and the mass performed, but a monition was sent to the archbishop by the cardinal to appear with the prelates and clergy of his province before him at Westminster two days after; there to hold a national legatine council with the prelates and clergy of the other province, whom he had before with this design summoned to appear there, for the reformation of abuses in the church. This was not the only end however which the legate proposed in calling this convocation; nor does it appear that any thing was attempted at that time for a reformation. The extraordinary exigencies of the state required a large supply; and the cardinal resolved to establish a good precedent in favour of the king, by exacting from the clergy a very considerable subsidy. To this end he moved for a full half of their revenues, according to their annual value, to be paid in five years. All his eloquence was employed in order to persuade them to a compliance. He represented how much the king had merited of the church, in suppressing a dangerous schism in the time of JULIUS, and in protecting the rights of the apostolic see from the attempts which had been made upon them by the king of France: but what he chiefly dwelt upon, was the excellent book written by his ma-
jesty

jefty in defence of the faith againſt the hereticks : it was therefore fit, he ſaid, that the clergy ſhould ſhew the ſenſe they had of their happineſs in having ſuch a king, by granting him a ſubſidy on ſo great an occaſion as the French king's arming againſt him, which ſhould be as much beyond all former precedents, as the king had ſurpaſſed all his predeceſſors in zeal and ſervices for the church. But notwithſtanding all this flouriſh about the king's extraordinary merit, the motion was much oppoſed by the biſhops of WINCHESTER and ROCHESTER ; both great friends to his majeſty, and much in his favour. They affirmed it was a very heavy and unuſual tax, under which the clergy could not ſupport themſelves ; and that it would be a precedent for after times, which would entail an intolerable burthen upon the church. But this was not the only oppoſition which the cardinal met with at this ſynod. He was given to underſtand, that the irregular ſtep he had taken in removing the convocation by his legatine authority from St. Paul's to Weſtminſter, would annul whatever was now done : the convocation had met in the former place by the archbiſhop's mandate in conſequence of the king's writ ; and they could not give him a ſubſidy in any other place, or by any other authority. It is hard to conceive, that WOLSEY ſhould ſuffer his pride to run away with him ſo far in a matter of this conſequence, and contrary to the eſtabliſhed conſtitution of the church. It is true he had carried his pride to an inſufferable exceſs in many other inſtances, and that may lead people to imagine, that his pride made him deſirous to draw every thing within the ſphere of his own power as legate ; and ſo as he had no place in the convocation called by WARHAM he diſſolved it, and ſummoned all the clergy to attend upon him as legate. It is thus accounted for by archbiſhop PARKER : but in my opinion we muſt look for a more ſubſtantial reaſon of this irregular ſtep in WOLSEY. If he had no place as legate in the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY's convocation, yet he preſided in the convocation of the province of York as their archbiſhop ; which might give ſome ſatiſfaction to his pride, and reſtrain him at leaſt from this violation of the ancient order in the church. His hiſtorian, I think, accounts for it in a better manner than by imputing it to pride ; by ſuppoſing that he deſired to exerciſe this power, as thinking he ſhould be more able in his character of legate, at the head of the convocation, to do a greater ſervice to his majeſty in moving for the ſupply. But be this however as it might. The
cardinal

cardinal was soon made sensible of his mistake, and dismissed the legatine synod: the convocation of the province of Canterbury returned to its proper place in a few days; and after a session of three months, not without great opposition within, and very artful management of WOLSEY'S without doors, the subsidy which he had asked was granted. The convocation of the province of York, which had been prorogued from Westminster-abbey to the cardinal's own house, agreed to the same subsidy four days after which the other province had given, and with the same restraining clause, "that it should be no precedent for after times." I have been the more particular in giving the reader this account, because it has been misrepresented in almost all our best historians, who have copied the error from one another.

If the hatred of the ecclesiasticks for the cardinal was increased by this heavy and unusual tax, his contempt of them was not lessened by any services which they did the church or state; to the first of which he thought them a scandal, and to the other a burden. He was a great enemy particularly to the monks; who gave themselves up to idleness and pleasure, and having the chief encouragement of learning in their hands yet did nothing towards it. The king, as we have seen, was a man of letters himself, and loved them in other people. The cardinal therefore paid some court to the king's humour in this respect, when he formed the great design of erecting two colleges, one at the place of his birth, and another at Oxford; in which there should be great encouragement for scholars to prosecute their studies, and good schools for teaching and training up of youth. The design was noble in itself, and useful in its consequence; but the difficulty was to find the means of endowing them with revenues suitable to the extent and magnificence of his plan. The best expedient that he could think of, was to transfer the revenues of the lesser monasteries to this use, provided the king and the other founders would give consent. To this purpose he applied to the pope for the dissolution of forty monasteries, and other religious houses, and rectories which were impropriated; and these being suppressed according to his desire, the king made them over to him by his letters patent, which were enrolled. In this the cardinal did no more than what could be justified by the doctrines of the age.

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The supremacy of the papal see was at that time acknowledged; and under this persuasion he must believe that the pope had an authority to transfer the lands and revenues of the church to what religious uses he pleased. Having the king's letters patents the cardinal went on vigorously in building his college at Oxford, "which was rich in the materials, curious in the workmanship, and magnificent in the model." Nor was his other college and school at Ipswich, tho much inferior, as the nature of the design seemed to require, an inconsiderable instance of that greatness of mind with which it is certain that he was endowed.

The king finding his treasury much exhausted, and being apprehensive that a war which he was intending would require fresh and large supplies, committed the care of the necessary funds to cardinal WOLSEY. The most natural way was to apply to the parliament and convocation, as all other ministers or kings had done. But this prelate could not stoop to contest the matter with these bodies as he had done once before, and to run the hazard at last of a refusal. He therefore issued out orders in the king's name, to levy the sixth part of the goods of every layman, and the fourth of the clergy throwout the kingdom. These orders were no sooner published than the whole nation was in an uproar. The raising money by this method was declared a manifest breach of Magna Charta: and the encroachment was thought of such consequence, that the commotion which it produced over the kingdom was little short of a rebellion. The king being informed of it, immediately issued out a proclamation, disavowing the orders which had been published in his name, and declaring that he would demand nothing but by way of benevolence. The people soon perceived this was an artifice to extort by another name what they had refused to give by force: and in truth, the benevolence which he demanded amounted to little less than what his orders had exacted. Upon this an insurrection ensued, which if it had not been stopped in time might have had fatal consequences: and HENRY perceiving that the nation was ill affected to this benevolence, thought it proper to disavow the violent proceedings of his minister, and declared that no person should be punished for this commotion. As soon as the king had discovered, that he did not approve of all the cardinal's actions, complaints against his conduct were

more loud and frequent. The truth is, he oppressed the nation, and the clergy particularly, in a shameful manner; the one as a minister, and the other as a legate. The judge of his court was one ALLEN his chaplain, who accompanied with a great train and riding in a sort of perpetual progress from one monastery to another, raised contributions to his master at the ruin almost of the monks. At last this grew up to a public grievance, and coming to the king's ear, he was so enraged at his proceedings, that the cardinal was obliged not only to excuse himself with much submission, but to promise not to offend in the like kind any more: protesting moreover that he had made his will, and left the bulk of his fortune to the king. HENRY being softened by this submission, the chief direction of all affairs was still committed to WOLSEY, and he had fresh augmentations of power and preferment to endow his colleges.

But I must turn now to another affair, upon which so much of the change which afterwards happened in the ecclesiastical state depended, that the reader will expect I should set this matter particularly in as good a light as I am able, both in respect to the origin and the progress of it. The queen having at this time left off bearing any more children, and having contracted some diseases by her frequent miscarriages, her person became unacceptable to the king; tho in regard of her good qualities, as a discreet and virtuous woman, she was much esteemed and beloved by his majesty and the whole nation. HENRY having thus lost all hopes of any further issue, declared the princess MARY, his only child, princess of Wales, and projected several matches for her. At last a treaty of marriage was concluded with the court of France, either between the king of France himself, or his second son the duke of ORLEANS, and the daughter of HENRY; and the alternative to be determined at an interview soon after between the two kings at Calais. But whilst this treaty was carrying on, the French ambassador demurred to the legality of HENRY's marriage, and consequently to the legitimacy of the princess. The same scruples had been made by other princes to whom the king had offered his daughter; and his majesty afterwards said, that he had had these scruples himself for some years before. Whilst this treaty was carrying on, however, the king first began to make these scruples public. Many are the reasons which historians give, why

why the cardinal may be supposed to infuse these scruples into the king, and why the king himself may on the other hand be believed to have taken them up sometime before: but they have spoke upon this occasion, as their inclinations, or their party, led them. As to the cardinal, it is certain, there is no other authority for placing these scruples in the king to his account, than the queen's own suspicions, which might be groundless: and if what the king said is true, he had been uneasy upon the account of his marriage with her above three years before; and the cardinal did neither first suggest them nor cherish them, but did all he could to remove them out of his thoughts.

What were HENRY's secret motives, and the grounds upon which he desired a divorce from the queen, is known only to God; and till the discovery of all secrets at the day of judgment, must lie hid. The reasons which he always owned were reasons of conscience, and if he had any other he concealed them. Other reasons have been alledged for it by most historians, particularly his love for the daughter of SIR T. BOLEYN; but this at least is alledged upon presumption without any positive proof; and a presumption which is more improbable, than that the king had determined upon this divorce, before he was in love with, or had even seen this lady. Because if these facts are true, which no body I think contests, that she was born in the year fifteen hundred and seven, and being twenty years of age was taken into the service of the queen as a maid of honour, having been brought over by her father from the court of France at that time, then this is a proof that the king's divorce, which was resolved on the year before, could not be an effect of his passion for this young lady. On the other hand it is hard to conceive, that HENRY should have lived twenty years almost with the queen without any scruples about his marriage, and should now want to part with her merely on account of the religious conflicts in his mind. It cannot be said, that he was surprized into this marriage without knowing or considering the objections that had been made to it. His father, tho he had ordered the marriage to be contracted in order to save his money, yet had obliged him, when he entered on his fourteenth year, to protest in form against it, and on his death bed commanded him never to perform the contract. The suspicion of its legality therefore was no new affair to HENRY: but the pope's dispensing power

in matrimonial cases was at that time so much submitted to, that it is not to be wondered at if the king of England should not dispute it, who had professed the most profound regard for the apostolic see. The wonder is, that after he had engaged himself so closely with his holiness, and had so strenuously asserted his pretensions, that all on a sudden he should be troubled with qualms of conscience about the pope's dispensing power. What is yet more extraordinary, and must convince us that he still believed or at least submitted to this dispensing power at Rome, is the clause in the very bull that he procured, in order to dissolve his marriage with CATHARINE: a clause which allows him "to contract a marriage with any other woman tho nearly allied unto him, either in a second or more remote degree of consanguinity, or in the first degree of affinity, or joined to him by lawful or unlawful commerce." But besides the conscientious scruples relating to "the very estate of his soul," he pleaded others relating to the succession of his crown, lest he should not leave a lawful heir.

No historian that I know of has taken notice of this circumstance to its proper purpose; tho it so directly combats his pretence of conscience for the divorce, as to leave it no longer a matter of doubt, that he had other reasons, whatever they were, for endeavouring to annul his marriage. I will explain what I mean. When the king found that a general murmur was infused over the nation, upon his design of being divorced, he called together all the nobility, judges and commons that were in and about London, to whom he made a speech in order to justify his proceedings; and in which these reasons of conscience, as it regarded himself and his people, are solemnly avowed to be his only motives. How comes it then to pass, that when this marriage was set aside at his desire, as an unlawful marriage, and in consequence of this divorce he married another queen who left a daughter, yet that the princess MARY the issue of this first marriage, annulled for its contrariety to the laws of God, was appointed by his will as his immediate heir? If he was not convinced in his conscience, that his marriage with CATHARINE was opposed by the laws of God, to which the dispensing power of the pope was not a remedy, then he had other reasons, besides the religious conflicts of his mind, for procuring this divorce. On the other hand, if he was persuaded, that the law of God

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forbid his marriage with his brother's wife, and that this law was of such a sort as that the pope could not dispense with it, which by getting this marriage annulled and taking another queen one would think he was, then the princess MARY must be illegitimate, and had no pretensions to the crown: the objection was striking and could not be overseen, and yet he appointed by his will that she should succeed him in the throne. Could he then believe that his marriage with her mother was unlawful? nay could he have any scruples of conscience about the lawfulness of it at all? and must we not impute it to motives of a nature very different from religious conflicts, that HENRY sought at this time to be divorced from CATHARINE? I think we must. The reader however will judge for himself. Whatever these motives were, it does not seem probable to me, I must confess, that an engagement of his affections to another lady had any share in them: not to miss BOLEYN for the reasons which I have given above, nor to any other for a reason that I have yet to give; which is, that the cardinal was too quick sighted not to discover it if it had been so, and too observant of his master's humour to have proposed a sister of the king of France, if HENRY'S inclinations had been fixed on another lady. In short, upon an impartial fair examination into all the accounts that are handed down about this affair, the only thing which, in my opinion, we can conclude with any certainty at this distance of time, is that the person of queen CATHARINE was become extremely disagreeable to the king, and that he had no prospect of male issue but by another queen. The Spanish nation first, and then the French, when a treaty of marriage for his daughter was proposed to them, questioned her legitimacy; which gave him a specious pretence for calling it in question likewise, and so for getting rid of his queen, and taking another younger and more agreeable to him: and hence arose this famous divorce. Thus far however, I think, is certain, and more than this is conjectural if not absurd.

Having given the reader this account of the origin, I am now to relate the progress of this great affair. When once the king had balanced in his own mind his parting with the queen, be the motives for it what they would, we may be sure he would omit nothing that could make well for his cause and justify his taking a step of this extraordinary nature. The plea of conscience

therefore, if he had it not, was of too much importance in this question not to be pretended; and accordingly we have seen that he owned no other motive. I think it is probable indeed, I must confess, that he would endeavour to satisfy his conscience for this act of violence against his queen, who had lived without offence, and been wholly subject to him: and so if he had no religious conflicts about the legality of his marriage, he had some, no doubt, about the legality of his divorce. But be this as it might. The person to whom he opened himself first upon this subject, was cardinal WOLSEY; who was required to declare his opinion concerning the divorce. Whatever were the cardinal's private sentiments at that time relating to this affair, he executed himself very wisely from coming to any resolution upon a case of that importance; and desired his majesty would give him leave to consult those who were more learned in the divine and civil laws. The king consented to this expedient; and by his legatine power, the cardinal summoned all the bishops, the most eminent men in the two universities, and some from all the cathedral churches who were thought qualified to determine this dubious question. But after all the difficulties relating to it had been debated for several days in this assembly, it was thought a business of so much intricacy and moment, that they would not take upon them to decide it; and the synod broke up without coming to any other resolution, than to advise the king to send his case to all the universities in Christendom, and to get a definitive sentence under their respective seals. Pursuant to this advice, commissioners were appointed at the king's expence; with instructions and powers which seem well adapted to procure a sentence to his majesty's inclinations, but which confirm us in the suspicion, that the unlawfulness of his marriage did not stick on HENRY's conscience, as he pretended. The commissioners being thus empowered, distributed the money they carried with them with so much dexterity, among those who had the chief influence in the universities, or the custody of the seals, that they returned with their business effected according to the king's wish; and were themselves amply rewarded, says the historian, far above their deserts. The learned bishop TAYLOR has a wise reflexion upon this incident, which the reader may not have met with, and which I shall therefore give him. Speaking of this marriage of HENRY, he says, that, "as the
" interest of princes useth to do, it divided and employed the
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“ pens of a great many learned men; who gave upon this oc-
 “ casion but too much proof, how weakly men that have a bias
 “ upon them can determine questions, and with how great a
 “ force a king who is rich and powerful can make his own de-
 “ terminations. For tho Christendom was then much divided
 “ upon this article, yet before that time it was almost generally
 “ agreed, that the Levitical degrees did not bind Christians to
 “ their observance by any law of God.”

Bishop BURNET, it must be owned, has given a different account of the rise of this expedient of consulting the chief universities and divines of Europe; attributing it to DR. CRANMER, two years after the time that the king had required the opinion of the bishops which I have mentioned. But I have chose to follow the account given by CAVENDISH, not only because he was a gentleman of WOLSEY's family, much in his secrets at that time, but also because the cardinal in his first dispatch to the king's ambassador at the court of Rome, informs him that his majesty had consulted the most learned divines and canonists, as well in his own dominions, as elsewhere. The dates of the resolutions of the foreign universities, except that of Orleans, it must be confessed, are, according to the bishop's account, two years after the time assigned by CAVENDISH for this expedient: and to adjust this difference in the account, we may suppose there might be as much difference in the time when the expedient was first proposed, and when the opinions of the other universities abroad were given in. How to reconcile the other difference in the account, that the expedient was proposed by the bishops and canonists at their synod summoned by WOLSEY in fifteen hundred and twenty seven, and not by DR. CRANMER in fifteen hundred and twenty nine, I shall attempt in its proper place; but as CAVENDISH was then in the cardinal's family and had his memoirs probably from him, I think his authority is preferable to any later historian which bishop BURNET copied. Besides, if we should allow it probable, that the opinion of all the foreign universities were collected the same year in which it was first moved to consult them, it must be owned however to be impossible, that CRANMER should have advised first to this expedient, as they say he did, in August fifteen hundred and twenty nine, because the determination of the university of Orleans is dated in the April of that year. If the illustrious historian of the
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the reformation had attended to this circumstance with his usual accuracy, he would not have embraced this false account; invented, I suppose, to do honour to CRANMER, and which has been transcribed by RAPIN, and other writers. But more of this as we go along. There is, however, a material difference still remaining with relation to this transaction: for whereas CAVENDISH says, "that the foreign universities were fed with
 " such great sums of money by the commissioners, that they
 " easily condescended to their requests," the bishop on the other hand insists, "that the subscriptions obtained by the king's agents
 " were not mercenary;" and to prove this, alledges the slender allowance made to CROOK, who negotiated this affair, at Venice, Padua, and other places in Italy. It is true that this agent writes, "that he never gave, nor promised any divine any thing, 'till
 " he had first written his mind freely; and that what he then
 " gave was rather an honourable present than a reward." But it is likewise as true, that he tells the king in a letter, "that he
 " doubts not but all christian universities, if they should be well
 " handled, would earnestly conclude with his majesty: that if
 " he had been in time sufficiently furnished with money, tho
 " besides the seals which he then sent he procured an hundred
 " and ten subscriptions, yet it had been nothing in comparison
 " of what he easily might, and would have done; for he found
 " the greatest part of the divines in Italy all mercenary." It appears too from a bill of his accounts exhibited by the bishop, that he actually expended several sums of money to such persons as subscribed in favour of the divorce: and tho his lordship is of opinion that they must have had very prostituted consciences to be hired so cheap, yet I humbly apprehend it will not follow, that because a present was small it could not therefore be intended or accepted as a bribe. The circumstances of time, and place, and persons, will make a very material difference in the value or estimation of the same sum: and a few crowns distributed above two hundred years ago, among some poor Italian monks, might have more force towards gaining their subscription in favour of a divorce, than ten times that sum would have at present in corrupting the meanest member of an English corporation. But besides the testimony of CAVENDISH, let us hear what CORN. AGRIPPA says, who, according to the bishop himself, "was famous for great and curious learning, and persuaded thorowly
 " of the king's cause;" but who was likewise persuaded, I think, that

that many divines were influenced in the case by indirect and mercenary applications. “Who, says he, would have believed, “that divines in matters of faith and conscience are not only perverted by love, hatred, or envy, but also sometimes bribed by banquets or drawn from the truth by gifts; unless themselves “had given evident proofs of their vileness in condemning the “marriage of the king of England?” The great and celebrated faculty of the Sorbonne, which the bishop says “had made “their decision with all possible solemnity and decency,” in which they condemned this marriage as contrary to the law of God and nature, had a few years before determined the very contrary in favour of a nobleman at Genoa, and AGRIPPA says that he “knew the arts which were made use of in this affair,” and asks “what faith or piety could be in the breasts of men “whose consciences were so venal, to sell their judgments and “decisions for money.” It must be owned it is of no importance as to the validity or invalidity of HENRY’S marriage, whether the foreign divines and universities were bribed to give their opinion for the divorce or not: but it is of importance to an history that the author of it should be impartial, and state the facts which are disputed with indifference and precision. The truth of the matter, as it appears to me upon a fair examination, is, that many learned men gave their opinion in favour of the king’s divorce according to their consciences without any bias, and that many more were practised upon to subscribe to such an opinion whether they really held it or not. I am the more confirmed in this conjecture from the proceedings of the court in our own universities here at home.

The archbishop of CANTERBURY, being at that time chancellor of the university of Oxford, opened the king’s case at large in a letter which he sent to them with a state of the question they were to determine. In about three weeks after, the bishop of LINCOLN followed by particular order with letters from the king himself; in which his majesty desired they would concur in the same sentiments with the foreign universities, and not adhere too pertinaciously to any prejudices against their opinion, nor lean to wilful and sinister opinions of their own: giving some broad intimations of his future favour or displeasure according as they should behave themselves in this affair. It was easy enough for the university to perceive what the king expected: and there-

fore as particular members were differently moved with different considerations, it is natural to suppose that they would unite or divide upon the question. The heads, and men of longer standing in the university, who might have nearer prospects from court, or who upon account of their advanced age might be grown somewhat timorous, came sooner into the measures with which they had been invited to comply; but the younger members who had no such hopes nor fears to influence their behaviour, could not be brought at first to concur with the rest, and the convocation broke up without coming to any decision. The king was enraged at this disappointment and delay, and full of impatience and resentment at the insolence, as he calls it, of the regents and other masters, he wrote to the commissary the doctors and batchelors of divinity, assuring them, "that this
 " their unnatural and unkind demeanour is not only right much
 " to his displeasure, but much to be marvelled of, upon what
 " ground and occasion they being his mere subjects should shew
 " themselves more unkind and wilfull in this matter than all
 " other universities both in this and all other regions do." These menaces and reproaches proving ineffectual, the chancellor recommended that a committee should be chosen out of the whole academic body, by the common suffrage of the convocation, to determine the question referred to the university about the lawfulness of the king's marriage. Accordingly a decree was past in convocation, "neither easily nor by general vote," says lord HERBERT, committing the determination of this question to the majority of three and thirty doctors and batchelours in divinity, whose decision should be reputed as the act of the whole university. The committee thus chosen, resolved "that it was prohibited by the law of God and nature, that a brother should
 " marry the relict of his brother who died without children." The expression of lord HERBERT's, that the decree for referring this question to a committee past neither easily nor by a general vote, may be explained by a passage from another historian; who tells us that the chancellor, in direct opposition to the statutes then in force, excluded the masters from convocation as persons unworthy to be consulted, or to give their opinion in the king's cause. If this is a real fact, I say, it may explain that expression of lord HERBERT's: but then another difficulty must be solved, how it happens that the decree, of which his lordship has given us a copy, runs in the name of "the major part of all the doc-
 " tors

"tutors and masters, as well regents as non-regents," if the masters were excluded by the chancellor from the convocation. The decree must be either fraudulent in this circumstance, which one does not know how to suppose, or the arbitrary act of the chancellor must be a false accusation. There is enough however of certainty in this transaction to conclude, that the decision of this question was not made with the free and general suffrage of the whole university, without either threatening or undue influence of some kind or other.

Let us now see how this affair past at Cambridge, where Fox and GARDINER were employed by the king to get a determination against his marriage, and where CRANMER had already published a book against it. The vice-chancellor, whom the agents found in the interest of the king, summoned a meeting of the doctors, batchelors of divinity, and masters of arts, to the number of two hundred, in which the king's letter was read. Their opinions being called for, they were much divided, and a great disorder ensued. It was then proposed, that a committee of indifferent men should be appointed to give the king an answer, which after a long debate was put to the vote by the vice-chancellor; but could not be carried at that meeting. The congregation being adjourned till the next day, the motion was reassumed, and the vice-chancellor proposed a grace or order to refer the matter to twenty nine; himself, and ten doctors, sixteen masters, and the two proctors; that the question being publicly disputed, the determination which two parts in three agreed to, should be read in a congregation, and without any farther debate the common seal of the university should be set to it. When this motion was first made, it was rejected by the majority: another deliberation then ensued, and the motion being made again, the votes were equal. "At last by the labour of friends to cause some to depart the house which were against it," say the agents of the king in their letter to him, "it was obtained:" and in this committee it was determined, tho not without opposition and management on the part of the agents, that the marriage of the king was against the law of God. The opinion of the universities at home and abroad being thus obtained, the cardinal summoned the bishops a second time to give their opinion on this question. FISHER bishop of Rochester was single in defending the legality of his marriage, and refused to set his hand,

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tho vehemently pressed by the archbishop, to the resolution of his brethren which condemned it. Nevertheless his name and seal were set with the rest: and when the king afterwards appealed to and produced this instrument, as the resolution of all the bishops in favour of his cause, bishop FISHER denied that he had given his hand or seal to any such resolution: and tho the archbishop averred, that the bishop of ROCHESTER had given him leave to put his hand and seal to it, yet the bishop still persisted in his denial, and told the primate it was untrue: nor was it likely, as bishop BURNET says, that FISHER who had scrupled in conscience to subscribe it himself, would have consented to such a weak artifice; nor, I will add, that the archbishop should not have been able to have produced one witness of it in such a public meeting, if FISHER had consented to it.

Besides the judgment of private canonists and divines, the famous universities abroad and at home, and of the English clergy convened in synod, HENRY applied himself to the men of learning in Germany, and Switzerland, who had set up the reformation, to know what they thought of his marriage and divorce. Some of these condemned, and others approved, the marriage; but they all agreed that the pope's dispensation was of no force to alter the nature of the thing. The Lutheran divines particularly gave it as their opinion, that the law restraining the marriage of a brother's wife, was a moral, natural and divine law, and therefore not to be allowed of in their churches: but as to the business of the divorce, they were not then so fully satisfied as to be able to pass sentence, whether, after a contract of marriage in this case of the king's, a divorce ought to be granted. I have set down all these accounts together, tho something out of the due order of time, that the reader might have at one view a representation of the judgments of the several parties in Christendom who were consulted in this question, and of the manner in which those judgments were obtained. If we believe with some historians, that no judgment was given in favour of the king without corruption or undue influence, we shall probably be as far from the truth, as others are who deny, that any money, or bribes, or other sinister means were used, in order to procure subscriptions which condemned his marriage. There were no doubt many men of conscience and probity, who
 acted

acted upon good principles without any bias upon their minds: and if there is any truth in the testimonies which have been offered, there were many more who were led to determine in this question, either by hopes or fears, by promises or threatnings, by rewards or maxims of state and policy.

I must now look a little back, and relate what was doing in the mean time in the court of HENRY. When the business of the divorce was first set on foot, the pope was then a prisoner to the emperor: and the cardinal either calculating what was to be expected from Rome on account of their own interest, or having received some intimations how well they stood affected there to the king's divorce, had undertaken to settle every thing with his holiness to the king's content. To this purpose, KNIGHT, then secretary of state, was dispatched away to Rome with some instructions to prepare the pope for a divorce, and to observe the best methods and the fittest tools to make use of in order to procure it. At the same time a long letter was wrote by WOLSEY to SIR GRE. CASSALI the king's embassadour then at Rome. The letter is too long to be given the reader in the cardinal's own words, and therefore I shall only relate the most material passages in it. After some strains of complaisance and assurances of reward, in order to engage the embassadour's application in this great business, he relates the opinions of some of the canonists and divines; that the pope could not dispense in cases of the first degree of affinity; and that all of them concluded it must be upon very weighty reasons if he could do it; none of which were to be found in the bull of dispensation for the king's marriage. On the other hand there were several nullities in the bull which should invalidate the dispensation. It was therein said, for instance, that the king had desired it in order that he might marry the princess, which, as his majesty was then but twelve years of age, could not be true: it was likewise suggested in the preamble, that the king had desired it in order to preserve the peace between the kingdoms of Spain and England; which was a speculation too deep, and too refined a scheme, for a prince of his age to enter into: and as there was a declaration in the bull itself that it was granted to preserve the peace of the two crowns, so there being no hazard of any war, this was a false suggestion by which his holiness was imposed upon. Moreover it had been judged, that the protestation which the king had made when

he came of age retracted any such desire as had been pretended in his name, and from that time the bull could have no operation, nor could a subsequent marriage founded upon it be legal. These were the smooth methods in which the canonists attacked the dispensation granted by pope JULIUS. For to have insisted upon the nullity of his holiness's bull, because the matter of it was unlawful and fell not within his power, could not have been the way to gain an interest. The cardinal therefore took the other course, and made exceptions to the bull without any prejudice to the papal power. To these reasons were added the king's scruples of conscience, and his merits with the holy see, the great danger of cruel wars upon a disputable succession, and the earnest entreaty of the nobility and the whole kingdom, that being divorced from his queen he might marry another wife and hope for issue male. The ambassadour was next instructed to get a private admittance to the pope with these letters of credence, and to lay before him of what importance it was to his own affairs and the apostolic see at this juncture, to engage the king of England by complying with his request and declaring his marriage null: to assure him that if his holiness would sign a commission for the cardinal and some others to determine this cause, and a dispensation for the king to marry again, copies of which were sent from England, that then his majesty and the cardinal would use all the most effectual means possible for setting the pope at liberty, in which the cardinal would employ as much industry, as if there were no other way than by so doing to come at the kingdom of heaven. In short no motive was left unsuggested which could probably work on the hopes or fears of the court of Rome. Even the argument of money, at all times a powerful one with that court, more especially so now when it was impoverished with a captivity, was not forgotten.

But however before this long and laboured dispatch reached the ambassadour, KNIGHT had got to Rome; and tho he could not be admitted privately to the pope, yet corrupting one of his guards he found a way to communicate to his holiness what the king requested, and so gracious was a captive pope, he returned an answer to the ambassadour, that the dispensation should be fully granted. But another promise being exacted of him in the emperor's name, at whose mercy he then lay, and who was the queen's nephew, that he should do nothing to the prejudice of her

her majesty's cause till it were first communicated to the Imperialists, his holiness was reduced to a great dilemma; not so much on account of his promises, for he was obliged to break one of them, as of his interest. He was in the power of the emperor whom he hated, of whom he was afraid, and in distrust; and on the other hand he had no inclination to lose the king of England. When he made his escape therefore soon after, and the ambassadour pressed the performance of his promise, not knowing whether he should stand in need of HENRY, or whether the emperor would come to an accommodation, he promised to do all that lay in his power for the satisfaction of the king, but that as he was still in a manner in captivity he begged they would have a little patience. The ticklish situation which the pope was in, and which made him want to gain time, was a reason that KNIGHT should be more earnest in pressing a compliance with the king's demands, and he did press it accordingly. The pope at length said he should have the commission to try the cause in England, and a dispensation for another marriage, on condition that the king should promise not to proceed in it at all till his holiness's liberty was quite confirmed, and the French and Germans had quitted Italy. KNIGHT, being very desirous to get the instruments into his hands, accepted the conditions: but when CASSALI and he waited upon his holiness for them sometime after, they found another delay. The pope said he could easily apprehend the danger that might arise from a dispute in England about a succession to the crown, but as he was not himself very expert in this sort of business he would consult the cardinal St. QUATER. The pope having thus renewed his promise, the ambassadours next business was to secure in the king's interest the cardinal whom his holiness had chose to confide this matter to: and they found no great difficulty to do it. For besides ten thousand ducats which they were provided with in order to reward all such as should do them any service in this cause, they were empowered to make what further promise, they thought fit in HENRY'S name. The cardinal St. QUATER, having examined the commission sent from England, said it would be a perpetual dishonour to the pope and the king too, and excepted to several clauses. They desired him upon this to draw up another form himself; which, being regularly engrossed, was carried by the ambassadeurs to the pope to sign. The pope did not absolutely refuse it, but with many sighs and tears he begged that

the king of England would not precipitate matters to his ruin by beginning any process for some time upon the bull. When the army of France approached him, if the general should insist on his complying with the king his master's ally and friend, he should then have a good excuse to the emperor, that he had denied the English ambassador, but could not refuse to do an act of justice required by the French general at the head of an army. This was a way, he said, which would save his honour, and cover his breach of promise with the emperor, from whom he had every thing to fear if he should know what his holiness had done now for HENRY. He therefore entreated the king to accept the commission and dispensation which he then delivered for the present, and promised to send afterwards the decretal bull to annul the marriage, in the same form it had been drawn in by the king's ministers.

The reader will observe, that in this whole transaction with the pope, the considerations of religion were never so much as thought of, and that he regarded only his own interest in providing against dangers with great precaution. As to apostolical wisdom, and the simplicity of the gospel in committing the event of things to God and submitting to his will in all things, this was not the practice of a wise and politic prince nor a maxim adopted by the court of Rome. They had for many ages governed themselves as a secular power; and to maintain their interests in the courts of princes, to secure their dominions, and to raise their families, being the chief points which they had in view, it is not to be wondered at, that CLEMENT governed himself by these measures. With what finesse and caution he proceeded in the case before us will appear further from an expedient which he mentioned to CASSALI, when KNIGHT was gone to England with the instruments, and indeed by his dating these instruments at the time when he was a prisoner, which would make them be looked upon as null; and accordingly the king did not make any use of them when he had them. The expedient that he proposed was, that WOLSEY should proceed to try the cause and pass sentence, either by virtue of the commission which was sent to England or by his legatine power: and if the king was clear in his own conscience about it--of which no doctor in the whole world, he said, could resolve better than the king himself--he should without any more ado marry another wife and then

then send for a legate, which he would grant, to confirm the marriage. This his holiness desired the ambassadour to communicate to the king, not however as his advice, but as the advice of some of the cardinals. How little soever there might be of the simplicity of the gospel in this expedient, it had certainly a good deal of prudence in it, and would have proved much safer and easier to the king and the pope, as well as more expeditious than the commission granted to the two legates. But the ministry were afraid to trust the pope's sincerity; and if upon a second marriage a confirmation should be denied, the right of succession would be still very doubtful. They did not therefore think proper to close with this advice, and chose rather to make new addresses to the court of Rome. To this purpose, Fox and GARDINER, the one accounted the ablest canonist, and the other the best divine in England, were dispatched with fresh instructions. They had orders to demand a new commission for the cardinal to trie the cause, assisted by another legate, either together, or the one being hindered or unwilling, severally; with powers to annull the marriage if they thought fit, and yet in order to soften the queen and the emperor, to declare the daughter born in it legitimate. They were further to demand an instrument from the pope to bind him to the confirmation of what the legates should do in that process, and never to revoke or repeal what they should pronounce. He was likewise to give both parties leave to marry again notwithstanding any protestation, and to declare that this bull should remain in force till the process was finished; and if any revocation or inhibition of it should be obtained, it was declared null and void, and the legates were to proceed notwithstanding. To all this there was a secret instruction added, that cardinal CAMPEJUS should be the legate; to whom the king had given a palace he had just built at Rome for his ambassadors, who was bishop of Salisbury, and above all, whom they knew to be a tractable man. Besides these instructions, they had letters from the king and WOLSEY to the pope and cardinals; in which all the arguments that could be thought of are laid together, to incline his holiness and the conclave to gratify the king. The cardinal's letter to the pope is in such a strain, as shews plainly that he was apprehensive, the king would withdraw his favour from himself, and his obedience from the holy see, if his demands were not complied with. The most anxious mind could not invent or dictate any thing stronger: he

befeeches the pope as lying at his feet, “ that if he thought him
 “ a christian, a good cardinal, an useful member of the apostolic
 “ see, and his faithful creature, or if he thought that he desired
 “ his own eternal salvation, that he would so far consider his
 “ intercession as to grant speedily and kindly what the king de-
 “ sired with so much earnestness.”

When FOX and GARDINER arrived at the court of Rome with these instructions and letters, the pope was determined to amuse the king with the hopes of forwarding the divorce, till it should be in his power to oppose it without danger ; because tho the interest of his see might lead him to oblige his majesty, yet the interest of his house, which lay much nearer his heart, required that he should have a regard to the emperor, who took the part of his aunt CATHARINE against the king. The sequel of the pope’s proceedings must convince the reader, that this is a true conjecture ; and his proceedings indeed are no otherwise to be accounted for. Without this key it will be impossible to unlock the mysterious secrets of that cabinet. For as to the arguments and authorities alledged on both sides, with respect to the lawfulness of the marriage and the nullities of the dispensation, drawn either from scripture, the fathers, or the canons, these were only so many amusements which were extremely subservient to the pope’s design, but which made little or no impression on his mind. According to those maxims, which, I say, his holiness had laid down for his conduct in this nice conjuncture, he gave an ambiguous answer to the ambassadors by word of mouth, and wrote a letter in cypher to the king, as if he meant to acquaint him with a secret ; and yet it was impossible to guess at any meaning of his holiness in it, farther than at the greatest perplexity and irresolution. This however was gaining some time, and spinning out this affair till the issue of the war might determine him which side to chuse. But the ambassadors pressing for a more substantial answer to their master’s business, and the French and confederate armies being then victorious in Italy, CLEMENT granted a full commission to WOLSEY and CAMPEJIUS, as it had been desired, to hear and determine the king’s cause in England, without being obliged to observe all the forms or ceremonials of the law. These powers were given with a “ non obstante” to all general councils, apostolical constitutions, or decrees whatever, to the contrary : and to give a farther strength

to this commission, and a plainer proof of his sincerity towards the king, about two months after he signed a promise drawn up in form; in which he obliged himself to confirm the sentence of the legates, provided they should pursue the tenour of their commission, and never to retract what they should determine, upon any colour or motive, or thro any force whatever. The pope having thus to all appearance performed his part, they had nothing more to expect in England but the speedy arrival of the other legate, and a determination of the cause with all imaginable dispatch. But they were not in such haste at the court of Rome; and CAMPEJIUS was now to play his share of the game, that the pope might keep his hand out of fight. The legate accordingly made great excuses; he was infirm with old age, very subject to the gout, and not in a condition to undertake so long a journey; besides he was then legate at Rome where he had great advantages; and it was a very disagreeable thing to be concerned in an affair which must necessarily make the emperor or the king his enemy. The reader sees that whilst this answer was going to England, and another application was coming from thence, a good deal of time must necessarily be gained, which is what the pope wanted; and by the scruples which the legate made, his own price was raised. When the aversion which CAMPEJIUS had expressed for the commission was made known in England, WOLSEY wrote him a letter with great earnestness, to hasten over, and to bring every thing with him which was necessary to make their sentence irreversibile; that he should be furnished with money and horses by GARDINER, that he should find an equipage ready for him in France, and that he might assuredly expect great rewards from the king. Not content with making him these promises, he then proceeds to threaten, that if he did not make more haste to England, the king would believe a report he had heard that his eminence was turning to the emperor, that he would be ungrateful for the favours his majesty had bestowed upon him, would forfeit the king's kindness, and occasion displeasure and danger to WOLSEY himself, as well as a diminution of the authority of the Roman church. The draught of this letter is in the secretary's hand, corrected in many places by the cardinal: and it being said in the conclusion, that he hoped all things would be done, according to the will of God, the desire of the king, the quiet of the kingdom, and their honour with a good conscience, the last words are

are struck out ; the cardinal judging, it is probable, they would signify nothing, or had no meaning.

The reader is not to imagine, because he has heard nothing of her, that the queen, who was well informed of what was intended against her, was all this time idle. She laboured with all those passions which jealousy of the king's affections, the sense of her own honour, and the illegitimation of her daughter, could produce. She had sent her agents abroad who informed her of every thing that passed ; and who had engaged the emperor to assist her to the uttermost of his power. The pace of CAMPEJIUS, we have seen, was slow, and against the grain ; and all that might frustrate the king's intentions was secretly put in practice. The bull that was granted to decree the marriage null, was not according to the form which had been drawn up in England ; and tho the legates were nominated in April fifteen hundred twenty eight, and the most pressing instances were continually made for the coming of CAMPEJIUS, yet it was not till the October following that he arrived in England. Nor was this the only success that the queen met with, or had reason to expect, from abroad. The emperor and his brother, her two nephews, advised her by no means to yield, nor to be induced to enter into a religious life ; assuring her that they would exert their interest in the court of Rome in her favour, and maintain her daughter's title if it was necessary. They not only employed their agents at Rome to manage her cause with the pope and cardinals, but to consult the ablest canonists, in order to invalidate the exceptions which had been made in England, against the bull of dispensation for their marriage. Upon this, a brief was produced of the same date with the bull, that they might supply the most material defects in it ; but which had such evident marks of forgery upon the face of it, and against which there were such objections, as did harm, rather than good, to the cause of CATHARINE. The queen herself had all along affirmed, and to the end continued to affirm, as we shall see, that her marriage with prince ARTHUR had not been consummated by carnal knowledge, in order to justify the lawfulness of the marriage : but her friends the Spaniards, attending only to the legality of the dispensation and the papal power, affirmed in this brief, that the marriage had been consummated ; which supposing the brief to be genuine was a false suggestion, and therefore the instrument was of no force.

force. This was thought to prejudice the queen's cause, as much as the presumption of the forgery lessened the credit of her friends and agents.

Whilst these things were contriving and carrying on abroad, the cardinal, who never lost sight of some particular end of his own in point of honour or profit, finding his foundations at Oxford and Ipswich, which were now finished, were acceptable to the king and clergy, proposed the suppression of more monasteries and abbeys, for the better maintenance of the colleges, and in order to enlarge the number of bishopricks and cathedrals. The king, who began to think that the religious might serve God, as well in defending the kingdom in his armies, as in praying for it in their monasteries, approved the project: it was accordingly therefore sent to Rome for his holiness's confirmation; that if it occasioned any odium it might fall upon the pope, and if any honour was derived from it, the cardinal would take care to draw that on himself. When the ambassadour proposed this scheme to CLEMENT, his holiness said, that he had no objection to the design, but that he chose to deliberate on a thing of that important nature to posterity; and that he desired the two legates now in England might determine it, and, having communicated the matter to him, might nominate to the bishopricks. GARDINER perceiving his great backwardness, told him roundly, "it was necessary, and must be done:" upon which, pausing a little, he consented to grant a bull for applying the revenues of some small monasteries to the king's colleges at Windsor and Cambridge; and the next year he sent a commission to the legates to examine the state of the monasteries, to suppress such as they thought fit, and to erect as many bishopricks as were necessary. It is very probable, that as he was under some apprehensions of the king's dislike of the authority exercised at Rome, and finding it likewise an uneasy thing to gratify him in the great affair of his divorce, his holiness judged it necessary, in order to prevent the loss of his jurisdiction in this kingdom, to mollify the king by a compliance in all other affairs; or else the pope, I think, would scarce have consented to innovations, of which no body could tell the end, and which in fact did afterwards lead the way to the total suppression of all the monasteries in England. I must now return to the great business of the divorce, which employed all the thoughts and the conversation of

his majesty and his subjects, and which was attended with the most important and unexpected consequences to this church and nation.

As soon as CAMPEJIUS was arrived at London, and had recovered the fatigue of his journey, he had a public audience of the king, conducted with great solemnity; in which he called his majesty "the deliverer of the pope and of the city of Rome," and paid him the highest compliments which the occasion could suggest. But in a private conference with the king and the cardinal, he used all the arguments he could think of to dissuade his majesty from the prosecution of his design. The king, naturally fierce and warm, who had already endured many delays, and was impatient to get free of his marriage, took this advice in no good part; the legate's errand seeming rather to confirm than annul his marriage, and he complained in high terms that the pope had broke his word. The legate however had a game to play which he knew would qualify all this resentment. He produced the decretal bull which had been desired, tho not, as I have said before, in the same form it was drawn in here; but which was enough to let his majesty and his minister see, that tho the pope wished for a more friendly conclusion of this affair, yet if that could not be effected, his holiness had empowered him to grant what the king desired. They pressed him then to shew the decretal bull to the king's council, that they might be better able to direct their process; but the legate said it was granted on this express condition, that it should be shewn only to the king and WOLSEY, and refused to leave it tho but for a minute, with his majesty, or the cardinal. HENRY was much dissatisfied with all this chicanery from the court of Rome; and the cardinal sent a thundering dispatch to the ambassadours there, to get an order for the bull to be shewn to the king's council. In the meantime CAMPEJIUS, that he might soften the king a little, whose indignation began to shew itself without any restraint, applied himself to the queen; endeavouring to persuade her it was her duty to comply with the king's desire, and even giving her to understand that it would be in vain to oppose his will. The queen however was not to be moved with the instruction of the legate; and modestly answered that she was the king's wife, 'till the sentence of the pope should make her otherwise, and that she could not dispose of herself at all, without the advice of her

two nephews who had undertaken her affairs. As soon as the cardinal's dispatch arrived at Rome the ambassadour went to the pope, and lodged a formal and severe complaint against CAMPEJIUS; that he would not proceed to execute the commission, that he dissuaded the king's divorce, and that he refused to shew the decretal bull annulling the marriage to the king's council, or to leave it with the cardinal of York who was his equal in the commission. To the first part of the accusation, his holiness answered, that he had given the legate no orders to delay the proceedings in the trial, and that by their commission they might hear the cause and pass sentence; he admitted, as to the second, that he had observed his holiness's orders in dissuading from the divorce; and as to refusing to shew the bull, CLEMENT answered with great warmth, that he could produce WOLSEY'S letter, wherein he had promised the bull should be shewn only to his majesty and himself, suggesting that he should be ruined if it was not granted. He had sent it therefore, he said, merely to preserve the cardinal; but would now gladly lose one of his fingers to recover it, so much was he grieved at its being sent; and that it was in vain to say any thing more to him about it, for he would never allow of its being shewn, and so to be undone for ever. It was then the turn of the court of England to play the game which they had in hand: and the ambassadour accordingly very gravely desired his holiness to consider, the great danger there would be of losing the king and kingdom, of ruining cardinal WOLSEY, and of letting heresy take root in England; all which it was in his holiness's power to prevent, by complying with the request of HENRY, and perhaps by only allowing the decretal bull to be shewn to some of his council. But the pope was not to be caught so easily. He had his own game to play in return; and therefore told the ambassadour with signs of unusual grief, that if these sad events should happen, they could not be charged on him; he had already done all that he had promised, and on no consideration would he do any thing that might wound his conscience, or blemish his reputation: they might proceed therefore as they would in England, he should be free of all blame, and he would confirm their sentence: but if the king who had maintained the authority of the apostolic see, who had written for the faith and was the defender of it, would now endeavour to overturn it, the disgrace would fall upon his own head. Besides, he said, the kings of England and France had not caused

Cervia and Ravenna to be restored to him, as they had promised; insinuating, that the business of the divorce stuck only on that account, and that it should not be thought strange that he made no haste to gratify HENRY, who had neglected to do him justice with the republick of Venice, as he had engaged to do the moment the legate was sent to England. The ambassadour promised it should be done; and thus the conversation between him and the pope ended. The truth is, there was a treaty at this time on foot between the emperor and the pope: and tho it was necessary, in order to get the better terms from the emperor, that his holiness should seem willing to gratify the king, yet it would have frustrated that agreement, which he was determined to make at all events, if the pope had absolutely gone into all HENRY'S measures against the queen, whose cause the emperor had espoused. The more earnest therefore they were in England to have the bull seen by the council, the more the pope was confirmed in his resolution never to give his consent.

However, that he might not drive the king to extremities, the pope sent CAMPANA, one of his bed-chamber, to assure his majesty, that his holiness would do all that he possibly could, in justice, or in equity, or even in the plenitude of his power: and tho he had reason to apprehend the emperor's anger and revenge, yet nothing should divert his zeal for the king's service, even to the loss of the popedom. But his secret instructions to CAMPEJUS were of another strain. About the time of the arrival of this ambassador from the pope, the king sent SIR PET. BRYAN, and an Italian, to make fresh proposals at Rome, and to search all the records for the brief which was pretended by the Spaniards to be a supplement to the bull of dispensation for the marriage. Notwithstanding the secrecy with which the pope had conducted his treaty with the emperor, HENRY'S agents had smelt it out: and therefore these ambassadors were instructed to dissuade his holiness from carrying it into execution, and to offer him a guard of two thousand men, to secure him against the attempts of the emperor. The pope however was not to be moved; the notion of a guard in the pay of another prince favoured too much of captivity, of which he already had had a taste, and did not like it. The arms of the emperor were still in Italy, which put his holiness into his power; a general council was threatened to revoke all that should be done in the king of England's

England's cause; and as his holiness was a bastard, and incapable by the canon of the papal dignity, they might take it into their heads, perhaps, to depose him by the emperor's means: and therefore revolving all these circumstances in his mind, and being naturally of a fearful temper, which had been confirmed by his late imprisonment, he resolved to unite himself to the emperor, and to do nothing in the king's divorce but in order to make better terms for himself with the queen's nephew. At the same time therefore that he sent CAMPANA with those high flown compliments to the king, he gave him a private order for CAMPEJIUS to burn the decretal bull. If the ambassadors perceived that nothing else would do, they were to work upon the pope's fears, and to tell him roundly, that if he continued to deny the king the satisfaction he had demanded, that the English were but too much inclined already to withdraw their obedience from the holy see; and upon the least encouragement from the king, they would infallibly turn against the pope, and the kingdom would be lost. A great deal more to this purpose they had in charge, and delivered it to him accordingly: but his fear of the emperor got the better of all other apprehensions; and he only replied with a sigh, that he was between the hammer and the anvil, and which way soever he turned his steps he saw nothing but precipices on every side: he therefore placed all his hopes, he said, in the protection of GOD, who would not forsake his church; and as to the rest, he had done already more for the king of England than his majesty could expect, in committing the trial of his cause to the two legates, who were devoted to him. Besides the instructions relating to the pope, the envoys were ordered to enquire privately of the canonists in a fictitious name, whether if the queen would take the vow, the pope could give a licence to the king to marry again; or whether the pope might dispense with him, if he should vow religion as well as the queen, and allow him to take another wife, the queen being still alive; or whether in case neither of them should take the vow, the pope could grant him a dispensation to have two wives at once. These questions, which were drawn up very circumstantially by the king in his own hand writing, and of the answers to which we have no account, shew how intent he was on procuring a divorce at all events, and to marry another wife. In this manner passed the whole year fifteen hundred and twenty eight; at the

end of which, the king found himself as far from his intended purpose, as he was at first.

In the beginning of the following year, the pope was taken extremely ill, and was thought to be in great danger. The cardinal's ambition was not yet satisfied; and he resolved to use all the means that were in his power to be elected to the popedom, of which he had twice miscarried already. The king himself wrote to several cardinals in his behalf, and even agreed to an instruction which WOLSEY sent to GARDINER; in which, besides commanding him to employ all his parts, and to spare neither presents nor promises to get the cardinal elected, he is ordered to manage it in such a manner, that if the opposite faction was too strong, and another cardinal should be likely to carry the election, the French and English faction should then protest against those proceedings, and withdrawing to a place of safety should proceed to another election. Let us stop here to observe the amazing effects of unrestrained ambition. A christian bishop, and a cardinal, makes no scruple to endeavour to form a schism in the church, deliberately, and with contrivance, in order to gratify this passion! But the recovery of the pope put an end to all his machinations of this sort for the present. The bishoprick of Winchester however becoming vacant soon after, he was gratified with that by the king; and the bulls were expedited for it out of hand. But they were rated at three times more than the cardinal would give; since he quitted Durham for it, and "the king had already granted him the temporalities." Excellent consideration! When his holiness was recovered, the proceedings in the divorce were continued on their former footing. The king and the cardinal tried all sorts of ways to come to a determination; and the pope shifted it off with all the art and address imaginable, 'till he had made an agreement with the emperor.

In the meantime, that HENRY might leave no stone unturned, which seemed necessary or proper to bring about the divorce which he had so much at heart, sent two ambassadours to the emperor's court, in order to acquaint him with his design, and with the reasons that had induced him to it. The emperor desired that his majesty would not dissolve his marriage with the queen;

queen; and that if he was determined to try the legality of it, that the cause might be referred to Rome, or a general council, and not be decided in England where the queen had no friends. He then caused a copy of the brief which I have mentioned to be produced, attested by three bishops; and assured the ambassadors, that he would defend the just cause of his aunt to the utmost of his power. As the pope recovered the reestablishment of his health, he grew more alienated from the king and the cardinal than ever, and more inclined to join himself to the emperor. The emperor, on his part, made a protest in the name of the queen of England, that she refused to submit her cause to the two legates whom his holiness had commissioned to hear it; the one being first minister to the king and her mortal enemy, and the other having a bishoprick in England, and being liable to suspicion of partiality on other accounts. This protest was received at Rome, against the pressing instances of the king's ambassador; and a message was sent to CAMPEJIUS, that it could not be denied either in law or justice; but however that the pope did still most earnestly desire to satisfy the king, and it was not doing him justice to distrust his inclinations for his majesty's service. The king was now upon the high ferment, after so many affected procrastinations, and words would no longer amuse him. Wherefore he sent an order for his ambassadors to return home, after expostulating with his holiness very roundly for his partiality towards the emperor; which left his majesty no room to expect any justice at his hands, notwithstanding all the assurances that had been given him: and because the instrument, in which the pope had obliged himself not to revoke what the legates should do by their commission, was found worded in such a manner as left his holiness at liberty to do what he pleased, GARDINER was ordered to acquaint him, that the courier which carried it over had been so careless as to let it be damaged in passing a river, which had in a great measure obliterated it, and therefore that the king desired another pollicitation might be executed; in which the ambassador was instructed to insert all the binding clauses that he possibly could. But the crafty pope was not to be thus over reached; and spite of all GARDINER's instances could not be brought to sign another. Upon this they left the court of Rome, and DR. BENNET was sent thither only to hinder, if it was possible, the avocation of the cause. The legates wrote by this envoy a very full dispatch
to

to the pope and consistory; in which they advised a decretal bull to put an end to this dispute, and that the pope would press the queen to take the veil, as what would compose the difference in the softest and easiest way. They harangued a good deal, on the rack and torment of conscience under which the king had smarted so many years; and they observe that for clearing a matter thus perplexed, there was not only need of learning, but of a more singular piety and illumination. They represent with great vehemence, that since the soul and life of all the laws of the church were in his holiness's breast, so in doubtful cases where there was great hazard, he ought to mollify the severity of the laws; which if it were not done, other remedies would be found out, to the vast prejudice of the ecclesiastical authority; to which many about the king advised him; and which could end in nothing but the loss of the king of England and a defender of the faith. Upon the whole they gave them to understand, that the nobility and gentry were already much enraged at the delay of a matter of that importance, in which their lives and interests were concerned so nearly; and vented every day such expressions against the pope's proceedings as they could not think of without horror: wherefore they expected such an answer as should put an end immediately to this matter. They might expostulate and expect however as much as they pleased, and the king and his people might talk high and loudly if they would: his holiness had taken his measures, and was not to be moved. He had not yet indeed brought the emperor to his terms; and therefore when the ministers of that monarch put in a memorial for an avocation of the cause to Rome, which they did at this time, the pope cajoled the English envoy, with giving him hopes of bringing the cause to an amicable conclusion.

When the imperial ambassadours pressed for an avocation, on information from the queen that they were forming the process in England, BENNET declared to the pope in his master's name, that if his holiness consented to it, the king would look upon it as a formal decision against him, as well as an high affront to the two cardinals: and after granting them a commission, if he should take it out of their hands, without any complaint of illegality or unjust proceedings, he should protest that the king would not obey such an act of injustice, nor consider the authority of the pope any more. The agents of the queen insisting
still

still on an avocation, which the king dreaded above all things, another instruction was sent to his envoy at Rome upon this subject; representing it to be for the pope's interest, as well as his own, that the cause should not be taken out of the hands of the legates; and that his holiness by the laws could do nothing contrary to the prerogative royal of England, which the citing the king to Rome would be in a high degree. The envoy was further to lay before him, the unavoidable ruin of the cardinal, if the avocation of the cause was granted; and the assurance which the nobility had given the king, that in case he was so ill used by his holiness, and constrained to withdraw his obedience from the apostolic see, that they would adhere to him inviolably. The king at first in his resentment went further, and GARDINER had ordered him, in case CLEMENT proceeded to an avocation, to protest, and appeal from his holiness as not the true vicar of CHRIST, to a true vicar: but upon second thoughts his majesty judged it too soon to proceed to this extremity, and this instruction was suppressed.

CAMPEJIUS came into England in October, and it was now the end of May in the following year; and yet nothing was done in the trial of the cause that brought him hither. For the king having suffered himself to be amused by the pope, had been all along in expectation of obtaining a decretal bull, such as the legate had shewn him, to null the marriage, without being obliged to go thro the usual forms of process. But now finding all expectations of that sort were vain, and his patience being tired out, he granted a licence to the legates on the thirty first of May to execute the pope's commission: They sate on the same day in the parliament chamber at the Black-fryers, and the commission being exhibited by the bishop of LINCOLN, was read by the notary to the court: the clerks taking the usual oaths, a citation was ordered, requiring the king and queen to appear on the eighteenth day of June; which was all the business of the first day. The court resuming its sessions on the day appointed, and the citation being returned, the king's proxies appeared, but the queen was there in person; and protesting against the legates as incompetent judges, since the cause was already avocated by the pope, desired a proper time in which she might prove it. They allowed her three days, and adjourned the court till the twenty first. On this day, the king, and

queen, both appeared in court: CAMPEJIUS made a long and elaborate speech on the business they had in hand; and both the legates flourished much on the sincerity of their minds, and of the justice and impartiality with which they would try the cause. Besides the Cardinals, within the limits of the court, sat the archbishop of CANTERBURY, and all the bishops: and the apparitor calling HENRY king of England, his majesty answered, I am here: CATHARINE queen of England being called next, she made no answer; but rising from her seat, went directly to the king; and kneeling down before him, she told him in the hearing of the whole court, “that she was here a woman and a
“stranger, destitute of friends and counsel; that she could not
“plead for herself, and did not know whom else to employ;
“that her relations, and friends were at a great distance,
“and those that were retained to be of her counsel, were his
“own subjects, and such as he had been pleased to appoint;
“who if they would deal uprightly, which few would believe
“they dare do, yet could not here withstand his determined will
“and pleasure; but what,” says, she, “have I done, that after
“living with you above twenty years in peaceable wedlock, and
“bringing you several children, you should now think of
“putting me away? I take God to witness, and I am persuaded
“you cannot be ignorant of it, that I came to your bed an un-
“spotted virgin; from which time, how I have behaved myself,
“I appeal even to them that wish me the least good. You
“have certainly always found me a most faithful wife, I may
“better say, servant, having never to my knowledge withstood
“your pleasure so much as in shew.” She then begged “he
“would defer any further proceedings in the cause till she had
“had advice from Spain”: she reminded him “of the wisdom
“of their parents, by whose endeavours and consent this match
“was ratified; and that as no question was then made of the
“lawfulness of this marriage, so those times afforded learn-
“ed men, and in holiness of life and love of truth far surpass-
“ing the flatterers of these times.” Having said this, she rose
up, made a low reverence to the king, and went out of court. The king having ordered the apparitor to call her back, and the queen refusing to return, his majesty then made a declaration to the court of the many excellent virtues she was possessed of,
“and how desirous he was to continue in that estate, with her
“as his wife, so that neither his soul nor the commonwealth
“ might

“ might be endangered by it.” The king being called upon then by WOLSEY to vouchsafe his testimony to the court, that his majesty had not been persuaded to this divorce by him, HENRY declared, that the cardinal had always rather opposed it; that the French ambassadour, by objecting to the legitimacy of his daughter, had first put this scruple into his head: and being resolved to enquire into the truth of it, as well for quieting his conscience, as for settling the succession, he had desired the opinion of the bishops of his realm, who had all decreed against the marriage under their hands and seals. Upon this the dispute arose between the archbishop and bishop FISHER about setting his hand to that instrument as it has been already mentioned.

The court then adjourned to the twenty fifth of June, ordering letters monitory to be issued out for the queen to appear on the pain of contumacy. The queen not regarding any thing they could do, instead of appearing, sent an appeal by her proctors to the pope, every page of which was signed by her own hand; in which she excepted against the place, her judges, and her counsel, and inserted many things out of the canon law on which she grounded her appeal. This being publicly read, and the queen declared contumacious, the legates drew up the articles on which the witnesses were to be examined: the substance of which was, that prince ARTHUR, the king's brother, had married and carnally known CATHARINE; that the king by virtue of a dispensation had married her after the death of ARTHUR; that the marriage of his brother's wife was forbidden by the laws divine and human; and complaints of the scandal which this had occasioned coming to the pope's ears, he had given a commission to these cardinals to try and judge it. Many days were taken up in examining witnesses, to the consummation of prince ARTHUR's marriage; which was what the king's counsel insisted most upon, in order to invalidate the marriage of HENRY. The proofs of this kind consisted only in the age, the health, and constitution of the prince; and in what he had said the next morning after he was married to some of his attendants, “ of his having been that “ night in Spain.” Whatever presumption appeared from these testimonies that his marriage had been consummated, and on which the counsel for the king made a mighty flourish, not without some indecency, yet the bishop of ROCHESTER, who was of
counsel

counsel for the queen, complained of this, and some high words ensued between him and WOLSEY.

How little stress could be drawn from a testimony of this kind, of the prince being fifteen years of age at the time of his marriage, of lying alone the first night with the queen, of being of a good and sanguine complexion, supposed able therefore to consummate, of his saying with raillery the morning after his wedding he had been that night in Spain, and of his cohabiting with her afterwards till his death, which is the sum of the whole evidence; I say, How little stress is to be laid on this, against the testimony of the bishop of ELY, that the queen had often told him upon her conscience, that the prince had never carnally known her, against the solemn appeal to God which her majesty made in open court, and to the king himself, that she was a virgin at the time of her marriage with him, I shall leave to the reader to determine. This however I must observe, that tho the king said several handsome things in answer to what the queen had said, when she had left the court, yet he took no notice of her calling upon him as a witness to her virginity when he married her, which affords a strong presumption that her appeal was well founded: because she would scarce have challenged the king upon that circumstance, if it had not; nor would HENRY have been wholly silent upon that head, so essential to his divorce, when he had such a fair opportunity given him to speak with effect upon it. As the consummation of ARTHUR's marriage with the queen, was almost the only point which the counsel for the king insisted on in this cause, I have been the more particular in stating the evidence on both sides about it. There were but three persons who could give a positive testimony to this point: one of these was dead without leaving any other testimony but a jocular expression of no precise determination; another who must know it best of all the three, gave a positive testimony with an oath in open court, as well as to a bishop in confession, that the prince had never carnally known her; and the third, for whose sake this only point was laboured in this important cause, when called upon in publick and appealed to for the truth of it, was wholly silent. It is easy enough to suppose, why the prince, who was but a boy of fifteen years of age, might express himself in the manner he did the morning after

after his marriage if it was not consummated by carnal knowledge: but why so good a woman as the queen, whose character as to virtue and piety was never sullied by her enemies, should take a solemn oath before such an assembly, that he had not known her thus, and appeal to the king for the truth of it, who was then prosecuting a divorce from her, if it was not true, I shall leave to those to find a reason, who can still be blind enough not to see, and partial enough not to allow, that when ARTHUR died she was a virgin. Let us now return to the process.

The pope had given instructions to CAMPEJIUS which had been oft repeated, to draw out the cause, in order to gain time, by all the delays that he could invent; and the legate was true to his trust. He pretended to the king, that it would not be for his honour to precipitate too much a trial of this solemn nature, lest great advantages might be taken from it by the queen's party; and that the world might be convinced of the justice and moderation with which the king proceeded. Many days were therefore taken up in issuing a second citation for the queen, in declaring her contumacious a second time, in examining the witnesses on the articles, in disputing against the truth and authenticity of the brief and the validity of the bull, in producing and verifying the king's protest against the marriage when he was fourteen years of age and other instruments relating to the process, in summing up the evidence for his majesty, and demanding sentence, in the king's name, to be given. Tho WOLSEY sat with the other legate, yet to give an air of greater impartiality to the trial, it was only for form, as being joined with him in the commission: for CAMPEJIUS directed every thing, and WOLSEY acquiesced in his affected delays with a condescension that surprized every body. At last, on the twenty third of July, when nothing remained but to give sentence, and there was a great crowd of people to hear it given, they were much surprized to find CAMPEJIUS adjourn the court 'till the first day of October; pretending that as they sat there as part of the consistory of Rome, they must follow the rules of that court; which, from this time till October, were in vacation, and heard no causes. The dukes of NORFOLK and SUFFOLK who were in court, complained of this delay, and pressed the legates to give sentence. CAMPEJIUS insisted on the vacation, and that a sen-

tence, if they gave it, would be of no effect. WOLSEY knew it would be suspected that he understood this beforehand; and that it would be to no purpose for him to say, that he did not know, or could not help it; so he replied, that he acted only under the pope's authority, and that it was not in his power to proceed to sentence without knowing his holiness's pleasure. The duke of SUFFOLK swore with great emotion, "that he saw
 " it was true, what was commonly said, that never cardinal yet
 " did good in England;" and so all the temporal lords went away in a fury, leaving the legates, it may be presumed, and particularly WOLSEY, in no small perplexity. CAMPEJIUS had nothing to lose in England but the bishoprick of Salisbury, which the pope, or the emperor, could compensate the loss of very plentifully: but his colleague had much to apprehend, as he had much to lose; and the king having reproached him for the many delays which had been created and which the cardinal could not help, so he had reason now to expect a heavy storm upon his head. But the king, who had been in a chamber near adjoining to the court, and had heard all that passed, behaved with more temper than could possibly have been expected from a man of his impetuous humour.

We must rest the matter here in England at present, and cast our eyes abroad. As soon as the queen had made her appeal to the pope, she sent an account of the process to her nephews, protesting she would suffer even death itself before she would give up her marriage; and entreating their assistance that her appeal might be admitted, and the cause taken out of the hands of the legates in England. The emperor and his brother sent orders to their ambassadours at the court of Rome, to plie the pope incessantly for an avocation of the cause; and to assure him that they would look on a sentence against their aunt, as a dishonour to their family, which they would sooner lose all their dominions than not resent. On the other hand, the ambassadours of HENRY were not wanting. They shewed the pope it was his interest, that the legates should pass sentence, in order to throw off the envy and odium from himself; and as the emperor had prevailed so much by the terrors of a deposal on account of his holiness's being a bastard, they did not forget to suggest something of that kind in the name of HENRY if the pope should proceed to an avocation. But HENRY had no army then in Italy; and a threat-
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ning of that kind, with high words only, served rather to provoke and alienate the pope the more. Besides, an avocation from a delegated court, upon such reasons as were contained in the queen's appeal, in the course of law was very usual. But the real motives that wrought more on the pope, and which sat nearer his heart, than all other things in the world, was the treaty which at that time was just concluded with the emperor, by which his family were to be established in Florence. This treaty therefore being to be published very speedily, his holiness thought it necessary to avocate the queen's cause to Rome; lest if it was not done till after the publication of the peace with the emperor, it should be thought to have been one of the secret articles of the treaty. A weak precaution to wipe out, or prevent, such a suspicion! According to this resolution, the pope sent for the king's ambassadors, and told them that the process was now so far carried on in England, and the avocation was so earnestly pressed, that he could no longer deny it; for all the lawyers in Rome had told him, that it could not be refused in the common course of things, without the highest injustice to queen CATHARINE. The ambassadors then told him, that the king would certainly withdraw his allegiance from the apostolic see, and the whole kingdom would join him in it. The pope replied with many sighs and tears, that no body apprehended these evils better than he did; but he was in such a situation, that let his inclinations to serve the king be as great as they might, he was so surrounded by the emperor's forces it was impossible to refuse what he demanded. The truth is, these menaces had been often used; and if the king should fall off from his allegiance to the holy see, there was no doubt he would be joined by all the Lutheran princes, which would distract the church, encourage heresy, and endanger, if not destroy, the popedom; yet he comforted himself with the hopes, that as threatnings are not always intended to be made good and are used only to terrify, so the king of England, who had written against LUTHER and defended the holy see, would never do a thing of such ill repute notwithstanding he had a high spirit, as, because he could not be gratified with a divorce, to turn heretick with all his kingdom. The ambassadors, seeing the pope was resolved to grant the avocation, pressed him no farther against it; and only desired him to delay it, till they had wrote to his majesty and received his answer. But the peace with the emperor
being

being proclaimed in about a week after, the pope sent a messenger the next day to England with the avocation, and a letter to cardinal WOLSEY to excuse it.---Here is on one side a powerful monarch, pretending religion and a scruple of conscience, that he may be at liberty to gratify his passions: tho to gratify them he must break thro his faith and honour to a very deserving queen, who had lived with him almost twenty years without any blame, and must act in defiance of a power which he had always acknowledged, nay which he had contended for with zeal, upon his throne, in foreign courts, and with his pen all over Europe. On the other side here is a pope, under the sacred character of infallibility and of the representative of CHRIST, putting on the cloke of religion and the mask of piety, in order to cover transactions, for the aggrandisement of his family, which had no religion nor piety in them. This is an observation, it must be owned, which does no great honour to human nature, but which may contribute something towards mending the human mind.

THE

THE ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK X.

WHEN the brief came to the legates requiring them to proceed no further in the cause of his majesty's marriage, the king was on a progress in Northamptonshire: and a citation was sent thither requiring HENRY and his queen to appear at Rome in person or by their proxies. As soon as the king had notice of the messenger's arrival, he ordered GARDINER, then his secretary of state, to write to WOLSEY that they might declare their commission at an end by the pope's brief; but that he would not suffer such an indignity to his crown as to have the citation executed, nor should his subjects understand that he was cited out of the kingdom. This was the first step which HENRY took towards the diminution of the papal power: and it was generally expected, that the cardinal would immediately be made to feel the effects of the king's resentment. The queen and the emperor had looked upon him as their inveterate enemy; and as they had a great desire to ruin him, they caused it to be strongly reported, that he had secretly advised the pope to the avocation. It is very difficult to determine whether this was so; or whether the king, at that time, had any suspicion of the cardinal's double dealing. For nothing could be solicited with greater earnestness and assiduity than this affair of the divorce was by WOLSEY; and when he came to court with his colleague after their commission

mission was at an end, he was several times alone with the king, had his usual confidence and favour, and if he might make any conjecture from the behaviour of those to him who were most about his majesty, the cardinal had no reason to apprehend any disgrace. The mind of the king however was certainly much on the fret at that time: it was no difficult thing therefore to infuse suspicions into it, whether well grounded or not; and to the enemies which WOLSEY's insolence in so long an administration had created him, the young lady would probably join herself, who saw all her hopes of royalty blasted, if not from his betraying his master's interests, yet at least from serving him very ill. We find indeed in fact, that from this time she was his open and determined enemy; and no wonder. The wonder is that our historians, who have met with two or three of her letters to the cardinal before the other legate arrived, in which she expresses a great confidence in him and the utmost kindness, should be at a loss how to account for this change of conduct. She had all the reason in the world at that time to look upon the cardinal as her friend: he had never opposed the king's inclinations for her, nor behaved to her with any insolence: he had given the king an assurance, that the divorce should be brought about by his interest and management with the court of Rome, in order to make way for her: but she saw now that the divorce was as far off as it was at first, and not in any way of being brought about at all: she was a witness of the cardinal's great power in England; which, as she knew nothing of the reasons of state which prevailed at Rome, might lead her naturally to imagine, that he could do what he pleased likewise there: and the figure that he made at home during the process, in giving place to the other legate, and permitting him to direct every thing without any opposition, might make her suspect that he had at least changed his mind. These reflections will account for her enmity now to WOLSEY, notwithstanding any former kindness; and that she should look upon him as an enemy who deserved all her vengeance.

Whilst the king was on his progress, and full of perplexity what course next to take, in order to rid himself of the queen, and to gratify his passion for Miss BOLEYN, his secretary GARDINER and FOX his almoner lay one night at the house of a gentleman to whose sons DR. CRANMER was then tutor. The conversation

sation after supper turning upon the divorce, for which the DR. had been an advocate and made many converts at Cambridge, he then first proposed, our historians say, to consult the foreign divines and universities. I have already taken notice of this mistake; and that this expedient was first proposed, according to CAVENDISH, at a meeting of the bishops and divines summoned by WOLSEY two years before; and the opinion of the university of Orleans given at length by bishop BURNET, was dated five months before the ministers saw CRANMER in this progress. The opinions of all the other universities abroad, as well as of our own at home, it must be owned indeed are taken in the following year: and therefore to reconcile these accounts which are so different, I apprehend it is necessary we should suppose, that tho such an expedient was proposed by the bishops at the time CAVENDISH mentions, yet very little progress having been made in it, that CRANMER might suggest the execution of it; and, which was no part of the former project, the publishing these opinions of the several universities of Europe, against which the pope would scarcely venture to pass sentence. If this conjecture, which I have founded upon fact, will not clear the difficulty, the reader must find a solution for himself: I know of none beside. The latter part of the scheme, and without which the other was of little use, was certainly new; and the king was so struck with it, when his ministers communicated it to him, that he shewed the joy it gave him by a coarse expression about CRANMER, "that he had got the right sowe by the ear." Upon the report of this advice, and the great zeal which he had shewn for the king's cause at Cambridge, his majesty sent for him immediately up to court; where he explained the advice he gave, with so much good sense and candour, as got him the favour and confidence of the king beyond all the churchmen that were about him. But we must leave this rising favourite for the present, and turn to the disgrace of cardinal WOLSEY.

The king being more and more enflamed with a desire to possess the object of his love, and attributing it principally, if not wholly, to the cardinal, that this great affair of the divorce, which above all others he had most at heart, had not terminated more happily, was now so much alienated from this minister, that it was become an easy thing for his enemies to pull him down. Accordingly on the first day of the following term, the attorney
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general

general filed an information against the cardinal on the statute of Premunire; to which his answer was, on the promise of some noblemen that the king would take order for the maintenance of his estate, that he confessed the indictment, but was ignorant of the statute which was grown obsolete, and submitted himself to the king's mercy. He was hereupon declared, according to the penalties of that statute, out of the protection of the law, his goods and chattels forfeited to the king, and his person liable to an imprisonment. Whilst this process was carrying on in the king's bench by the attorney general, the cardinal went with his accustomed pomp to the court of chancery: and it being thought very indecent, that one who was under terms of conviction in the other court, should administer the highest office in the kingdom, the dukes of NORFOLK and SUFFOLK were sent by his majesty for the great seal. But the cardinal observing that they had only a verbal order, and that the office was given him by letters patent for term of life, refused to deliver it up: however "as an ancient office must be granted as it has been accustomed," says my lord COKE, the patent could not be legal; and when the two dukes attended him with a written order the next day from the king, the cardinal put the seal into their hands. This was no sooner done, than the attorney general preferred another bill of indictment upon the same statute, to which WOLSEY pleaded as before. He was then commanded to leave his house at Whitehall, which was then the town house of the see of York, and to repair to Asher which belonged to him as bishop of Winchester: and that the reader may form an idea of the wealth, and magnificence of this prelate, which might be otherwise perhaps incredible, I shall so far venture to digress as to mention the furniture which CAVENDISH recites at large, and which was seized to the king's use. The hangings of the gallery on one side, were cloth of gold, and cloth of silver, and rich cloth of bodkin of divers colours; and upon the several tables in it, were whole pieces of silk, of velvet, sattins, taffaties, grograms, scarlets, and many rich commodities with a thousand pieces of fine holland. On the other side of the gallery were hanged the richest suits of copes that could be got for his colleges: and in two chambers adjoining, were two broad and long tables, on which was set such a quantity of plate of all sorts, as was scarcely to be believed, a great part of which was wholly gold.

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When he was leaving his house and all his treasure, he said to one of his officers, "altho it hath pleased the king to take my
 " house ready furnished for his pleasure at this time, yet all the
 " world should know I have nothing but it is of right for him,
 " and of him I received all that I have. It is therefore conve-
 " nient and reason to render the same to him again." The king
 however had either a kind remembrance of his faithful services,
 or a remorse for punishing him with so much rigour, for a crime
 which no body questioned till his disgrace: and therefore when
 he was on the road to Asher, his majesty sent him a message not
 to give way to any desponding thoughts, for he was as much in
 his favour as ever; and that it was more at the instigation of other
 persons, than from any motive of anger and resentment in himself,
 that he had proceeded so far against him. Upon this message, he was
 so far transported out of himself, as to alight instantly from his mule,
 and kneeling down in the dirt, to hold up his hands to heaven in an
 extasy of joy. Before I go any further, let me desire the reader to
 take notice of this glaring instance of the vanity of all human
 greatness. See here a prince of the church and an archbishop, an
 able minister, whose interest had in a manner given him the whole
 direction of affairs in the court of England for twenty years,
 and in some degree made him formidable in all the courts of
 Europe; see this man disgraced, stripped of all his grandeur,
 dejected so much at it, as from a ray of hope that he should be
 restored, to prostrate himself, and his dignity of cardinal and
 archbishop, in the dirt, upon his knees! What are we to think
 of this abject state of the soul of such a man? May we not
 consider it as a judicial act of providence, to humble a heart too
 much elated with prosperity and success? Unhappy WOLSEY!
 hadst thou served thy maker, according to thy own expression,
 with but half that assiduity which thou didst thy prince, he would
 not have withdrawn himself from thee in an evil hour, and left
 thee only to the consolation which thou couldst find within thy-
 self! But to proceed.

It was impossible for HENRY not to know, that notwithstanding
 the cardinal had by the rigour of the law incurred the Pre-
 munire, yet his majesty had given him letters patent for what he
 had done; and that he had acted as legate even by the king's
 own desire. His majesty therefore had some relentings, and in
 a few weeks after he was sent to Asher, took WOLSEY into his

protection, restored him the temporalities of the see of York, and a pension out of Winchester which he held in commendam, with as much money, plate and goods as were worth at that time above six thousand pounds. His misfortunes however had so ill an effect upon his health, that he was reported by his physician to be at Christmas following in great danger. The king then, it is plain, did not intend to crush him quite; and in great anxiety for his recovery, gave the physician a ring from his own finger, which had his majesty's picture on a ruby, as a present to the cardinal with this message, "that he was not in his heart offended with him for any thing." At the same time his majesty very earnestly solicited the lady ANN BOLEYN, whose father was now earl of WILTSHIRE, to send the cardinal a token; and taking a tablet of gold that hung by her side, she gave it to the doctor for WOLSEY in a very obliging manner. But his enemies had gone too far to permit a man of his parts and temper to be restored again to favour. Therefore about a month after the king had taken the cardinal into his protection, a parliament having been summoned, the lords of the council exhibited articles of impeachment against him in the house of lords; complaining of his abuse of the legatine power contrary to the oath he had taken when he was admitted to make use of it; of his unjust proceedings as lord chancellor; of making himself, on several occasions, equal to the king; of issuing orders of moment without his majesty's knowledge; of acting arbitrarily, as tho he had been the monarch, and not the minister; in short of his lewdness, insolence, and ambition, with many other things that were brought to defame, as well as destroy him. These articles were agreed to with little opposition in the house of lords; where the cardinal had many enemies, and very few friends that could do him good. But when they were sent to the house of commons, his secretary CROMWELL, for whom an election had been procured by the cardinal's means, a man of no learning but of good natural parts and elocution, defended his master so well, that the charge against him came to nothing. The king sent the cardinal frequent assurances of his favour, and after he was acquitted in parliament, passed a pardon for him which was learnedly and largely penned. These frequent returns of affection in his majesty for his old minister alarmed the enemies of WOLSEY not a little; lest the king should at last lay aside his resentment, and recall him. The place of his residence in Surry, might either incline the king

king to visit him, or give an opportunity for his access to court: it was therefore proposed in council, that he should remove to his province in the north, in order to take care of his diocese, and to compose some animosities which had arisen there; or it may be till they could find an opportunity to strike him home. In the mean time let us turn to those affairs which more nearly concerned the church.

With the change of this great minister who directed almost every thing, there followed a change of councils in the cabinet: and the king was advised to hold a parliament, which might establish a good understanding between him and his people, in order to enable him to withstand the better the emperor and the pope. The use of parliaments had been discontinued for seven years by the advice of WOLSEY; and the calling one upon his disgrace, would convince the people that the king was not in fault, and would help very much to throw the blame of every thing that had been done amiss on that imperious minister. The doctrine of LUTHER coming into England, before the followers of WICKLIFF were extirpated, it had by this time made so great a progress, tho without any noise, into many parts of the kingdom, that even illiterate people began to examine whether the errors that were then disputed, were not really errors in the doctrine and government of the church: and this alone, as it was the first step, so it was a great and a bold advance towards the reformation which afterwards took place. But as on one side, the heads of the party for a reformation, out of an affectation of glory, or to get large stipends from their followers for revealing a new and readier way to heaven, taught uncharitable and contentious doctrines; so the leading men in the church, on the other side, would either retract nothing because of their interest, or lest an innovation might unsettle the grounds of religion which were then received. The error on both sides was visible and pernicious: and thus whilst the books and persons of the reformers were publicly burnt, their followers in revenge attacked the whole ecclesiastical order. The king being informed of these remonstrances, recommended an examination into the abuses of the clergy to the house of commons: the commons, being many of them well inclined to the new doctrines, proceeded with great vigour against pluralities, non-residence, exactions for mortuaries, and probates of wills, and against the farming of lands by churchmen; not without
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many severe and cutting reflections on the vices and corruptions which reigned amongst the clergy. When the bills were sent up to the house of lords, a great opposition was made to them by the bishops; and the bishop of ROCHESTER particularly reflected on the commons for attempting thus to bring down the church; desiring them to consider the miserable state to which Bohemia was reduced by heresy, and concluding his speech with this expression, "that all this was for want of faith." A report of this reflexion having been made to some of the commons, they sent their speaker with thirty members to complain to the king; alledging that the bishop had fixed an high imputation on the whole kingdom, when the representatives of the commons were accused, as tho they were infidels and heathens. Bishop FISHER excused himself; and said he meant it of Bohemia that all the disturbance flowed from want of faith, without any intention to reflect on the house of commons: and this explanation was sent to the house, by the king's order, by the treasurer of his household. The clergy without doors were much set against the bills; and said that these were the ordinary beginnings of heresies, to complain of abuses, and pretend reformation, on purpose to bring the clergy into disgrace. The king however used his influence in favour of the bills; and in the end they passed the house of lords, and had the royal assent. These are the acts which to this day restrain the pluralities, and regulate the non-residence, of the English clergy: and in the general they are calculated, tho they may be much amended, for the interest of religion and the good of the church.

The great business of the parliament being at an end, the king turned his thoughts to his great affair, as it was at that time called; and not improperly. The first step he took, was to order CRANMER to write a book, in support of his opinion against the marriage; and to confirm it with all the authority that he could from scripture and the canons. He sent next his agents into Italy, France, and Germany, to Oxford, and Cambridge, as I have already mentioned, in order to procure the decrees of the universities, and the judgment of the ablest canonists and divines. Besides this, the earl of WILTSHIRE was joined with CRANMER and some others in an embassy to the pope, in which they expostulated with him very roundly in the name of HENRY; insisting on the prerogative of the crown of England, and that
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their master would not permit any citation to be made of him to a foreign court, and therefore would not consent that his cause should be tried at Rome. To this his holiness replied, that the queen's solicitor had pressed him very much to proceed in the citation, that her marriage being further examined might receive a new confirmation, and because the king had withdrawn himself from her: but yet if his majesty did not go further and would not innovate in religion, his holiness was content to let the matter rest; and thus ended their negotiation. But as soon as the king had received the determinations of the universities and learned men in his favour, he resolved to make a new attempt upon the pope. To this end he procured a letter to his holiness, signed by eight and forty lords spiritual and temporal, two and twenty abbots, and eleven commoners who were most of them of the king's household; acquainting him, "that his majesty's cause, in the opinion of the learned men and universities of England, France, and Italy, was now declared to be just, and therefore that he ought to confirm their judgment; especially as it related to a king, who by his authority, and his pen, had supported the apostolic see, and the catholic faith; and by whose marriage with another wife, in order to have issue, a great deal of mischief to the nation might be prevented. In conclusion they give his holiness to understand, that if he still refused to annul his majesty's present marriage, they should apprehend themselves to be abandoned by the pope, and must seek for other remedies, which it was in his power to prevent." His holiness replied to this, "that the obligations which the king of England had laid upon himself and the apostolic see, were greater than they were represented in this letter, and that he was so far from denying his majesty justice, that he had been often accused of being too partial; that he had delayed admitting the queen's appeal, 'till all the cardinals had unanimously agreed, that it must be granted, and the cause avocated to Rome; and that the delay since that time arose solely from the king himself: that the conclusions of the universities and learned men had not been communicated to him by the king's ambassadors, but he had seen very important things for the other side; and therefore could not precipitate a sentence of such importance, till all things were fully heard: that their threatening as they did to seek other remedies was neither agreeable to their wisdom nor religion, and a measure which

he knew the king would never like ; for whom he was very desirous to do every thing that he could without offending God."

A little before the receipt of this letter, his envoy at Rome having informed his majesty, that he had nothing to expect from thence but a bull in favour of the queen, or WOLSEY, whose disgrace was looked upon with an evil eye, the king issued a proclamation ; forbidding any one to purchase any thing from the court of Rome, or elsewhere, or to publish or divulge any thing purchased within this year passed, or to be hereafter purchased, in prejudice of his authority, or the prerogative royal. He then ordered his principal canonists and divines, to make a transcript out of the fathers and councils which condemned the marriage of a brother's wife ; and to publish this in latin and english, with the determinations of the universities that his agents had procured. In the mean time, as a further mortification to the see of Rome, and perhaps for some other reasons, it was pressed by the king's council, and assented to by the king, to strike WOLSEY home. From the time of his going into Yorkshire about six months before, he had affected to be extremely popular ; and tho he fell far short of his usual state and magnificence, yet he had no less than an hundred and sixty in his retinue, and three hundred workmen employed every day at Caywood castle belonging to the archbishoprick. Whether his courting the favour and affections of the people by a specious shew of humility and condescension, so contrary to his natural temper, might give offence and jealousy to his enemies ; or whether the king thought that his still retaining so much pomp and grandeur was very unbecoming a prelate in disgrace ; whether his enemies taking advantage of the distance he was at, and of his being unable to refute their calumny, laid fresh crimes to his charge ; or whether the king himself was pushed to this resentment from something which the cardinal had said of him since his fall to the duke of NORFOLK, of which his majesty complained to CROMWELL ; which of these was the true reason, or whether they might not all combine for crushing him, it is impossible to determine. But whilst he was preparing for a magnificent installment in his cathedral, concluding without doubt that he had nothing more to fear, the earl of NORTHUMBERLAND arrested him for high treason. The cardinal was so surprized and struck with the earl's expression, that he stood

stood speechless for some time: but at last, recovering himself a little, he demanded a sight of the warrant, without which, he said, he would not obey; adding further, that he was a cardinal of Rome, and exempt from the jurisdiction of all princes. At this instant, SIR WAL. WALSH coming in to the room, who had arrested his physician, and confirming what the earl had said; the cardinal knowing the knight to belong to the king's privy chamber, yielded himself his prisoner without any more words. After giving him a proper time to prepare for his journey, he was brought to the earl of SHREWSBURY's, where he staid a fortnight, and received many gracious assurances from the king; who had commanded that he should be kindly used. At the end of the fortnight, he was taken ill with a cholick and dysentery; but proceeding on his journey under the care of the constable of the tower, he reached as far as Leicester abbey, where he died. CAVENDISH his gentleman usher, who had lived many years with him in that post, and who attended constantly upon him all thro his illness, speaking of the effects of his disorder, says, "it was " apparent that he had poisoned himself." Why this testimony of an eye witness, who says all for his master that he possibly can consistently with truth, is to be made no account of, and the credit of other historians, who had no opportunity of knowing the fact, is to be preferred before it, I can't conceive: but such is the evident partiality of our later writers, that they either suppress this account of CAVENDISH, or deny the fact. MR. COLLIER indeed reproaches Fox with being the author of this charge of poison, and even goes so far as to say, "that CAVENDISH, " who attended the cardinal, gives no hint of any such suspi- " cion:" whereas CAVENDISH is the historian from whom Fox takes his account; and who positively relates in the words I have before given, that the cardinal sent himself out of the world. Could MR. COLLIER say this of CAVENDISH without reading him? or, could he read him, and not see, that he had given this account? Let the reader determine. Whether the cardinal was conscious of having taken a part at last in the business of the divorce against the king, and suspected that his enemies had made a discovery of his secret practises, or whether it was only the natural effect of his ill fortune upon his temper, it is certain that he was dejected from the time of his arrest in a manner which exceeded all conception: and notwithstanding the many gracious assurances of the king's favour, both by the earl of SHREWSBURY
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and the constable of the tower, yet it was impossible to get the better of this dejection. This single circumstance is sufficient to ballance the reasoning of DR. FIDDES, and MR. COLLIER, against the probability of the fact related by CAVENDISH. But what signifies reasoning against a positive testimony; and the testimony of a writer, whose fidelity, says FIDDES, “ may be depended upon, “ concerning things which he relates upon his personal knowledge, “ or which fell more directly within the compass of his own observation?” After this character of CAVENDISH, DR. FIDDES should have been of all men the last, to combat a fact of this kind, related by that writer in such explicit terms. I won’t conceal indeed, that besides denying the fact with reasoning, the doctor endeavours to destroy the testimony, by saying, “ that it “ is probable the expression ought to be taken in a softer sense “ than the words strictly import; and that he only intended by “ it, that he was poisoned by taking something prepared for him “ by other hands.” The common sense of the reader must revolt, I think, at this attempt of imposing upon the world: for there can be no meaning in words, if an express assertion, that it was apparent a man had poisoned himself, can by any sort of construction be supposed to mean, that he was poisoned by others. But this shews us to what pitiful and mean evasions men of fine parts and learning reduce themselves, when they suffer attachments to party to run away with their understandings against the plain force of truth. This reflection is of use to readers as well as writers, and for the sake of this reflection only it is, that I have taken this notice of the partiality of MR. COLLIER and DR. FIDDES. It was a particular of no moment, any otherwise than it related to the greatest ecclesiastick that has been ever seen in England; and of whom I thought myself obliged, for that reason, to give a minute account.

There are few characters in our history which it is so difficult to draw, with a probability of approbation, as the character of cardinal WOLSEY; almost all our historians speaking of him in terms of the severest reproach or the highest praises. I shall however do in this case, what I have hitherto done in all the characters which I have drawn; that is, I shall have no regard to what has been said before, by one historian, or another: I shall take my idea of him only from the facts which are well supported that relate entirely to him, or in which he bore a part; and from

this idea I shall give the reader his character, with all the impartiality that a fair mind can entertain. If we consider the low original of this famous cardinal, it may be said of him I believe with the greatest truth, that he was the vainest and most ambitious of all mortals. The luxury in which he lived, and the state and grandeur which he affected in his family and his train, having no less than eight hundred domesticks, and amongst these many lords and knights as well as private gentlemen, prove the vanity of his disposition beyond any parallel. He was not only served by bishops and abbots in performing divine offices, with the same ceremonies as are used by the popes, but he had dukes and earls when he washed to give him the water and the towel. One would have thought that the posts of an archbishop, a chancellor, a cardinal, and a legate, with revenues equal to if not exceeding those of the crown, and above all the post of prime minister, in which he had an absolute ascendant over his own sovereign, and no little influence in the courts of all the princes of Europe, should have satisfied the ambition of any mortal, especially of any mortal, whose original was no higher than that of WOLSEY'S. But his ambition was boundless, and he made several efforts, with some criminal circumstances, towards the pope-dom; which I doubt he thirsted after, nor for the sake of righteousness, nor for an opportunity of promoting the glory of God and the interest of religion, but to promote his own honour, and to gratify a passion for grandeur and dominion which was ungovernable and excessive. As his abilities were equal to those of the greatest men of his time in England, so his application to business, which was infinite and not to be wearied, gave him a superiority to them all. But with his vanity and ambition, he had a natural dignity it seems of mien and manner, which gave him the ascendant over every body; and even high spirited and positive as the king was, his majesty himself was frequently overborne with this ascendancy in the cardinal. The quality however for which he seems to deserve the most applause, was the vastness of his mind; in forming designs of such a noble and extensive nature, as would have been worthy of the wisdom and benevolence of a whole nation; and in employing the greatest part of his wealth in carrying them into execution. The colleges which he built, and the public lectures which he founded, in mathematics and greek, in theology and civil law, in medicine and philosophy, in rhetorick and humanity, are acts of munificence

which will always redound to his honour, and give him in this respect a character superior to all the ecclesiasticks in the English history. He does not appear to have had a mind that was capable of those narrow selfish views, which the world have attributed to many churchmen of the first rank in accumulating riches: and indeed it cannot be dissembled, without a prejudice to truth that would be unpardonable, that the revenues of the greatest dignities in the church, are much oftener made use of to raise and aggrandize a family, at any rate, than employed in the church's service. Some of the greatest ecclesiasticks have not scrupled to appropriate the powers and privileges they have been endowed with, not to countenance and support men of merit and learning, but to enrich their relations, whether deserving or not; or to serve a secular design altogether foreign to the business of religion. Whatever might have been the personal failings of cardinal WOLSEY in other respects, his greatness of mind in laying out his wealth in his life time in order to advance the interests of learning and religion, not only does him honour with posterity, but leaves an example of instruction to the rich ecclesiasticks of the church of England. I am sorry there is not another particular in his conduct, as a churchman, for which he may be commended. But except his intention of reforming the inferior clergy, we see nothing that he did as an ecclesiastick till he fell into disgrace; when he performed the duties of an archbishop with great decorum and popularity. He was formed by inclination, as well as capacity, for public business; and his whole soul was in it. We are told however by CAVENDISH, that notwithstanding the multiplicity of affairs wherewith the cardinal was taken up, and all the pageantry which he was surrounded with in his several offices, yet he never omitted at the usual hours to perform his devotions regularly, public and private, after a pious manner. Whatever objections were made to his arbitrary measures as a minister of state, in which he certainly strained his authority many times too far, yet it is on all hands allowed, that in his post of lord chancellor he had an inflexible regard to right and justice. Unaccountable as it is, yet it is certain, that the reigning passion of this great man's heart was vanity; and his greediness of honours and riches, his revenge and pride, were only subservient to the views which his infinite vanity every day suggested. In short he gratified it at last to that immeasurable degree, that it made him appear little amidst all his greatness: in a layman it would

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have been ridiculous, in an ecclesiastick it was abominable. He could have no alliances, thro the obscurity of his birth, with any of the great men of the kingdom: and therefore as he stood single and unsupported, it was his chief care for a while to give no offence to any of them, till he had made himself sure of the king's affection: he then cleared the court of all but his own creatures; and his majesty having no body to consult upon all occasions but the favourite, no body else had any weight or consideration with him. The zeal and assiduity with which he served the king, were to be equalled by nothing, but the obsequiousness and submission which he shewed to his majesty's commands upon all occasions: and by these alone he preserved his power over a wayward opinionated prince so many years without a rival. It has been affirmed by many historians, that the cardinal never gave the king any advice relating to foreign affairs, without a view to his own interest: but this is the effect of prejudice and partiality. It may be true perhaps that he had the address to avail himself of most of the measures which HENRY pursued abroad: and he was honest enough to acquaint his majesty with the presents and pensions which he received from foreign courts, which the king was not displeased with. But if we compare the figure which HENRY made, during WOLSEY's administration, with what it was after the fall and death of that minister, we must believe him to have been an able and a faithful counsellor. It appears from several instructions that he sent to the English ministers, about the king's affairs abroad, and about his own election to the popedom, that he had not tied himself up very strictly to the rules of virtue: and perhaps it is no injustice to him to say, that he was determined at all events to keep his power about the king. Thus whatever were his own sentiments of the king's divorce, and there are some strong reasons to suspect that his opinion lay the other way, yet he pushed it with all the ardour that the king could wish, consistently with his attachment to the papal power. How far he would have laid aside even this attachment, if he had lived, and continued in his credit and power with the king, it is impossible to determine. He was enraged to the last degree against the emperour, for deceiving him twice about his advancement to the popedom; which as it was the highest point of honour he could arrive at to gratify his vanity, fate above all other things next his heart. But it does not appear, that in order to be revenged of that monarch, he projected

projected this divorce of his aunt. The queen indeed charged him with being the author of this project to his face, but not wholly for the sake of vengeance on the emperor: she tells him “that because she could not away with his monstrous pride, excessive riot, intolerable oppression, and whoredom, therefore she now suffered, and was persecuted by him.” The queen however might be deceived in her suspicions of the cardinal’s advising the king to this divorce; and if his majesty’s solemn testimony in open court is to be credited, she certainly was deceived in that suspicion. Her charge against him for licentiousness and oppression, must be founded, we may presume, upon facts of notoriety, in which she could not be mistaken: and indeed there want not some very flagrant proofs of these crimes against WOLSEY, in the historians who make it their business to write his panegyrick. Whatever may be the boasted measures abroad that he advised the king to, it is certain that he put him upon the most illegal, oppressive and arbitrary ones at home. To his sole advice it was owing, that parliaments were discontinued; that the subsidy to be raised in four years was demanded in one; with many other particular acts of tyranny too tedious to relate. In order to confirm the general character which I have here given the reader of this famous ecclesiastick, the greatest in the known world, the popes excepted, let us consider him in every particular office which he sustained: As a bishop he did nothing at all, ’till within six months of his death, tho he held several sees at the same time for many years in his own right, and farmed three others of Italian prelates at a small annual rent. Whatever might be his merit and abilities, and whatever motives he might have to desire so much wealth out of the church, yet these pluralities were indefensible. He received the revenues of several bishopricks, to the scandal of religion and the offence of many people, to the detriment of men of merit and learning, who might otherwise have enjoyed them, without ever affording his presence or personal interposition to preserve the order and discipline necessary to the church. There is no excuse to be made for this neglect of his duty; neither does his applying the revenues of the ecclesiastical patrimony to the service of the church, tho a noble end and design in itself, authorize any such unjust and irregular possession of so many preferments. To the most notorious violation of his trust and duty as a bishop, we must add his licentiousness, which was irreconcilable to that sacred character; and of which, notwithstanding

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withstanding his devotion, he gave flagrant proofs every day. As a lord chancellor, it must be owned, that his conduct was unexceptionable. As a minister of state, he put in practise the most tyrannical principles which he infused into the king; and by teaching him to levy money by benevolences and loans, and to govern without a parliament, he in some measure subverted the constitution, and destroyed the harmony which it was his duty to encourage between his majesty and his people. As a cardinal we can say nothing, because it was a post at that time not acknowledged in the law of England. As a legate for which he had a licence from the king, he conferred all the benefices in England on his creatures, without any sort of regard to the right of patronage; and harraressed the clergy with most unheard of rigour. The jurisdiction of his court extended to all the actions of life which conscience was concerned in; and under the colour of reforming the manners of the people, the judge of his court, tho himself accused of perjury, committed such extortion, rapine, and oppression, as at last brought a severe reprimand upon the cardinal from the king. We may say then, I think, of WOLSEY upon the whole, that he was a sorry churchman, an unrighteous prelate, an upright chancellor, an arbitrary and oppressive minister, and a cruel imperious legate; a man of generosity, of vast designs, of immense ambition, and of more vanity than ever yet possessed the heart of any other mortal: in short, as no man besides himself ever rose to such a height of power and greatness with so few good qualities, so no other minister besides cardinal WOLSEY ever had such a fall with fewer crimes laid to his charge. He was unworthy of the former, and did not deserve the latter. Let us now return to the history.

I have already observed, that the king, being tired out with the chicanery of the court of Rome in the business of his divorce, had ordered an abstract to be made of all the reasons and authorities of the ancient fathers, as well as of the universities of Christendom, who had determined the question relating to the marriage in his majesty's favour. I shall enter no farther into the particulars of this great dispute, than to give the reader a view of the principal arguments on each side. The whole of what was said in behalf of the king's divorce was founded on the Levitical law, forbidding a man to marry his brother's wife; which by the tradition of the church, the only sure expounder of the

scriptures, had been still looked on as moral, and binding to Christians as well as Jews. Many authorities were cited in support of this opinion; and it was not forgotten that WICKLIFF had taught the contrary among his heretical followers. But as the dispensation from Rome had given a seeming validity to the king's marriage, it was proved by many testimonies ancient and modern, that the pope had no power to dispense with the laws of God: and some of them went further, and said, that the fullness of power with which the pope was vested, extended only for edification to the pastoral care, and that he could not dispense with the laws of the church. On the other side it was argued, that the prohibitions in Leviticus were no parts of the moral law; since MOSES had commanded in another place, that a man should marry his brother's widow who had no children. Here was no other obligation from hence on Christians, but what arose from the laws of the church, which the pope had at all times been allowed to dispense with, if not with the laws of God. His holiness was likewise the proper judge and expounder of the parts of scripture which were doubtful: and as pope JULIUS had granted this dispensation for weighty reasons, and the marriage had stood uncontroverted above twenty years, it was a matter of scandal to bring it now under debate, and might be attended with pernicious consequences. These were the principal points on which the reasoning of both sides of this great question turned. The world was much divided in their sentiments of the cause; and both sides, as usual, thought themselves clear and well supported. The king in all outward appearance carried it kindly to the queen; and employed every body that had any credit with her to persuade her to withdraw her appeal, and to submit the matter to a decision of four prelates and four temporal lords in England: but her majesty persisted in justifying her marriage, and would hearken to no proposition to divert the determination of it at Rome.

The king finding his subjects much more inclined to throw off the papal yoke than he had imagined, and having nothing to fear from any prince in Europe, was resolved to get his marriage set aside in parliament and convocation, and then the pope might use his pleasure. Accordingly in the next session, the determination of the universities, and the books written on his side by foreigners, were brought into the house of lords; where they

were left upon the table to be read and considered. About two months afterwards, the lord chancellor, attended by twelve of the house of peers, carried down to the house of commons the original papers with the seals of the universities which had decreed against the marriage; and which SIR BRIAN TUKE translated, and red in English. About an hundred books written by canonists and divines in favour of the divorce were then produced; and the lord chancellor desired they would report in their several countries what they had heard and seen: he assured them that the king had desired to have his marriage set aside, not out of any dishonest ends and for his will and pleasure, as it was without doors suggested, but for the discharge of his conscience, and the security of the succession to his crown and kingdom. At the same time, the case was laid before the convocation; where after several days debate it was at last determined by a vast majority, that such a marriage as the king had entered into with CATHARINE was prohibited by the law of GOD, and above the pope's dispensing power. The king was very sensible that the greatest difficulty which he should meet with in the affair of his divorce would be from the clergy: in order therefore to keep them within bounds, and to lessen their credit amongst the people, an indictment was lodged in the king's bench against all the clergy of England, on the statutes of Provisors and Premunire, in acknowledging and supporting the abuse of the legatine power of cardinal WOLSEY. The reader must remember, that an account has been already given of these statutes; which, being neither repealed, nor put in force, during the pope's usurpations, lay neglected among the records. The cardinal having exercised his legatine authority in things contrary to these statutes, tho' apparently with the king's connivance and consent, and indeed with his licence in letters patent, so the clergy who had all submitted to the abuse of this authority by some act or other, were involved in his offence; and like him, put out of the protection of the king, and liable to the other penalties of the statute. Tyrannical and unjust as this proceeding was, it was in vain to urge, that the error was public and allowed; and that if they had not submitted to the legatine power, they must have been ruined. The laws, it was pretended, were still in force, and their ignorance of them was no excuse: however, since the violation of them was so general, the king was willing upon their submission, and a reasonable composition, to grant them a pardon. The clergy, seeing no resource now in
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the papal power against their kings, as there had been in former times, and finding the affections of the laity alienated much from the church since the days of WICKLIFF, resolved in the convocation of the province of Canterbury to give his majesty the sum of an hundred thousand pounds. In the instrument by which this grant was made, they flourish a great while upon his most extraordinary merit in the services he had done the universal church, by his arms and studies; and particularly against the Lutherans who had conspired to destroy the church and clergy of England: wherefore they acknowledge him not only the sole protector and supreme lord, but as far as it was agreeable to the law of CHRIST, the supreme head of the church; and beseech him to grant the whole body of the clergy a general pardon for all their offences against the penal laws and statutes of this kingdom, and particularly against those of provisors and premunire. It is not improbable, that some of the leading churchmen in the king's interest who had the penning of this instrument, had a mind to take this opportunity of giving a title to his majesty, which might abate the pretensions of the pope, and make his holiness's authority in the church of England useless. There were those however in the convocation, who would not suffer the clause, acknowledging the king supreme head of the church, to pass without a limitation: the article, they said, was couched in such general terms, that they were afraid it might be misunderstood in future ages, and interpreted to an ungodly sense; and were therefore for razing them out of the grant. But those who were in the secret, pretending that it could not be withdrawn by a formal resolution without offending the king, and perhaps giving him occasion to refuse their pardon, many warm debates ensued, and the convocation was adjourned to the next day. The next day some of the king's counsel came with CROMWELL, who had been secretary to WOLSEY and was now a rising favourite with the king, and used many arguments with the convocation to persuade them to pass the instrument, with that acknowledgment of the supremacy. After a good deal of debate, and with a limitation "as far as it was consistent with the law of CHRIST," to which HENRY gave his consent, the clause was voted. When the instrument was sealed, and presented to the king, he graciously accepted the noble grant they had made him, and the new title given in it; of which he afterwards made a good use against the pope. The convocation of the province of York stuck a little longer

longer upon this title, and sent their reasons to the king why they could not acknowledge him as supreme head of the church: his majesty wrote a long and laboured answer to their objections, and in the end they complied; granting a sum of eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds, to indemnify them against the penalties they had incurred, by offending against the statutes of provisors and premunire. The king having thus received satisfaction from the clergy, a pardon was granted to them in very ample form: but when it was brought into the house of commons in order to have the sanction of parliament, the house, not finding themselves included in it, sent their speaker and some of their members to the king, praying that the commons might be included in the pardon which he had granted to his spiritual subjects. The king was much offended at this proceeding, and acquainted them that they must not think to restrain his mercy, nor to force it; that he could have granted a pardon to the clergy under his great seal without the assent of parliament; but however, that he should consider and be well advised before he granted the pardon they had prescribed, lest he should seem compelled to it: the commons did not expect such an ungracious answer; and CROMWELL, who had been educated under WOLSEY and had great weight with the king, bore the blame of it with many: they did not care however to stir up the wrath of his majesty too much, whom they knew to be obstinate and self-willed, and therefore the bill with the pardon of the ecclesiasticks met with no more opposition. HENRY, notwithstanding this haughty answer, seeing the compliance of the commons, and having no mind to quarrel with them at this juncture, soon after sent a bill himself to the house of lords, with a pardon for all his temporal subjects of their offences against the statutes of provisors and premunire; which was received with great thanks and pleasure.

When the session of parliament was over, the king having got the decisions of the learned, both at home and abroad, on his side of the question relating to the marriage, sent some of the lords of the council to acquaint the queen with it, and to persuade her to depart from her appeal. But they could not prevail. She told the lords when they pressed her to it, that she wished the king a quiet conscience, but that she was his lawful wife, and would abide by it, till the court of Rome should declare the contrary. The king was observed at this time to be very melancholy,

lancholy, and to use no sort of diversions; nor had he lately seen the queen, or received any tokens from her. But finding upon the last attempt that her majesty was inflexible, she was desired now to choose one of the king's manors to live at, where she might be supported as princess of Wales at a distance from the court: to which she replied, that to whatever place she was removed, nothing could remove her from being the king's wife; and after this HENRY never saw her more. About this time, a complaint having been made by the bishops and clergy, that the books of the new testament had been erroneously translated by TINDAL and some others, in the prefaces to which there were many things liable to exception, the king commanded the translations to be called in and prohibited, and a new one to be made which he should peruse himself, and allow the use of to his people when he saw convenient. This was a large and a visible step to the reformation, which the prelates and clergy did not intend, nor approve of. But tho HENRY was determined to throw off the papal yoke, and would not permit his subjects to be defrauded of the word of God, under any pretence or difficulty whatever, yet to shew that he had no design against the fundamentals of religion, he commanded the laws against hereticks to be executed with the utmost rigour. The prelates and men of learning were ordered to examine the books of WICKLIFF and LUTHER and their followers, and to point out the errors contained in them: nor was this all the zeal which the king shewed against heresy: A monk, a civilian, and a gentleman of the law, were tried for their opinions in religion, and being convicted of heresy were given over to the secular power, and cruelly burnt. At the same time, there were many people brought into the bishop's courts, some for teaching their children the LORD's prayer in English, some for reading the forbidden books, and others for harbouring the new preachers; some for speaking against pilgrimages and the worship of images, some for not coming to sacrament and confession, and others for speaking against the vices of the clergy. Most of these were simple and illiterate people, upon whom the terror of the bishop's courts, of a prison, and at last a faggot, wrought such an effect, that they generally abjured, and were dismissed. Nevertheless, as by frequent reading of the scriptures at this time, it generally appeared what the church of Rome had altered or added to in religion, so many people of understanding recovered a just liberty of believing for them-

themselves; and together with the doctrine, endeavoured a reformation of the manners, of the clergy.

When the pope was informed of what had passed in the convocation and parliament of England, he was in no small perplexity. He saw HENRY and his subjects pursuing such measures as threatened a total defection from the see of Rome: and if he should attempt to bring them back to their ancient devotion with a high hand, he could have no hopes of success, as the thunders of the vatican were looked upon with contempt. On the other hand, if he gave way to what had lately passed on the statutes of provisors and premunire, the greatest advantage which he drew from England would be given up; and yet it was not likely, after the king had gone so far, that he would undo what was done. But having quarrelled with the emperor who had not performed his treaty, and having therefore no assistance near at hand if he should attempt to exert his authority, his holiness chose to lie still, in hopes of better times; in which he might either be reconciled to HENRY, or bring him back to his duty by his spiritual weapons. However if the pope had expectations of this sort, it is certain that those in England who wished for a reformation, were not without a prospect of success, from the proceedings of the king against the clergy, and from the disposition he was in with regard to the pope. A reformation of the abuses, which the exorbitant power of his holiness, and the immunities of the clergy, had introduced, was wished by every man in England, except the clergy themselves. A reformation of doctrine had few abettors; nor durst they openly propagate and contend for it, on account of the severity of the laws against heresy; especially as the king himself had entered the lists in support of the old opinions. When the generality of the people inveighed against the pope's excessive power, and the pride and riches of the ecclesiasticks, they spoke out their whole hearts, and meant nothing further: but the favourers of Lutheranism who joined with them in these invectives, intended to set forward the reformation of doctrine, which they knew would be opposed by the governors of the church. They had therefore nothing to do but to conceal their views, lest they might cool the zeal of the other people, who thought of no other amendment but with respect to papal power and the ecclesiastical liberty,

liberty, and to wait patiently for the consequences which this first step would produce.

In this situation were affairs at home, in the beginning of the year fifteen hundred and thirty two; when, after several prorogations, the parliament was called together. The commons, being sensible of the fair opportunity which they now had, to secure themselves against the oppressions of the clergy for the time to come, were resolved not to miss it. It was now three hundred years since the parliament had attempted to restrain the power of the holy see, and the privileges of ecclesiasticks, without being able to effect their purpose; because the interest of the kings would not permit their majesties to break with the court of Rome. But the divorce which HENRY wanted had put their affairs on a better footing: therefore at the opening of this session, the commons drew up the grievances which they had to complain of from the clergy; which they presented in writing by the speaker to the king. Among many other things, they complained of the practise of the spiritual courts, in calling men before them "ex officio," laying articles to their charge without any accuser, and then admitting no purgation, but causing the party accused, either to abjure, or to be burnt. When the king received their remonstrance, he told the commons, that it contained divers articles of great and weighty matters, and that he would not give any answer to them till he had heard the party accused concerning them. The archbishop, and his convocation, were not a little alarmed at these vigorous proceedings of the house of commons; and resolved to reform what was complained of themselves, rather than permit it to be done by the parliament. Accordingly, besides some constitutions which seem to have promised a reformation in what was thought amiss, and which were perfected this session, they treated particularly on a regulation in the case of correction "ex officio;" the thing which then lay before the commons in parliament. Having published these constitutions, they drew up an answer to the grievances complained of in the house of commons, and presented it to the king. The king sent for the commons to receive the answer of the convocation; which his majesty said, "he thought
" would not give them much satisfaction, it seeming to him but
" very slender: but as they were a great sort of wise men, he
" did

“ did not doubt but they would look circumspectly in the matter, and he would be indifferent between them.” This was enough to let the clergy see how much they stood in need of his protection; and that it was in his power, either to stop the proceedings of the commons against them, or to suffer them to take their course as he thought fit.

In the mean time, the parliament passed several laws relating to the ecclesiastical polity of the English nation. For instance, it was enacted, “ that no ecclesiasticks under the order of a sub-deacon, convicted of petty treason, murder, or felony, should have the privilege of the church, and be delivered to their ordinaries to be punished: nor should those above that order be admitted to their purgation, without being bound with sufficient sureties for their good abearing.” It was further enacted, that this benefit of purgation should not extend to those, “ who being attainted of felony or murder, are admitted to their clergy, and delivered to their ordinary: which ordinary, having such persons in their custody, might degrade them, and send them to the king’s bench to be detained:” and “ whereas many having the benefit of their clergy, and being afterwards committed to their ordinary, escaped out of prison, such an escape should be deemed felony.” The statute of mortmain having been evaded by certain feofments of land to the use of a church, which differed but little from it, all such feofments by another statute were declared void. But that which laid the foundation of the breach which afterwards ensued with the court of Rome, was an act concerning annats or first fruits of bishopricks, paid usually to the holy see; and which was passed in this parliament very chearfully. In the preamble it is set forth, that the kingdom was impoverished daily, by the great sums of money sent to Rome for first fruits, and palls, and bulls; no less than a hundred and sixty thousand pounds having been paid on that score, since the beginning of the reign of the late king; and more was likely shortly to be transported, as many of the bishops were very aged and infirm: that the annats were founded on no law, and introduced only as a contribution towards carrying on a war against infidels, to which however they never had been applied: and that the court of Rome claimed them now as a duty against all right and conscience, which as a christian prince the king was bound to hinder. It was there-

fore enacted, that the payment of first fruits should be for ever restrained, under the forfeiture of the lands and goods and profits of the see of him that should pay any more: that five pounds in the hundred, according to the annual value of the bishopricks, all charges deducted, should be paid in consideration of the bulls: and that in case the bulls were restrained in the court of Rome on account of this regulation, the elected bishop should be consecrated by the archbishop of the province, if an archbishop by any two bishops in the realm whom the king should appoint; and being so consecrated, they should be invested with all the rights of their see in as full and ample a manner as heretofore. But however as they were not willing to come to extremities, they declared it to be in the king's power, to void, or confirm, this act within two years; and if his majesty and the pope shall make any composition for these annats, it should have the full force and authority of a law. But if his holiness should take occasion from this act, to vex the king or his subjects with interdicts or excommunications, such censures should not be executed nor published, and the sacraments and other parts of divine service should be administered notwithstanding, as they were always wont to be. This was a fatal blow, the reader sees, to the supremacy of the pope; and, by putting it absolutely within the king's power or direction, was evidently procured by his ministers; that he might use it or not, as he could bring his holiness to make his marriage null, or as the pope continued to refuse complying with his request. Upon this account tho it had the form of an act at this time, it had not its final confirmation by the king's letters patents till the next year.

We must now look a little abroad and see the progress of the king's suit at Rome. The pope, at the instance of the imperialists, had wrote a letter to the king in the beginning of this year, to complain of his majesty's putting away the queen, and living with one ANNE as his wife; to the scandal of the world, in contempt of the apostolic see whilst his suit was still depending, and in defiance of a prohibition to the contrary. About the same time, DR. BENNET was sent to Rome by the king, with the opinions of the universities and the men of learning, on the subject of his marriage, and the pope's dispensation. Besides the instructions which were given the doctor, the king sent the pope a letter, to make a remonstrance against the insincerity of his

his holiness; who had granted a commission to try his cause, and given not only a promise to confirm the sentence which the legates should pass, but had also sent a decretal bull to annul the marriage in the hands of CAMPEJIUS: and yet these were all revoked under a pretence, that he could not justly grant them; condemning at one time, what he had allowed of at another. His majesty also made a complaint, that the pope had not carried himself in this business, as became CHRIST'S vicar; but unconsciously, and deceitfully: and his majesty perceiving, that the apostolic see was destitute of that learning by which it should be directed, had consulted many able canonists and divines; whose judgments differed much from those few that were about the pope, and who thought the law prohibiting his marriage was moral and indispensable. Some apologies were made for the freedom of these expressions; and then his majesty condescended to assure his holiness, that unless he was compelled, he did not intend to impugn the authority of the holy see any further; meaning only by what he had done to reduce it within its first and ancient limits: he desired the pope therefore to conform himself to the opinions of so many learned men, and to do his office and duty. The pope perceiving by this letter, and by the accounts which had been sent him of what had passed in England, that his authority was declining apace, resolved to do all he could in order to recover it by force or treaty. To this purpose he ordered a citation to be made out, requiring HENRY to appear at Rome, in person, or by proxy, to answer the appeal which the queen had made about her marriage.

Whether there were any grounds to be found in the canon law or not, sufficient to excuse the king's appearance at the tribunal of Rome, it is certain that the prerogative of the crown of England made such a citation ridiculous and absurd. SIR EDWARD KARNE however was sent, in the new character of the king's excusator, to plead his majesty's right to refuse appearance; and BONNER, a bold and ambitious ecclesiastick, who courted preferment at any rate, was sent over with him. SIR E. KARNE, as a civilian, was to remonstrate against the citation from Rome, as irregular, and illegal: but as threatnings were to be used with the pope and cardinals as well as arguments, BONNER was esteemed the fittest for this employment; who had shewn a great deal of zeal in the king's dispute, and was of a daring fiery temper.

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Upon their arrival at Rome, they found the consistory much divided. The faction of the Imperialists pressed the pope with great vehemence to proceed against the king ; and the cardinals who stood neuter, were of another mind, and thought it dangerous : they saw by the act which had passed in England against annats, that the parliament was determined to adhere steadily to the king in all his proceedings against the see of Rome ; and they were therefore of opinion, that HENRY should not be too much incensed. Amidst these jarring sentiments, finding the cardinal RAVENNA had the greatest weight in the consistory, who had opposed the king's excuse for not appearing, the English ministers were resolved, if possible, to gain him on their side. DR. BENNET therefore made it his business to attempt the integrity of the cardinal : and at last by making him a promise, under his hand, of monasteries or other benefices from the king of France, of six thousand ducats a year, and the first vacant bishoprick in England till that of Ely fell, which he was then to have, the conscience of RAVENNA was very well persuaded of the justice of HENRY's cause. Two or three other cardinals were won by the same arguments ; and the king's plea was admitted to be heard in the consistory. The Imperialists opposed this ; and procured a new order, that the plea should be heard in a congregation of cardinals before the pope. But KARNE adhering to the former order, and protesting against this, the former order was renewed : the Imperialists, and the queen's council, were so dissatisfied at this, that they would not appear in the consistory, which gave KARNE an opportunity to charge them with contumacy, and a distrust of their cause.

Whilst this affair was carrying on, an account was brought to Rome of a priest having been imprisoned in England for preaching up the pope's authority ; and of another priest, suspected of heresy and imprisoned by the archbishop, appealing to the king as supreme lord, and being set at liberty. If the pope was warm in his remonstrances against these proceedings to the king's ambassadors, the ambassadors were not wanting in a vigorous answer ; and made him sensible that every thing of this kind might have been prevented, if his holiness had done justice to the king. At the same time, a bull was desired for a commission, to erect six new bishopricks in England, and to endow them with the revenues of some monasteries that were to be suppressed.

The bull was granted, and sent away: but cardinal RAVENNA was so intent on his bargain with DR. BENNET, that the ambassadors were obliged to promise him the see of Chester, one of the new intended bishopricks. He had declared himself from the beginning, against admitting the king's excuse for not obeying the pope's citation; and so could not serve his majesty in that particular: he therefore advised, that the king would send a proxy to examine into the merits of the cause, in which it would be easy for him, without any suspicion, to engage on the king's side and to do him eminent service. In short the cardinals grew weary, and complained of the length of the debate; which the ambassadors thought ungrateful towards a monarch, who had done so much for the court of Rome. Besides, the Imperialists had been the chief occasion of the delays, by their cavils and allegations which were frivolous and fraudulent; and it was unreasonable therefore in that faction to complain of the tediousness of the process. At length it was resolved, as the vacation was coming on, that they would neither allow of, nor reject, the king's plea of excuse; but that the pope and the college of cardinals should write a letter to the king, to entreat him to send a proxy for determining the cause in the following winter. With this letter BONNER was sent to England; and instructed privately by the cardinals, who had been gained to HENRY's interest, that it would be impossible to admit his excusatory plea; because as the debate turned chiefly on the dispensing power of the pope, it could not be committed to legates, but must be judged by his holiness and the consistory. He was moreover directed to assure the king, that the pope was now so dissatisfied with the emperor, and inclined so much to the French faction, that there would be no danger in leaving the cause to his holiness's decision.

Whilst this important affair of the king's was thus delayed and canvassed at Rome, another session of parliament was held in England; in which it was moved by one TEMPSE of the house of commons, that they should address the king to bring the queen back to the court; with many reflexions on the inconveniences that were likely to follow, if the divorce should take place; particularly with regard to the illegitimacy of the princess. The king being informed of this motion, took fire immediately; and sending for the speaker, reprimanded him very se-

verely for permitting a motion of that kind in an affair which they could not determine. His majesty added, that it was an affair which touched his soul, and that he had therefore often wished the marriage had been legal: but the doctors and learned men of the universities having pronounced it null and detestable, he was now obliged in conscience to abstain from the company of the queen. Whatever others might imagine, he assured the speaker, that his desire of a divorce was not owing to any wanton appetite; which was usually cooled at his time of life, being then one and forty years old. But except in Spain or Portugal, he could never find that any man had so much as married two sisters, if the first were carnally known; and that he believed no christian man, before himself, had married his brother's wife, which was abhorred among all nations. He again assured him therefore, that his conscience was troubled; and desired him to report it to the house for their satisfaction.

Whilst the parliament was employed in this, and some other public affairs, the convocation agreed to send some of their body to wait upon the king; with a petition, that he would preserve the liberties of the church, which both himself and his progenitors had hitherto protected. Accordingly two bishops and abbots, the dean of the king's chapel, and his almoner, presented this petition; to which his majesty sent them an answer in writing, requiring I. "that no constitution or ordinance shall
 " hereafter by the clergy be enacted, promulged, or put in ex-
 " ecution, unless the king's highness do approve the same by his
 " high authority and royal assent; and his advice and favour
 " be also interposed for the execution of every such constitution,
 " to be made in time coming among his holiness's subjects."
 II. "That whereas divers of the constitutions provincial, which
 " have been heretofore enacted, be thought not only much pre-
 " judicial to the king's prerogative royal, but also much one-
 " rous to his holiness's subjects, it be committed to the examina-
 " tion and judgment of thirty two persons, whereof sixteen
 " to be of the upper and lower house of the temporality, and
 " other sixteen of the clergy, all to be appointed by the king's
 " highness: so that finally whichsoever of the said constitu-
 " tions shall be thought and determined, by the most part of
 " the said thirty two persons, worthy to be abrogated and an-
 " nulled, the same to be afterwards taken away and to be of no
 " force

“ force and strength. III. That all other of the said constitutions, which stand with God’s laws and the king’s, do stand in full strength and power; the king’s royal assent being given to the same.” The convocation were put into great disorder upon receiving this message; and after much consultation and perplexity, it was resolved, to send four of the upper and six of the lower house to the bishop of ROCHESTER, by whose advice they were inclined to govern themselves in this affair. The king, being informed to whom the matter of his message was referred, and knowing the principles of bishop FISHER in favour of the supremacy, sent for the speaker of the house of commons, and twelve of their members, to come to him; eight of the lords being at that time with him. When they were assembled, he told them, that he thought the clergy of the realm had been his subjects wholly; but now he had perceived that they were but half his subjects, and scarcely that. For all the prelates at their consecration take an oath to the pope, contrary to the oath they take to him; so that they seem to be the subjects of the pope, rather than the subjects of the king. He therefore delivered them a copy of both the oaths, requiring them to take such order in this affair that he might not be deluded of his spiritual subjects. The speaker being returned to the house, the two oaths were read; but as the parliament was obliged to break up on account of a plague, there was nothing done further in this business then. The clergy however were under a great distraction; the king was resolved, they saw, to carry his point; and the parliament was disposed to comply with him in every thing against the immunities of the church. Under these difficulties, they finally consented to a submission; which led the way, as we shall see, to a total renunciation of the pope’s authority.

As soon as the parliament was up, SIR THO. MORE, the lord chancellor, obtained leave of the king to resign his office. He had willingly concurred in the statutes of Premunire; as being of the same opinion with those who were cutting off the illegal jurisdiction which the popes had exercised in England. But when he saw by the king’s designs, that a total rupture was likely to follow, he desired to be excused from going those lengths which the court intended. He had moreover some invincible objections against the king’s divorce: and being apprehensive that further attempts would be made in it, which by virtue of his office, and yet

yet contrary to his conscience, he must be engaged in, he never ceased soliciting that he might have leave to deliver up the great seal, till he had the king's consent. As he had sustained this great office with more adroitness, wisdom, and integrity, than was ever seen before; so he retired from it with a greatness of mind, which was equal to what was pretended by the ancient philosophers in such cases; not being able to defray even the necessary expences of his private family, when he had divested himself of this employment.

About this time died WARHAM archbishop of Canterbury, after filling that see about eight and twenty years. He held the great seal for the first seven years of the king's reign, till WOLSEY by his ill treatment obliged him to resign it; whose power and interest with the king and the court of Rome were so much greater than the archbishop's, that, during all the cardinal's administration, he was little more than the shadow of a metropolitan. As he was a man of parts and principle, so he could not see the insolence and depravity of the cardinal without complaining of it to the king; which put the prelates upon ill terms with one another as long as WOLSEY lived. As little as he would stoop to that haughty minister, he was submissive enough to the king; and in all his public speeches addressed him with a flattery very unbecoming a churchman of the highest dignity. He is said to have understood the interest of the nation, and the canon law, as well as most men of his time; and if we may judge from the severity with which he persecuted the Lollards, he understood them better than the principles of his religion. His conduct in this respect admits of no excuse, but that of a zeal which was not according to knowledge. He was a friend to men of merit and learning, if they were unsuspected of heresy; and encouraged a more rational and useful knowledge, than was to be acquired by the learning of the schools. But yet we read of no public benefactions, no endowments in favour of learning or religion; which, considering he held the primacy almost thirty years, will give us no great idea of his charity and benevolence. The lengths which he went to oblige the king, as chancellor of the university of Oxford, in the affair of his marriage, and in setting the hand and seal of bishop FISHER without that prelate's consent, as we have seen, I must leave to be justified by those who found high the

the piety of archbishop WARHAM. He was certainly very open to the impressions of hope and fear; and with very good intentions towards religion, his avarice and timidity were so predominant, as to take off all the lustre of his example, in his own, and succeeding ages.

The see of Canterbury being thus vacant by the death of WARHAM, the king saw it was of importance to the designs which he had then in hand, that it should be filled with a man of learning and great abilities. Whether there was no one at that time on the bench of bishops whom HENRY thought qualified in all respects for that high dignity; or, whether he had an inclination to raise CRANMER to it at once, as a reward for the service he had already done him, and that he might bind him still faster in his interests, we are not informed: but as soon as WARHAM was dead, the king sent to CRANMER, then in Germany upon his majesty's business, to acquaint him with his intention of advancing him to the see of Canterbury, and to desire him to return home in order to take possession of it. But CRANMER had difficulties to get over before he could embrace this great offer; and even at last embraced it rather in obedience to the king, than to gratify any passion of his own for power and grandeur. It appears, I think, from all his conduct, that he had a true and primitive sense of the great duties arising from such an important station; which, in a mind like his, the charms of stateliness could scarcely overbalance. He must see the storm which was then rising against the court of Rome; which would add greatly to the duties of a metropolitan, whose business it was to direct it; and which could scarcely be directed, without obloquy, without envy, and without danger. He must be convinced of the obstinacy with which HENRY persevered in the measures which he once approved; and yet how inconstant he was in his favour to his best and most faithful servants. Tho CRANMER wanted neither courage nor wisdom, yet he had a natural simplicity and open heartedness, which might perhaps give him an aversion to the courts of princes; where nothing prevails so little as truth and candour. But these were not all the difficulties which CRANMER had to struggle with, in his way to the see of Canterbury, nor perhaps the most important. He had read many of the books of LUTHER, and conversed with many of his followers whilst he lived in Germany, which had given him an unfavourable idea

of the usurpations of the court of Rome; whose claims he thought unscriptural and unjust. Besides these objections, there was another, which might probably lie nearest his heart of any; which was his love of a young lady, whom he was then about to take for his second wife. The canon law did not permit a priest to marry at all; and for a bishop to be twice married was more irregular still. Upon all these considerations, CRANMER was in no haste to return to England: and if he had no hopes that the king's inclinations to him might cool, and another might be preferred to the primacy by his delay, yet it is certain he was as backward in accepting the see of Canterbury, as the king had found others forward in soliciting for a mitre. But his declining the primacy in this manner, especially as the king was ignorant of his reasons, instead of abating his majesty's inclinations towards him, served only to confirm the high opinion he had conceived of CRANMER, and to make him insist upon his accepting the post he had offered him. The king being thus resolute, the doctor privately married the lady whom he was in love with, and returned to England to obey the king.

Whilst CRANMER was taken up in ballancing these objections in his mind, the lady A. BOLEYN was created marchioness of Pembroke; in order to bring her up by degrees to the rank intended for her by the king. A jealousy of the emperor's increasing power had united HENRY and the king of France in a solemn treaty: and to confirm it with more pomp, an interview was appointed between the two monarchs, at Bologne, and Calais. The king of England carried the lady PEMBROKE, and a splendid train; and was received by FRANCIS on the road to Bologne with all the magnificence that can be imagined. A league against the Turk was the pretended business of this interview; but the real secret on the side of HENRY, was to complain of the pope's injustice in the affair of his divorce, and to persuade FRANCIS to take his part against the see of Rome; as in a matter which concerned all the princes of Christendom. But if HENRY wanted to cajoll the king of France into his measures, by pretending how injurious the insolence of the pope was to the dignity of every sovereign, FRANCIS was not without his design upon the king of England in this interview: and making as many complaints against the exactions and ill usage of the see of Rome, proposed to trie what fair means would do, before

fore they came to extremities : in order to conceal from HENRY the true motives of an interview which he intended to have with the pope ; and which were no less than to conclude a marriage, between his son, and a niece of CLEMENT's. In the mean time, till he could try at this interview what he could obtain in behalf of both, he advises HENRY to consummate his intended marriage ; and neither to go in person to Rome about his divorce, nor to trust the secrets of his conscience to any proxy. He likewise promised to assist him all that was in his power, if his marriage with the lady PEMBROKE was called in question ; and even threatened, if the exactions of the pope upon the French clergy were not redressed, that he would agree with the king of England upon other remedies. With these mutual civilities, in which both sides it is probable, were alike sincere, the interview was concluded ; and HENRY returned with the pleasing prospect of a firm ally in the king of France. But we must once more return to the business of the divorce.

When the brief was dispatched requiring the king to send a proxy to Rome at the end of the vacation, the pope made the following offers : that if HENRY would name any indifferent place out of his own dominions, he would send a legate, and two auditors of the Rota, to form the process, reserving only the sentence to himself ; and if the princes of Christendom would agree to a truce of three or four years, he would call a general council before it should be expired. In answer to these overtures, SIR THO. ELLIOT was sent ambassador to his holiness, to give him thanks for 'em from the king ; and to acquaint him with the reasons why his majesty could not accept them. As to the affair of the truce and the general council, the minister was to inform the pope, that his master could receive no propositions of that sort, without a communication with the king of France, his friend and ally : and tho his majesty did not doubt the justice of a general council when it was assembled, yet considering the situation which the emperor was then in with respect to the Lutherans, the king did not judge that this was a proper time to call one. But as to the business of the divorce, the ambassador was to represent, that how much inclined soever the king should be, if he was a private person, to shew his devotion for the holy see, in obeying the citation to appear at Rome, yet it was a part of his prerogative as king of England, and
I
what

what he owed to his subjects, that all matrimonial causes should be originally judged within his kingdom; according to the general councils, and ancient customs, by which the English church was governed; to which his majesty hoped the pope would have regard. The royal authority was a point to which the king was bound by the oath at his coronation; and without the consent of his realm, he could not submit himself to a foreign power and jurisdiction. The ambassadour was therefore to represent, how much his majesty confided in the justice of his holiness, not to desire a violation of the immunities of his crown, nor to bring them into dispute; as they had hitherto been enjoyed without intrusion. But tho he was to desire that the discussion of the divorce might be referred to the church of England, and to use his utmost skill and diligence to procure it; yet if he found a real intention in the pope to serve the king in his sentence, the ambassadour was instructed to cede that article to the satisfaction of the holy see. That the way to this negotiation might be made more smooth and easy, ELLIOT carried an offer to the cardinal RAVENNA of the bishoprick of Lichfield just then vacant; with a further promise from the king of the see of Ely.

Whilst this affair was depending, and soon after his return from France, on the fourteenth of November according to HOLINGSHEAD, the king was privately married to the lady A. BOLEYN, by LEE, made afterwards bishop of Lichfield, in the presence of the duke of Norfolk, her father, mother, brother, and DR. CRANMER. All the historians are agreed in the persons present at the solemnity; but STOW, and bishop GODWYN say, that the marriage was not entered into till the twenty fifth of January. One would be apt to think that they are all mistaken as to the day; or as to CRANMER's being one of the party at the wedding. Bishop BURNET affirms, that STOW had no grounds for saying, that the marriage was on the twenty fifth of January. But if what his lordship has copied from the other historians is true, and what all of them report, that CRANMER was present, then the king could not be married on the fourteenth of November. Archbishop WARHAM died on the twenty third of August: CRANMER was then in Germany; and if he did not come to England till six months after, as bishop GODWYN says, and bishop BURNET seems to allow, then he could not be present at the king's marriage in November. He might be returned

by the twenty fifth of January; but then the birth of the princess on the seventh of September clashes with that day, and makes the child to have been born either two months before its time, or impeaches the chastity of her mother; neither of which was ever mentioned. It seems probable therefore to me, that CRAMMER was not present; which is further confirmed by his not performing the ceremony. The fact however is not material: the marriage was certainly solemnized very privately, and indeed very imprudently. Either the formal process, which was afterwards carried on, to declare the former marriage null, should have preceded this; or this being once solemnized, on the judgment of so many divines and universities, should have rested there; and no such process should have taken place, as was afterwards formed against the queen. But the king was impatient to enjoy his mistress; and no considerations of prudence could restrain him. How well this agreed with his declaration to the speaker about six months before, let the reader judge.

The vacation at Rome was now over; and HENRY was cited to appear there, in person, or by proxy, to answer the queen's appeal. Against this citation SIR E. KARNE protested, as a thing his master was not bound to; insisting on the determinations of the universities of Paris and Orleans to that effect. At the same time, instructions were sent to DR. BENNET, to propose to the pope as from himself, and not by authority from his court, either to let the affair be judged in England, according to the decree of the council of Nice, by the archbishop of CANTERBURY and the clergy of his province; or that the king should name one judge, the queen should name another, the French king a third, and the archbishop should be the fourth; or, if the cause was heard in England in either of these methods, and the queen should appeal from the sentence, it should be referred to three delegates; one to be named by HENRY, another by the king of France, and the third by the court of Rome: and that these should try the appeal in an indifferent place. But the pope would not consent to any of these proposals; and told BENNET, that since his master stood so close to his prerogative, he should govern himself by the same measures, and not take the process out of the common course. It was easy enough indeed to see, that in all these overtures the king was sure of carrying his point: and it is likewise as plain, that if the pope durst have complied

with him he would have done it with all his heart; for he had no inclination to lose the English nation. The emperor was the cause of all the difficulties which arose upon this head: the emperor threatened the pope, if he decided the cause against his aunt; and he had it in his power to put his threats in execution. For this reason it was, that HENRY proposed expedients, whereby he was sure of carrying his point; but for the same reason it was, that the pope could not accept them. Had not the emperor interfered, his holiness would have made no more difficulty in annulling the marriage of the king of England with queen CATHARINE, than his predecessor JULIUS did in dispensing with it. In short the pope would have contented HENRY, and HENRY would have submitted to the pope's authority, and remained an obedient son to the holy see. On the one hand therefore it may be inferred, that if the king proceeded to renounce the papal authority, it was not so much from a conviction of its being an usurpation, how much soever he might believe it afterwards, as from seeing no other way to get out of the plunge he had been hurried into by his passions. On the other hand, if the pope passed sentence against HENRY, it was not so much from a belief that his marriage with CATHARINE was just and lawful, as to save the honour of the holy see, and to comply with the menaces of the emperor. Shall we not stop here to adore the secret ways of providence, which made a reconciliation with the king and pope impracticable, in order to bring about an event, which was to be attended with such consequences to liberty and religion, in the English nation!

A great deal of occasion there was indeed of such an event, to save the honour of christianity, and the lives of many good and deserving people; whose only crime was believing the new testament in its original purity, against the doctrines of purgatory, and the real presence. I have not thought it necessary, to give the particulars of all the cruel executions, which these poor wretches underwent with an amazing firmness. They are too shocking to humanity, and too scandalous to the benevolent and charitable spirit of CHRIST's religion, to be related by me without extreme uneasiness. The truth of history indeed requires, that nothing material should be omitted nor concealed: and therefore, tho I have not given a minute detail of all the tortures and burnings for heresy, which are to be met with in

Fox, and many other writers, yet I have not passed over the relentless cruelty of the clergy, without any notice. I have already shewn the reader, that many of the ecclesiasticks in this reign were so bathed in blood, that they seem to have divested themselves of those impressions of pity and compassion, which are natural even to men that are without religion. I will now proceed to give him an instance of it at this time, which will justify this charge; and which, I believe, is the last instance, in which their cruelty was permitted in the reign of HENRY.

The king had now proceeded very far in his breach with the court of Rome; which had given the new preachers such encouragement, that they assembled their followers with less caution, and spoke in their assemblies with more freedom. It was therefore thought necessary, that his majesty should convince the world by some signal evidence, that he had no intention to make a change in the doctrines of religion: and nothing could do this more effectually, than a vigorous prosecution of these heretical leaders. The crafty GARDINER, whom the reader remembers to have wriggled himself into the see of Winchester, had complied with the king in his second marriage, and his opposition to the court of Rome; tho in his heart as full of zeal for the papal interest, as of malice towards those who were for rooting it out in England. The way therefore which he took to draw the king into his cruel and blood thirsty measures, was to insinuate to him upon all occasions, that the extinction of hereticks with the utmost rigour, would justify his other proceedings against the pope; and effectually convince the world, that he was still in his principles a good catholic king. The hereticks however, maugre all his fiery zeal, were not to be extinguished by flame and torture: and among others one FRITH, a young man and an excellent scholar, whom WOLSEY had intended for his college at Oxford, had wrote against the doctrine of transubstantiation. This was a favourite topick at that time, and believed firmly by the king to the day of his death: the zealots therefore were much provoked at this bold attack; and if they had contented themselves with answering it by the pen of SIR THO. MORE, they had not counteracted the laws of that religion, for which they were such vehement and busy advocates. But their zeal could not stop at such a temperate refutation: FRITH was laid in prison, and loaded with irons in a very rigorous manner: but

but this did not hinder him from writing an answer to vindicate his belief; and such an answer as may convince us of the force of truth. SIR THO. MORE was their great champion, on whom all the clergy rested their cause, and one of the best writers of his time: but all his wit and eloquence which was laid out upon this subject, serve only to shew his dexterity in defending error; whilst the writings of FRITH, amidst all his disadvantages, carried conviction to those who were not predetermined. He proved clearly from the scripture, “that after consecration, the elements were still bread and wine, and were so called by our saviour and his apostles: and if the scriptures had been silent, our senses shew that their nature is not changed, but that they are in the same manner subject to corruption; which cannot be said of the body of CHRIST.” He confirmed this by many passages out of the fathers; who all asserted, that the elements in the eucharist were only the mysteries, signs, or figures of the body and blood of CHRIST. He brought likewise several testimonies to prove, that the first Christians knew nothing of the consequences which follow from the doctrine of the real presence; such as a body being in more places than one at a time, of its being there in the manner of a spirit, or of the worship to be given to the body of CHRIST in the eucharist. This was a gross idolatry which the church of Rome had built upon this doctrine, and carried along with it a corruption of the evangelical worship of God: but where men believed only a corporeal presence, as in Germany, as a matter merely speculative, without leading them on to any practical error, in that case, he was of opinion, it might be tolerated; and that the peace of the church should not be broken for an opinion that only rested on the mind; neither was the belief of it, in either way, an article of faith that was necessary to salvation.

But notwithstanding the modesty and reservedness with which this author wrote, the men in power, and the king himself, were so bigotted to this doctrine, that they were determined FRITH should be confuted, or burnt. To this purpose he was brought in a judicial way before the bishop of LONDON, assisted by the bishops of WINCHESTER, and LINCOLN; who objected to him his opinions about the real presence, and purgatory. He answered as to the first, that he neither found it in the scriptures,
nor

nor in any ancient approved authors, and he would not admit of any thing as an article of faith, without clear and certain grounds; because he did not believe that the authority of the church extended so far. As to the second, it was his opinion, that there was no purgatory for the soul after it was departed from the body: and as he believed, so he had spoke and written; but he thought neither part a necessary article of faith. The bishops took a great deal of pains to induce him to change his sentiments, but in vain: and when they threatened to proceed to a final sentence, he replied without any emotion, “let judgment be done in righteousness.” As merciless as the zeal of these three prelates was, they seemed to have a tenderness for this young man; and the bishop of LONDON pronounced the sentence, he said, with great grief of heart. But to shew how men can delude themselves, even to the mocking of God when they are actuated by zeal, tho they knew, and intended, that he should be burnt, there was a clause in his sentence, “beseeching by the bowels of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, that this execution may be so moderate, that the rigour thereof may not be too extreme.” He was accordingly brought to the stake in Smithfield, with an ignorant apprentice, who denied the real presence, and would do, he said, as FRITH did; where they both suffered with an amazing constancy and courage. Thus was a modest, moderate, virtuous young man, of great parts and learning, cruelly burnt for not believing some of the doctrines of religion to be necessary articles of our faith. It is impossible to reflect upon these transactions, without the highest indignation against the men who could act so contrary to the spirit of CHRIST’s religion in the name of CHRIST; and without blessing God that it is our lot to live in times of more light and charity. This was however the last act of ecclesiastical cruelty against the lives of men, in the reign of HENRY; and I leave it with pleasure to return to affairs of another nature.

As soon as CRANMER was come from Germany, the king sent to the pope to demand the bulls for his promotion: and tho it may be easily imagined, that the advancement of a man to the see of Canterbury, who had gone thro most of the courts of Europe disputing against the pope’s dispensing power, and who had lived in great familiarity with some of the chief Lutherans in Germany, could be no very agreeable step to the see of Rome;

yet the pope had no inclination to irritate the king too much, lest he should make a breach with England unavoidable; and therefore the bulls were all dispatched for nine hundred ducats, without any notice of annats, which an act of parliament had just prohibited. There were no less than eleven bulls on this one occasion, in order to enrich the apostolic chamber by very expensive compositions. The first was directed to the king, promoting CRANMER to the see of Canterbury on his majesty's nomination. The second was directed to CRANMER himself, advancing him to the rank of an archbishop. The third absolves him from all censures. The fourth is directed to the suffragans of the province. The fifth to the dean and chapter. The sixth to the clergy within the diocese of Canterbury; and the seventh to all the laity. The eighth was an injunction to all those who held lands under the archbishop of Canterbury to receive and acknowledge him as such. The ninth appointed his consecration, on his taking the usual oath in the pontifical. The tenth was to give him the pall; and the eleventh was to direct the archbishop of YORK, and the bishop of LONDON, to put it on him. But notwithstanding the bulls were thus expedited at Rome in this ample manner, yet there was still a great obstacle to CRANMER's getting the primacy; which arose from his own scruple about the oath that was to be taken to the pope. He delivered the bulls to the king; declaring that he would never accept of any bishoprick in England, but from the hands of the king, who was supreme head of the church: neither could he bring himself to swear an obedience to the pope, which he not only thought he had no right to, and which derogated from the royal authority, but which might also bind him up from reforming those errors which the popes had established in this kingdom; and so might restrain him from doing his duty in the station of a primate, to God, the king, and the church of England. These were certainly very honest, and very solid objections to the usual oath; in a man who was convinced, that the papal power here was an usurpation against truth and scripture.

But HENRY had set his heart on making CRANMER primate: he saw that he would prove a prelate of such principles and resolution, as would enable him to go thro with the business of the divorce, which above all things he wanted to put an end to: and therefore the canonists and casuists were consulted upon this scruple;

scruple ; in order to find out some expedient which might make CRANMER easy under the oath. The expedient which they proposed, and which, how well soever it might suit with quirks of law, was but ill adapted to the simplicity of the gospel, was, that the primate should make a formal protestation in St. STEPHEN'S chapel, in the presence of some civilians appointed for that purpose, against the oath which he was to take to the pope ; renouncing every clause that should abridge him of his liberty against the see of Rome ; and that this should be repeated when he took the oath. This expedient, poor as it is, was accepted of by CRANMER ; by which, says bishop BURNET, if he did not wholly save his integrity, yet it was plain he intended no cheat, but to act fairly and above board. It is always with extreme reluctance that I differ from this learned and this great historian : but surely, to be impartial, it can never be said, that a man intends to act fairly who does not save his integrity ; nor is it true of CRANMER, if it could be said. Had it been his intention to have acted fairly, he should either have absolutely rejected an oath which was contrary to his conscience, be the consequence what it would, or have taken it in the sense in which the imposer meant it. To have acted fairly and above board, he should have sent this protestation to the conclave at Rome, before the bulls were expedited from thence ; or at least before he had compleated his character by this expedient. But they all knew very well, that the pope would not have consented to such a latitude in taking the oath ; nor to the promotion of CRANMER, if he did not take it in the obvious meaning : and if his holiness's consent or approbation was unnecessary, where was the necessity of sending and paying for so many bulls ; and why might not the oath have been absolutely rejected ? With all due regard to the memory of this great reformer, it appears to me a transaction, I must confess, which no partiality can defend ; and which we must place to the account of that frailty in our nature, which makes the best of men too liable to transgress.

About the same time that the king was sending to Rome for the bulls for CRANMER'S promotion, another session of parliament was held in England. As the pope had not hitherto relaxed at all with regard to England, except by delaying the excommunication with which he had threatened the king, so it was thought proper now to go one step further towards a breach ;

to let him see, that the English were not afraid of his power, and that they could do their business themselves without him. To this end an act of parliament was passed, forbidding all appeals to Rome on pain of a Premunire. By this time HENRY was made sensible, that he could have no dependance on the king of France, who was making a near alliance with CLEMENT, as I have mentioned: and apprehending that FRANCIS would push his majesty's interest but very faintly, if he did not turn against him, the king was determined that the cause should be judged in England; without concerning himself any further with what the pope should act against him. He wrote however to the king of France, to send over a trusty person, to whom his majesty might discover some things of consequence, that he did not choose should be made public. The ambassador from FRANCIS being accordingly come to London, HENRY told him, that the pope having obstinately refused to appoint him judges in England, his majesty had determined to proceed without his holiness's concurrence; and to that end had already married the lady PEMBROKE, and resolved to have his divorce pronounced by the archbishop. It was his intention however, he said, to keep his second marriage a secret, till he could see what the king of France could do with the bishop of Rome: and if he found that nothing could be obtained in his favour, his design was to withdraw himself from the authority of the holy see; having actually composed a treatise, upon the papal encroachments, and the prerogatives of princes, ready to publish. The king was certainly much in earnest in this declaration to the French ambassador: for in the preamble to the act which prohibited appeals to Rome, it was suggested that the kingdom of England was an empire, furnished with such able persons, spiritual as well as temporal, as could determine all controversies arising in it: and whereas many of the kings of this realm had by several laws preserved its liberties from the annoyance of the see of Rome, and other foreign potentates, yet many inconveniences had arisen by appeals thither, in causes of matrimony, divorces, and other cases; it was therefore enacted, that all such causes were to be determined within the kingdom, in the several courts to which they belonged; whose sentences should take effect, and be fully executed, notwithstanding any appeals to Rome, or any inhibitions and bulls from thence: and in every process concerning the king, his heirs, or successors, an appeal should lie to the upper house of con-

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vocation, where it should be finally determined, never more to be called in question.

At the time of CRANMER's consecration, the province of Canterbury was then assembled in convocation, and debating the two questions which the king had sent them relating to his divorce; whether it was against the law of God and indispensable by the pope, for a man to marry his brother's wife, who had no issue, but whose marriage had been consummated; and whether prince ARTHUR had consummated his marriage with queen CATHARINE. The second day after his consecration, the archbishop presided in the upper house, where the opinions of some foreign universities on this subject were reported: and after many warm debates in both houses, it was at last agreed, by a great majority, to abide by the opinion of the universities against the marriage, and to remit the other question of the prince's consummation to the faculty of the canon law; by whom it was determined, that the presumptions were violent, and such as might be looked upon to be good evidence, in a matter that was not capable of a formal proof: and all the upper house confirmed this, the bishop of BATH and WELLS only excepted. The convocation of the province of York made the like determination shortly after.

The church of England having made such a full decision of this dispute by her representatives in convocation, there remained nothing but to give judgment, and to declare the marriage null. But before this step was taken, another message was sent to the queen; informing her of all that had passed, and desiring her to acquiesce in the judgment of the universities, and of so many learned men. The queen however persisted in her resolution not to give up her marriage, and to adhere to her appeal to Rome till the pope should decide the matter. This being the case with CATHARINE, the king would no longer conceal his marriage with the lady PEMBROKE; and without waiting for the sentence to declare his former marriage null, the second was published; and on Easter day the marchioness appeared at court as queen of England. I have already observed how irregular it was in the king, to marry even privately the second wife, before the divorce from the first had been legally pronounced. But it was more absurd and preposterous still, when the convocation had decided against his former marriage, and there wanted nothing but a for-

mal sentence or declaration, that the second marriage should be made public. It is said in excuse, that the new queen was breeding, and almost four months gone with child. But this did not hinder a judicial dissolution of the former marriage a month before at least; archbishop CRANMER having been then so long invested with the primacy: nor did the pregnancy of the queen make it absolutely necessary to publish the marriage, 'till the sentence could be pronounced in a legal way against the marriage with CATHARINE. Bishop BURNET supposes, as the most probable way of accounting for this ridiculous management, that at the time when the second marriage was declared, they had no intention of proceeding to a formal sentence against the first; and his conjecture may be right. But whatever were the reasons of the delay, a process was carried on immediately after, in the following method. The archbishop wrote a letter to the king, acquainting him that the world had been scandalized at his marriage with the widow of prince ARTHUR his elder brother; that it lay on his grace, as his duty, to see it tried and determined; and therefore he hoped his majesty would give him leave to proceed in the examination of that cause. Upon this request, the king sent him an order to call a court, and proceed to judgment. Queen CATHARINE being then at Ampthill, the archbishop went to Dunstable, within six miles of her, accompanied by the bishops of LONDON, WINCHESTER, BATH and WELLS, and LINCOLN, besides many canonists and divines; where the king and she were cited to appear. After three citations, the king appearing by proxy, and the queen neither by proxy nor in person, she was declared contumacious; and the whole merits of the cause were opened. The evidences that had been produced before the legates, of the consummation of the marriage by prince ARTHUR, were then examined; the determinations of the universities and other learned men, and the judgment of the convocation of both provinces, were read publicly over: and in conclusion, sentence was given, with the advice and concurrence of all present, declaring it a marriage in fact, but not of right, and null from the beginning. When this was finished, the archbishop and his coadjutors returned to London: and in a few days after, by another judgment, without assigning any reasons, he in general terms confirmed the king's marriage with the lady PEMBROKE; and she was the same week crowned as queen of England.

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In this manner ended the great affair of the king's divorce from queen CATHARINE; which had made so much noise all over Europe, which had given his majesty and his ministers so much uneasiness, and which had occasioned the revolt of the whole English nation from the see of Rome; as well as the ruin and destruction of many eminent men. It is in the power of kings, in a great measure, to do what they please, but they cannot prevent nor direct the censures of the world: and men of all ranks and orders will speak their sentiments as freely of the actions of kings, as of the meanest of mankind. Perhaps there is something in human nature, which makes us indulge a greater freedom, in the censures we pass on kings, and on all those much superior to us, than on our equals; or which at least inclines us to take more pleasure in that freedom, that we may bring them nearer upon a level with us; and as the only way of making ourselves any amends for the great superiority they have over us.--- But be this as it may: the tongues of all men were let loose upon this occasion; and every one spoke as his judgment or inclination led him. The proceedings of the king, in the opinion of many people, were arbitrary and illegal; and they gave them those names without any softening. But then too they had their advocates; and the great authorities of so many learned men, which in the interval of a general council was the right expedient, were pleaded in their defence. Moreover, there were those who did not dislike the divorce, but who condemned the second marriage before the first had been dissolved by a judicial process. In the common course of law, a public sentence preceded the dissolution of a marriage between private people: how much greater reason was there, that it should in this case have done so, when one of the chief political motives for commencing this suit, was the settlement of the succession of the crown of England? The succession, it was said, became more embroiled and disputable; there being a just objection to the validity of the second marriage, as it was contracted and solemnized before the first had been legally tried and declared null. In excuse of this, it was urged by others, that the first marriage having been determined, by so many canonists and divines, to have been null from the very first, there was no occasion of any legal process, except for the sake of form: but almost every body was of opinion, that it had been better either to have had no public sentence at all, or
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else to have had it before the second marriage was entered into. Besides this, there were some who objected to CRANMER as the judge; who had declared and wrote against the marriage of CATHARINE with her husband's brother. In the judgment of others, this was no objection, the change of his character being no bar to his qualification, as judges often decide causes in which they have advised as counsel; and he only declared in a legal form what had already been determined by the convocation of the clergy. The conduct of queen ANN was much admired; in managing a prince of HENRY's temper with so much address for six years together in a very critical situation: and as she proved with child so soon after her marriage, it was a great presumption that she had kept the king at a due distance, and that she would be a fruitful wife. Almost every heart was filled with pity for the former queen: and whilst some blamed her for denying the consummation of her marriage by prince ARTHUR, yet no one condemned her for insisting on the validity of her marriage with the king. But the prejudices of men spoke upon this occasion as well as their judgments: the abettors of a reformation, which the new queen was known to favour, had formed hopes of her assistance that had made them partial on her side: on the other hand those who dreaded an alteration of the establishment, which they saw would be the consequence of this divorce, took a ply the other way: and if we would judge of this cause with equity, we must not form an opinion from what has been said by any party, either at that time, or since; but by considering the views of the principal actors in this scene.

Whether HENRY was convinced that his marriage with the widow of his brother ARTHUR was contrary to the law of God; or whether he was even in doubt, and really troubled in conscience upon that account, when he first set in motion the business of his divorce, it is impossible for us absolutely to determine. Indeed if we believe what he has said himself, it must be affirmed without hesitation, that it was a case of conscience entirely; and that he suffered great and frequent conflicts in his mind, because of his incestuous commerce with the queen. But I am sorry to say, that his majesty's word in his own cause was not always to be relied upon. There are many instances, in the preceding pages, of his insincerity and deceit: and should we allow in his favour, that there are difficulties enough in the

case of such a marriage to occasion scruples in the breast of any one, yet is it possible that he should never have heard of these difficulties in almost twenty years, and consequently have been till that time without his scruples? The archbishop of CANTERBURY, it is evident, had remonstrated so powerfully against this marriage with the king his father, that HENRY the seventh had obliged his son to protest against it, after he was contracted, whilst he was prince of Wales: and notwithstanding the affiance, it remained under that protest, unconsummated, when the prince came to the crown. It was then debated among his council, whether the marriage should take effect; and the arguments on each side were produced. The objections therefore were not new; and if it was solely a matter of conscience, how came it to pass that they did not operate upon his conscience in eighteen years? Shall we then rely upon his majesty's testimony contrary to the strongest probability, and a testimony which we know was not always true? Or shall we suppose, that he was out of hopes of any more issue by CATHARINE, that he had discovered some infirmities which made her person disagreeable to him, and that this dislike, and not his conscience, suggested these scruples about his marriage, and inclined him to a divorce? The reader may take which side he pleases. But as little reason as there is for supposing, that either his love of ANN BOLEYN, or the quarrel of WOLSEY against the emperor, first enflamed him with a desire of parting with the queen, yet there is great reason in my opinion to conclude, tho against his royal word, that conscience was not his motive.

Let us now consider the king's conduct in this delicate and important business. The opinion of the universities co-inciding with his inclinations, and being thence convinced that his marriage was contrary to the law of God, he must likewise be convinced, that the pope had not a power to grant a dispensation for it: and yet at the same time that he appears under the power of that conviction, he solicits another pope for a bull to declare his marriage void. What is this but doubt, and perplexity, irresolution, and weakness of mind! If the dispensation was null by the law of God, it was unnecessary to revoke it; and his conscience might have been easy, had that been the only point in question, by separating from his wife: but if it was necessary that the pope should revoke the dispensation, then the dispensa-

tion was good, and the marriage valid. Under this dilemma stood HENRY, when the advice of CRANMER was suggested, to take the opinions of the learned as to the legality of the marriage, without regard to the papal power; and if they were on his side, to carry on the divorce. He was transported at his deliverance from the difficulties which had harrassed him so often and so long; and determined to pursue the counsel which had been given him. Had he stuck to this resolution, he would have saved himself and his kingdom a great deal of trouble and a great deal of vexation. But having still an attachment to the holy see, and being embarrassed with the doubtful principle of the papal power, he applied again to the pope; and so involved himself again in further difficulties. His pleasure, and his cause required, that a limit should be set to the papal power; but his application to the pope as judge, acknowledged that power to be without restraint, and his principles did not disown it. Perceiving however at last after many struggles, that he could not carry his point and preserve his principles, he was determined that his passions should not give place: and what he attempted at first out of resentment, in forsaking the holy see, he might afterwards perhaps work himself up to believe, and probably too did believe, to be the cause of God and religion. Such are the artifices and delusions of the human mind; and such was the conduct of HENRY in this conjuncture!

The next principal actor, who appears in this scene, is CLEMENT; and who had his difficulties to struggle with, as well as the king. The character which he had to sustain, made it necessary that he should enter upon the examination of this case, with a shew of zeal for God's glory, for justice, and religion; and with a great disinterestedness for every thing which immediately concerned himself. But his personal safety, and the interest of his family, made this zeal as a pope impertinent and injurious; and yet the holy character must not be totally laid aside. Hence arose his evasions, his perplexity, his double dealing, and delay, thro all the progress of this dispute. If he had acted in no other manner than his character of pope required, he would have informed himself whether the marriage was contrary to God's law; and whether it was in the power of any man to grant a dispensation for such a marriage. If, upon such an examination, he was convinced, that JULIUS had assumed an au-

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thority which no man was invested with, he should have granted the bull without hesitation which HENRY demanded for his divorce. On the other hand, if he was of opinion, that the marriage was not contrary to the law of God, and being only contrary to ecclesiastical usage that it was in the power of a pope to grant a dispensation, it was his duty to have confirmed it, to give his reasons for this opinion, and to persuade the king to lay aside his scruples. But all this was evidently besides CLEMENT's purpose; and he made it therefore no part of his concern. Whilst he was a prisoner, and a fugitive, and stood in need of the assistance of the king of England, he promised to make him easy. But when he had made his peace with the emperor, and had recovered Florence for his family, which was the great object of his wishes, he avocated the cause of the king to Rome, with a plain design never to try it; that he might keep both sides dependent on him. Such was the conduct of the pope in the business of this divorce: and shall we say that he was guided by any motives of piety, of truth, or equity; by any motives becoming his character of holiness and infallibility, and such as ought to have determined him in this great conjuncture? Let it be said, if the reader will---and I believe it may be said with truth---that the king pretended scruples of conscience about his marriage, in order to be divorced from a queen whom he disliked, and to marry another whom he might love: yet it was the business of a pope, either to reclaim him by his authority from such an unrighteous purpose, or if the king's objections were valid, be his motives what they would, to set aside his marriage. But the pope's attention was employed upon his interest without any regard to his duty; and he was more inexcusable, considering the post he filled, than the king of England.

Whether the emperor, who acted another part in this scene, had any better views than HENRY and the pope, notwithstanding some appearances, it is hard to say. He might believe perhaps upon the assurances of some of the ablest canonists and divines, notwithstanding what had been said to the contrary by others, that the marriage of the king with his aunt CATHARINE, was not prohibited by the law of God; and, how much soever it might contradict ecclesiastical usages and canons, that the pope had an authority to dispense with these. He might therefore look upon the divorce of his aunt, as a dishonour done to his family,
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as well as an injustice done to herself; and he might oppose it upon the best and noblest principles. But then it was so much his interest to embroil the affairs of HENRY, at that time in strict alliance with his enemy the king of France, that it is not possible for us to decide, whether motives of equity, of honour, of resentment, or of policy, bore the greatest sway in the emperor's breast on this occasion. They had probably all a share in the opposition which he gave to the king's divorce.

The unfortunate queen CATHARINE, it is certain, was very sincere in the part she acted: she had been married to the king, and lived with him without blame, almost twenty years. She had never any doubt of the validity of their marriage, after so many able men had decided it to be lawful, and after a pope, whose power she thought unlimited, had granted a dispensation. She submitted however to the same power, whenever it should be exerted: and as she considered herself as the true and faithful wife of the king, she was unwilling to yield up her right, at his caprice, in favour of another; not only to her own prejudice and dishonour, who deserved no disgrace nor disaffection from the king, but also to the prejudice of her daughter the princess MARY. She declared upon oath, that her former marriage with prince ARTHUR was not consummated; and it is very hard if not very unjust to suspect her, as many historians do, of having taken it falsely to give her cause the better colour. It wanted not this colour according to her principles; and there is no part of the character of this unhappy queen which will justify such a severe and uncharitable accusation. Let the reader recollect, or turn to, what I have said before upon this article, and there will be no occasion to add any thing here to make the charge appear as groundless as it is uncharitable. She was the only one of the parties, in my opinion, whose views were laudable, and who acted entirely upon motives of equity and religion.

The conduct of queen ANN, in managing such a prince as HENRY so many years, without gratifying his passion, has been much admired; and it was not more virtuous than it was wise and politick. But there is no approving, nor vindicating her conduct, in receiving the king's addresses for marriage, before his marriage with queen CATHARINE was declared null and illegal. It must be owned, it is extremely difficult for a young lady, of
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the rank she was then in as maid of honour, to withstand the temptation of becoming a queen. But then, if in order to become a queen, the peace and happiness of a loving faithful blameless wife was to be destroyed, and she who had done nothing to forfeit her right to share the crown was to be despoiled of it with ignominy, this is a consideration which would have had more weight in a good heart against the temptation of majesty, than, as far as appears by her letters to WOLSEY, it had in the heart of Miss ANN BOLEYN. She might probably be taught to believe, that the king's marriage with her mistress being null from the beginning, a divorce would ensue of course; and there could therefore be no crime in admitting the king's addresses before the sentence was pronounced in form. She might likewise persuade herself, that she did no injury by this to the queen; because if she should refuse to consent to his majesty's sollicitation of becoming his wife, he would find another who would accept him. If this does not excuse her giving ear to the king's addresses before there was any process about the divorce, as I think it does not, it exculpates her however from becoming his wife when the former marriage had been condemned by so many divines and universities. After all perhaps she did no more than what every one of her sex in the same case would do; and yet certainly she might have acted a much better part, tho not with such a good appearance, and tho under an opprobrious name.

By what has been said of the principal parties concerned in this dispute, and by what might be said of the subordinate agents employed in it, the cardinals, and ministers of state, and perhaps the universities abroad as well as at home, it is easy to see that this case, which was a case of conscience and religion, was treated by almost all of them with views of policy, without any regard to what was, or was not, prohibited in the word of God. This is certain, I believe however, as to the pope, the emperor, and the king: and if the others did not act in it against their sentiments of the law of God, it was principally because their interest and their sentiments did not clash. Exceptions, no doubt, are to be made for particular people; who were swayed by no motives of interest or policy, and who took up the cause upon conscientious principles: but in general the observation is sufficiently warranted from the history. Whatever were the views of the several actors in this scene, and how far soever distant

from the interest of religion, yet by the providence of God, which often directs the actions of men to purposes they little think of, they were all made subservient to that interest; and the reformation of the church of England was the issue of this dispute. But there were many transactions which preceded this great event, and which I must now turn to relate.

The king having carried his point, and the sentence of divorce being made public, the censures of the world gave him but little trouble: he sent ambassadors to all the courts of Europe to notify his second marriage, and to justify it upon the reasons which the divines and canonists had suggested: he sent the lord MONTJOY to the unhappy queen, to inform her of the sentence, and that for the future she was to be treated only as the dowager princess of Wales. Notwithstanding HENRY had proceeded to this extremity, and at last had carried his cause by his mere authority, yet he was very desirous, for reasons probably relating to the emperor, that CATHARINE should acquiesce quietly, if not with alacrity, in the divorce. The lord MONTJOY therefore had instructions of all sorts to gain her; and what promises could not do, he was to supply with threatnings. He was to assure her of her dower as prince ARTHUR'S widow, and of all the respect which belonged to such a title; but that she could be no longer called or treated as the queen; he was then to give her hopes, that her daughter MARY would be put in the succession, immediately after the issue of the present queen, if she submitted to the sentence without giving the king any further trouble; and on that condition only. But all this made no impression on the mind of CATHARINE. She insisted on her right to be the wife of HENRY, till the pope at least had annulled her marriage: she resolved, she said, to call herself by no other name till then, whatever might be the consequence; nor would she submit to the infamy of being put away, nor to the damning of her soul, that the king might enjoy his pleasure. The king was so much vexed at her inflexibility, that he endeavoured all he could, even with violence and threatening to her servants, to prevent her being called queen; the state and title of which she still maintained. As poor a piece of revenge as this was for a man to take, yet the mind of this king it seems was not great enough to despise it; and the woman whom he had already stripped of the real grandeur of a queen he would not permit to please herself with the shadow of it.

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The ambassadors which had been sent by HENRY to the emperor upon this occasion, notwithstanding the prodigious flourish which they made upon the equity of this process and on the king's regard to the emperor's satisfaction, yet had not the success which was expected in their negotiation. The emperor received the justification of their master very coldly: he told them he was well informed of every thing that had passed relating to his aunt's divorce, and that he should take the advice of his council as to the part which he was to act in her vindication; which was an answer but little short of declaring war. As firm an alliance as his majesty thought he had concluded with the king of France, and great as the promises were which that monarch had made to HENRY relating to his divorce, yet the king's success at the French court was little better than at that of the emperor. The king of France, it is true, was not offended with him for his marriage; but a change of his situation and circumstances with regard to the pope, had changed his inclinations towards the king; and instead of the assistance which he had promised HENRY, and making HENRY's cause his own, he was now determined to proceed no further in the designs which had been concerted, but to join himself to the pope. When the duke of NORFOLK therefore was sent to France to declare the marriage, and to solicit the king from his intended interview and alliance with the pope, till his holiness at least had given satisfaction to HENRY and confirmed the sentence of his divorce, he found his most christian majesty on his journey to Marseilles, the place appointed for the interview; and all he could get of him for the king his master was a renewal of his promises to use his interest with the pope, and if possible to bring the matter to an accommodation in HENRY's favour.

Whilst the king of England was thus amusing himself at home, with the good effects of the friendship of the king of France, the news of his marriage, and of the sentence pronounced by the archbishop of Canterbury, was carried to Rome. The reader will easily conceive the temper, with which an account of this event, that shewed so much contempt of the holy see, was received by that haughty court: the pope was as loud in his threatnings as he was fierce and fiery in his resentment; and the cardinals of the imperial faction, taking advantage of his

his vows of revenge, pressed him earnestly to proceed to a definitive sentence, and to issue his censures against the king. The moderate cardinals, who had no other interest to gratify in this dispute than the interest of the holy see, as offended as they might be with an account of this transaction, and of the books which were coming out against the pope's supremacy, yet thought England too rich a province to that see, to be thrown away with so much precipitation; and therefore advised to cooler measures. The cardinals whom the king had gained by promises and by presents fell in with this advice: and so a temper was found, that sentence should be given against what was done in England, whilst the affair was depending at Rome by the queen's appeal; and that the king should have time given him till the next September, to put things into the state they were in before CRANMER'S process; for which his majesty was liable to excommunication. This decree being soon after fixed up at Dunkirk, and the duke of NORFOLK having notice of it, his grace sent the lord ROCHFORD express to the king, to acquaint him with what had passed at Rome, and to know his majesty's pleasure: upon which all the ambassadors at the court of France, as well as those with the pope, were recalled immediately. As high spirited and as resolute as HENRY was upon some occasions, he was for one reason or other compliable enough with the king of France, and FRANCIS knew how to govern him. Notwithstanding therefore the duke of NORFOLK and his associates in the embassy were recalled with a shew of resentment, yet the king of France prevailed upon his majesty to send other ministers to Marseilles; "if for no other
" end, at least to witness the zeal and sollicitation with which he
" would pursue king HENRY'S interest with the pope." Accordingly, GARDINER bishop of Winchester, SIR F. BRYAN, and SIR J. WALLOP, were sent to attend at the interview between the pope and FRANCIS.

About this time the queen was delivered of a daughter, who was named ELIZABETH, and who made afterwards so great a figure, as we shall see, on the throne of England. The king was resolved to justify what he had done in his marriage, with all the pomp and respect he could; and therefore having before declared his daughter MARY princess of WALES, tho not 'till after there were no hopes of further issue by queen CATHARINE, so he did the same now in favour with the lady ELIZABETH, when she

was only presumptive heir, and when there was room to hope there might be a son who would supersede her. But he was not only willing, as I have said, to do all the honour that he could to his second marriage, but also to make the breach with Rome still wider; and to make an accommodation with CATHARINE, if the pope should incline to it, utterly impracticable. Tho' the sentence which had been passed against the king at Rome, had been sent no further than Dunkirk, yet the king thought himself obliged to take some notice of it; and accordingly sent BONNER, whom we shall find a busy man in the two following reigns, to make his appeal to the next general council. Whilst the pope was at Marseilles, concluding his niece's marriage with the king of France's son, BONNER obtained an audience as HENRY's minister; at which he delivered his majesty's authentic instrument of appeal into his holiness's hands. The pope, who was at that time concerting measures with FRANCIS for an accommodation with king HENRY, was a little surprized and disconcerted with this message by BONNER, delivered in terms not the most respectful and submissive. His answer therefore only was, that he should consider of it in a consistory with the cardinals who were with him there: and sending for the doctor in two or three days, his holiness told him, that the appeal of the king his master was unlawful and he should reject it; and that the calling a council belonged to him, and not to the king of England. The envoy was so far from being humbled or intimidated by the pope's reply, that he added CRANMER's appeal against any process from Rome to that of the king's; and aggravating the high language which he was ordered to talk in, with the vehemence and fury in which he delivered it, the pope was so incensed, that he threatened to have him thrown into a cauldron of melted lead, or burnt alive; and BONNER made his escape.

I said that the pope was concerting measures with FRANCIS to put an end to the quarrel between HENRY and the holy see; and it is certain that in consequence of what was then agreed at Marseilles, the censures which should have been executed against HENRY were delayed. At the return of the king of France from this interview, he dispatched BELLAY bishop of Paris to England, who had resided here in quality of ambassador; and who knew so well how to manage HENRY, that he soon prevailed with him to submit to the terms proposed. The king, as

the reader sees, had gone a great way in his revolt from the court of Rome, and considering his stiff and obstinate humour, he could scarce have been prevailed upon to make any submission and to retract what he had done, unless the bishop had brought him strong assurances from the king of France, that he might thereby put an end to all his troubles. The bishop himself too would scarcely have undertaken a voluntarily expedition to Rome from England in the depth of winter, if he had not been persuaded of the good effects it would produce in bringing about a reconciliation between the pope and HENRY. The king however acceded to the terms proposed by the court of France; and the bishop of Paris undertook to carry the news of HENRY's submitting his whole cause to the pope and consistory, from which the cardinals of the imperial faction, as parties, should be excluded. The news was not unwelcome to the greatest part of the sacred college: but as the king would not abase himself to make any further submission, till he had positive assurances from Rome that he should have entire satisfaction given him, so the pope was not willing to confide in his word only, and required a promise under his hand, and an order for his proxies to appear in court, to be sent by a day he named in order to prevent delays; and then CLEMENT engaged on his part, that the cause should be tried at Cambray by such as the king of England should have no objection to.

If this was not the expedient concerted between the pope and FRANCIS at Marseilles, as it probably was, it is the expedient however which was agreed to by the courts of Rome and England; in order to put an end to a quarrel which had given them both a great deal of vexation for several years. But when it seemed thus to be brought to an issue, and that this great affair was just on the point of being concluded, it was so ordered by the unseen over-ruling hand of providence, which had intended to draw a great event out of this quarrel, that the very men who above all others were most concerned and interested in preventing it, were the principal, if not the sole occasion of this rupture between Rome and England. The pope's engagement was sent by BELLAY to the king, with notice of the day by which his majesty's answer was to return; and there was no doubting of his giving in writing what he had already promised to that prelate. Besides the six cardinals that were before in the

the interest of the court of France, four more had been added at Marfeilles of that king's nomination: these, with the cardinals gained by HENRY, with some that were indifferent, and others at the pope's devotion, were more than a balance to the imperial faction, and would therefore no doubt exclude them. In this situation of affairs at Rome, the emperor's ministers were extremely urgent with the pope to revoke the engagement he had entered into; but it was not CLEMENT's interest to break his word. They redoubled their instances however with so much earnestness, that at last they got him to promise, that if HENRY's answer came not by the day appointed, he would not fulfill the contract. The day was waited for with great impatience by the several parties, by the imperialists especially; and when it came without a courier from the king of England, they pressed the pope to a definitive sentence against HENRY. As they worked upon CLEMENT's pride by representing that he was only made a jest of here, so they worked upon his fears by laying before him the effects of the emperor's revenge which was unappeasable. The bishop of Paris on the other hand represented the great injustice of such a precipitate measure; since where seas were to be crossed in such a season, and there was so great a length of way from England, many accidents might prevent the arrival of the express. He urged the patience of the king of England in following this suit above six years at Rome; and it was hard therefore not to allow him so many days, for the many circumstances which might retard his messenger. The request was certainly very reasonable; but the pope was now so governed by the imperial faction, and they were so assiduous and artful in their representations, that CLEMENT not consulting his usual prudence, brought the business into the consistory; where they had interest enough to carry it against the king: and tho according to the customary methods of the consistory there should have been three sessions before the sentence was pronounced, yet so much was the pope in the power of the imperialists from their menaces, and with such haste and fury did they drive on the breach with the king of England, that they concluded all in one day; the marriage between him and CATHARINE was declared good and legal, and the king was required to take her again to his wife, under the penalty of the severest censures from the church.

Within

Within two days after the sentence was pronounced, came the courier from England with the king's submission in form; and with earnest letters from FRANCIS that it might be accepted, and the business ended to HENRY's satisfaction. No sooner was this known, than the French cardinals grew warm and loud in their reproaches; the bishop of PARIS was exasperated to the last degree at this insolent precipitation; the pope was embarrassed, and saw he had been misled; and the imperialists, tho they rejoiced in their hearts at their success, yet were confounded with their accusation of deceit and malice. The men of sense in the consistory who were not warped with interest, insisted with the pope that it should be brought again before them, and be reconsidered; to which his holiness consented. But the true reason of an opposition from the imperial faction was now become more pressing; since there would certainly be an harmony between the king and CLEMENT to the prejudice of the emperor, if the former sentence should be annulled. They pressed the consistory therefore now with greater vehemence than ever against the king; suggesting the scandal it would give the world, to recall a definitive sentence of the validity of his marriage, pronounced with so much form and solemnity after such a deliberate process. With this argument, which it must be owned was not a weak one, and with threats of the emperor's resentment against the sacred college, the consistory were prevailed on to confirm their sentence; and thus paved the way for the church of England to recover her original independence. It was matter of astonishment to the rest of Christendom, to see the court of Rome so precipitate at last in her measures with the English nation, as if she had been weary of the wealth and obedience of such a powerful kingdom: and indeed it must be imputed to the secret directions of divine providence, which operated in favour of truth and liberty, that men of their policy and self interestedness should be so far infatuated, as to cause a rupture themselves, which it behoved them above all men to have guarded against. But such is the policy of human wisdom, when it is not directed by the counsels of the most high!

If the conduct however of the court of Rome upon this occasion was surprising and unaccountable, that of HENRY was no less

less so. He had assumed, as we have seen, the title of “supreme head of the church,” which his clergy had acknowledged in convocation; and in consequence of this title he had ordered CRANMER to proceed in the business of the divorce, and to pass sentence. Can any one suppose, that he intended to divest himself of this title and this power, which he appeared so fond of, or not to abide by the determination which the archbishop had made against his marriage? What did he mean then by sending a submission to the consistory, if the imperial faction might be excluded when his cause was heard? Was this submission consistent with his own title? or could he imagine, that his holiness would come to any agreement with him, whilst he retained that title, to the prejudice and contempt of the holy see? But the other part of his conduct at this conjuncture, is, if possible, more unaccountable still. The bishop of PARIS was sent from England with this submission the latter end of December, fifteen hundred thirty three: and yet on the fifteenth of January following, the king had called a session of parliament, in which he procured several acts to be passed, inconsistent with this agreement with Rome, and which changed the whole constitution of the government of the church. There is no accounting, I think, for this inconsistent conduct, any otherwise than by supposing that HENRY had learnt some of the artifices of the holy see, and returned their dissimulation upon themselves. He certainly meant no more by this pretended submission of his cause to the consistory at Rome, than to get his divorce and second marriage justified by their sentence; and then to withdraw himself from any further connexions with a court that had given him so much uneasiness, and overshadowed his royal power. The reader will be convinced that I do him no injustice in accusing him of insincerity, when he sees the measures which HENRY pursued in parliament, at the very time when the bishop of PARIS was making terms of accommodation by his command at Rome.

When the king was informed of his defeat, at the return of SIR ED. KARNE, whom he had sent to Cambray to prosecute his suit, and who met the bishop of PARIS coming back with an account of his unprosperous negotiation, his rage at his disappointment is not to be expressed. He had pleased himself with the thoughts of getting his great point determined in a solemn

confirmation of his divorce and marriage by the holy see; at the expence only of a submission under his hand to their determination: and tho this was in fact a tacit resignation of his new acquired power of supreme head of the church, yet the moment his cause was determined in the consistory, he intended to let them see, that he had strengthened this power of which he had already tasted the sweets, by the acts which he was then procuring to be passed in parliament. It vexed him therefore to the soul to be thus disappointed in his project; and by a precipitate irregular act which carried in it so much indignity and contempt: it vexed him still more, that he had condescended so far as to make this submission, tho he was not sincere in it, as it had not availed him any thing; and he was therefore determined to carry his resentment to the utmost length. I have already taken notice that the king had summoned a parliament in a few days after the departure of the bishop of PARIS for Rome: it will therefore be necessary to look back a little to the transactions of that parliament, before I relate the great effects of the king's resentment against the holy see.

The reader will give me leave to remind him first, of the several steps which had been taken for these four years past, in abridging the papal power in England. The affair of the king's marriage led the canonists and divines to examine into the power which the popes assumed in dispensing with the laws of God; and it induced others to enquire into the rights of the jurisdiction which they claimed in England. From these examinations, the eyes of all the laity, and of many of the clergy, began to be opened; the statute of Premunire was from hence put in execution, and the ecclesiasticks made their submission to the king. When they had got thus far from under the papal yoke, the parliament proceeded to dispute the right to annats or first fruits, and other exactions demanded of the English clergy; and in the end prohibited the payment of them to Rome. All appeals to the holy see from the jurisdiction of the courts in England, were naturally condemned in consequence of all these abridgments of the papal power: and having thus lopped off so many branches they were now determined to attack the root. Accordingly there had been many public debates in parliament and convocation, for near a year together, on the foundation of the authority which the popes assumed; in which all that could be alledged on

on both sides was considered. It will not be thought foreign to the design of this history, I presume, if I give an abstract of those arguments by which our ancestors were persuaded to reject the papal power pretended to in England, and to set up the king's supremacy in causes ecclesiastical as well as civil.

Notwithstanding the many flourishes which had been made at Rome and in other parts of Christendom, about proving from scripture the superiority of that see over all other Christian churches, yet it was now said, and said very truly, that the scripture gave no pretence for such a claim; that when CHRIST committed the care of his church in common to the apostles, he made them equal; and had often declared that there was no superiority of one above another. Nay even St. PAUL had claimed an equality with the chief apostles, and in his contest with PETER had withstood him to his face. But however if the latter should be allowed to have had a preeminence, which there was no room to allow, it was a preeminence of person only: and if it left any authority with the city in which he presided, which was a ridiculous imagination, then Antioch might pretend to it as well as Rome; and Jerusalem, in which our saviour himself had taught the faith, and out of which it was propagated over all the nations, still more than either of them. To as little purpose were the several texts of scripture which had been urged in favour of the papal power. The declaration of CHRIST to PETER, that upon this rock he would build his church, had by some of the fathers been interpreted to mean the confession which PETER made, and by others CHRIST himself, who was the only true foundation of his church; tho in another sense all the apostles are called foundations by St. PAUL. However if it proved any thing to the point they brought it for, it proved too much: it proved that the church was founded on St. PETER's person, and so on the persons of the popes his successors, which every body would deny. St. PAUL however had told us, that every apostle had his peculiar province, beyond which he was not to go; that St. PETER's was the circumcision, and his own the uncircumcision, in which he had no authority over him. The other privileges ascribed to St. PETER, were either in behalf of all the other apostles, or were relative to his fall; and could not be interpreted to give him a superior jurisdiction as universal pastor.

But besides proving that there was no foundation in scripture for this pretended superiority in the see of Rome, it was shewn from tradition, that the ancient church had never allowed it. St. CYPRIAN, it is plain, had always looked upon himself as equal to the bishops of Rome; in all his epistles had called them his brother, colleague, and fellow bishop; and expressly says "that all the apostles were equal in power, and that all the bishops were also equal, since the whole office and episcopate was one entire thing, of which every bishop had a compleat and equal share." Whatever had been said by any ancient writer of St. PETER's chair, could be understood only of the gospel which he had delivered; in the same manner, as by the seat of MOSES, was universally understood delivering the law of MOSES. When CONSTANTINE turned christian, it is true, that Rome, being the chief city of the empire, was accounted the first see: but by the general council of Nice it was decreed, that the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria had the same authority over the countries round them, as the bishop of Rome had over those which lay about that city. To make the matter still clearer, it was decreed in the second council, that every province should be governed by its own synod, and that bishops when they were accused, must first be judged by bishops of their own province, and from them they might appeal to the other bishops, but a higher appeal was a thing unknown to the purest ages of antiquity. There was a pope indeed who had sent to the African churches to claim a right to appeals, for which he pretended a canon of the council of Nice: but the African fathers disowned the canon, rejected the pope's pretension, and would not acknowledge his right. Hence it was plain, there was no tradition of any divine institution for the authority of the see of Rome: because as the popes who claimed it had never pretended to any such thing, so the African bishops shewed by rejecting that power, that they knew nothing at all of any divine warrant; the only contest being about a canon of the church. As to this canon, of which they were ignorant, they sent to the Eastern churches for copies of this council; and tho diligent search was every where made in them, yet no such canon, allowing a right of appeals to Rome, was to be found: and hence it appeared, how early that see had aspired to power, and how early it had made use of forged writings to support it.

What-

Whatever might be pretended from the decrees of later councils on this subject could be of little weight. They were most of them drawn up by monks and friers, who had obtained exemptions from Rome, and were obliged to support its power; or by such as were ignorant of the fathers, scripture, and tradition, and were only conversant in the learning of the schools. It would be tedious to relate all the arguments that were produced, in order to show that all the privileges of the see of Rome, were only founded on the practice and the canons of the church, which by fraud or violence they had overruled, and not upon any divine warrant. With regard to England it was proved, that many prelates had contended against the papal power; and that it was never received otherwise in the church, than as a conquest to which they were constrained to yield. Upon these grounds, which were much enlarged, our ancestors concluded that the pope's power in England had no foundation in the law of God, in the law of the land, or in the law of the church; and were therefore determined that it should be never more acknowledged.

After having thus rejected the papal jurisdiction, their next business was to establish the king's supremacy, over spiritual persons, and in spiritual causes; and this was done from scripture, from ancient practice, from reason, and from the laws of England. In the old testament it was plain, that the kings of Israel had intermeddled in all ecclesiastical cases; and ABIMELECH the high priest had appeared before the king, when he was summoned to answer an accusation. The king, we are told by SAMUEL, was made the head of all the tribes: and the submission of AARON to the power of MOSES may be brought as an example to all the high priests for ever. We read of the laws of DAVID about sacred things, such as the order of the courses of the priests, and when he was dying he told his son, that the courses of the priests, and all the people, were wholly at his commandment, and SOLOMON did accordingly "appoint them their charges" "in the service of God, and both the priests and levites departed not from his commandment in any matter." In the new testament, it is said that our saviour CHRIST himself was obedient to the higher powers; he paid tribute to CAESAR; he declared that he pretended to no earthly kingdom; and he charged

his disciples not to affect dominion as the lords of the nations did. The apostles wrote to the churches to obey magistrates, tho those magistrates were not christians; and every soul was to be subject to the higher powers. In conformity to these directions, the practise of the ancient church had been to draw up canons or rules for the better ordering spiritual things, as they were authorized by the civil power, and no farther. The emperors in ancient time not only called general councils, but presided in, and confirmed them; and the same had been done with regard to national synods, by several kings of England in their own dominions. What was thus deduced from scripture and ancient practise, was likewise confirmed by reason, and the laws of the land. It was absurd to suppose there could be two supreme powers at the same time in one kingdom; and the king being acknowledged supreme over all his subjects, the ecclesiasticks as well as laymen were necessarily comprehended in the subjection due to him: nor could the offices of their function, tho peculiar to them, make any difference; as the king had an authority and a power to direct and coerce them in these offices. Tho the pastoral care of a bishop was allowed to be of divine institution, yet as the kings of England had divided and erected bishopricks as they pleased, so they had also converted benefices from the institution of their founders, and gave them to monasteries and convents; and had even exempted these houses from episcopal jurisdiction. But it would be endless to recite all the extracts that were produced out of the remonstrances of the kings, the parliament, and the clergy, to the see of Rome; in order to shew, that the kings of England had always made laws about ecclesiastical affairs, and that their authority extended equally to the persons of ecclesiasticks with other subjects.

Upon the whole matter it was concluded, that the power which the popes had so long assumed in England had no foundation in reason, in scripture, nor antiquity; that tho complaints had been made of their tyranny and exactions, for three hundred years, yet little ease had been procured; and the statutes against Provisors were still defeated and made ineffectual. There was therefore no other remedy, but totally to extirpate the authority they pretended to, acknowledging the pope only bishop of Rome with the jurisdiction about it, defined by the ancient canons; and

and for the king to reassume the undoubted rights and prerogative of his crown, from which the kings of England had never formally departed, tho they had connived at an usurpation which was now no longer to be endured. This was the result of that enquiry which had been making in England, for two or three years, by all the men of learning in parliament and convocation; and FISHER bishop of Rochester, a very ancient man of great character, was the only one of his order who contended for an obedience to the holy see. The archbishop of CANTERBURY took a good deal of pains to convince him; and was extremely sollicitous that there might be no disagreement among themselves upon this subject. But by the sequel it looks as tho the old bishop retained his prejudice for the pope.

Under these circumstances stood affairs at home, at the sitting down of the parliament, on the fifteenth of January fifteen hundred and thirty four: and every sunday during the session, a bishop preached at St. Paul's cross, declaring that the pope had no authority at all in England. The design of this, was, to prepare the minds of the people for perceiving the reasonableness and the necessity of the acts of parliament which were passing; to which I shall now turn. The sessions opened in the house of commons with a bill to regulate the election and consecration of bishops; which, when it had passed that house, was sent up to the lords, together with a complaint against the bishop of LONDON, for his severity against a man suspected of heresy. But the lords taking no notice of this complaint, the commons sent some of their members to the bishop, requiring him to give his answer to the complaint they had made. The bishop reported this the next day to the lords; who, as they had neglected the complaint as not worth their notice, resolved now unanimously, that it was not fit for any peer to answer a complaint at the bar of the house of commons. The bill which this complaint accompanied, being not approved of by the king, for some reason or other, but for what does not appear, had laid three weeks on the table in the house of lords, when it was thrown out, and a new one drawn. The preamble is a confirmation of the former act against annats; to which is added a prohibition for any bishop to be presented to the bishop of Rome, or for suing any bulls from thence on any occasion. Then follows the regulation which was principally intended by this bill: "that
" when

“ when any see was vacant the king was to grant a licence to
 “ the chapter for a new election, with a letter missive bearing
 “ the name of the person that was to be chosen; and twelve
 “ days after these were delivered, an election was to be returned
 “ by the dean and chapter, or by the prior and convent under
 “ their seals. The person thus elected was to swear fealty to the
 “ king, on which a commission was to be issued out for conse-
 “ crating and investing him with the usual ceremonies: after
 “ this he was to do his homage to the king, and to be restored
 “ to the spiritualities and temporalities of his see, for which
 “ commissions were to be granted by the king during the va-
 “ cancy; and whosoever refused to obey the directions of this
 “ act or proceeded contrary to it, were declared within the sta-
 “ tute of Premunire.” This bill, being read three times in the
 house of lords, was sent down to the commons; who passed,
 and returned it to the lords, without any amendment.

But the commons, finding by the resolution of the other house
 abovementioned, that they were without any remedy against the
 bishop of LONDON, for the oppression which they had complained
 of, were determined to prevent all abuses of this nature in the
 ecclesiastical courts for the time to come. They sent up a bill
 therefore for repealing the statute against hereticks in the reign
 of HENRY the fourth, by which the bishops were enabled to
 commit any one to prison on a suspicion of heresy; at the same
 time that it was not determined by that act what heresy was.
 But the statutes of RICHARD the second, and HENRY the fifth
 on this matter, were left still in force, with the following regu-
 lation; “ that hereticks should be proceeded against upon pre-
 “ sentment, by two witnesses at least, and then be committed;
 “ but should be brought to answer to their indictments in open
 “ court, and if they were found guilty and would not abjure,
 “ or were relapse, to be adjudged to death; the king’s writ de
 “ heretico comburendo being first obtained.” In the same act
 it was declared that it should not be deemed heresy, to speak or
 write against the laws and canons of the popes; and that any
 one committed for heresy might be bailed. How acceptable such
 an act as this must be to the nation, which had smarted so much
 under the severe and intolerable exertion of the ecclesiastical
 power, in one of the most uneasy parts of it, the reader will
 easily judge: and what was thus a matter of joy to all the laity
 in

in the kingdom, must be a particular blessing to those who had set their hearts on a reformation.

The clergy having made a submission to the king in convocation, as it has been before related, and having promised in “verbo sacerdotii,” that they would never make nor execute any new canons or constitutions without the royal assent and licence of the king, this submission was, at the time I am speaking of, made the ground of another bill; which the commons passed, and sent up to the lords for their concurrence. It was hereby enacted, “since many canons had been received that were found prejudicial to the king’s prerogative, contrary to the laws of the land, and heavy to the subjects, that thirty two persons, sixteen of both houses of parliament, and as many of the clergy to be named by the king, should have full power to abrogate or confirm canons, as they found it expedient; the king’s assent being obtained.” In the same act, all appeals to Rome were again prohibited; and if any party found themselves aggrieved in the archbishop’s courts, an appeal might be made to the king in the court of chancery; and the lord chancellor was to grant a commission under the great seal to have the cause tried by delegates, in whose determination the several parties were to acquiesce. The lords read this bill twice, on the day it was brought up from the commons; and on the third reading, the day after, it passed with this proviso, which the other house agreed to; “that till such correction of the canons was made, all those which had been received should still remain in force, except such as were contrary to the laws and customs of the realm, or were to the damage of the king’s prerogative.” The proviso it must be owned seemed necessary, that there might be some canons in force by which the church was to be governed; but there being no time appointed for the commission to be executed, it was not executed at all; and it lay wholly now in the breast of the judge to declare what canons were contrary to the laws of the realm and the king’s prerogative. It was more agreeable to the king, that the matter should be left thus undetermined, than that there should be a code of ecclesiastical laws which should remain fixed and certain.

Whilst such acts as these were passing in parliament by directions from the court, the king could surely not be in earnest in

the agreement which he was making with the see of Rome. But if these are not enough to convince the reader of his insincerity, in the submission which was at this time on its way to the holy see, another act which I am now to recite, and which passed at that time by his command, will make it plainer. This was an act for the attainder of ELIZ. BARTON and her confederates; which being sent up by the commons, and having been read twice in the house of lords, the witnesses and the girl herself, called "the holy maid of Kent," were brought before their lordships, when she confessed the crimes which were charged upon her. The story of this imposture, in which among others the good old bishop FISHER, and SIR THO. MORE, at least for a time, were drawn in and deluded by her, is too tedious, and indeed too trifling, to be given the reader at full length. It may be sufficient only to say, that the girl having had hysteric fits, in which she had spoken some words which had made an impression on the silly people that were about her, she was prevailed on by the parson of the parish to counterfeit these sort of trances, and instructed by him what to say; as tho it was revealed to her from heaven. Besides a design of drawing advantages from an image of the virgin MARY which he had in his chapel, from the pilgrimages that would be made to it on account of the girl's cure, which she was directed to say she received at it, he gratified his zeal against the new doctrines, which he taught the girl to speak against in her trances, and his animosity against the king for opposing the papal power. Among other invectives and predictions, the girl had often said, that God had revealed to her, "that if the king went on in his divorce and married another wife, he should not be king a month longer, and in the reputation of almighty God not an hour longer, but should die a villain's death." The report of this being brought to the bishop of ROCHESTER, and several others who adhered to the cause of CATHARINE, they had frequent meetings with the nun, and gave countenance to her revelations. But at length she was apprehended by the king's order; and the matter being examined carefully by several lords in the star chamber, the whole conspiracy was discovered; and she and her accomplices were condemned to die. However, as the affair had made a great noise, the king had a mind it should be brought before the parliament, who judging it a conspiracy against his majesty's life and crown, sent the bill up to the lords, as I have related. At the

third

third reading of the bill, the lords addressed the king, to know whether SIR THO. MORE, and others mentioned as accomplices of the nun, or at least concealers of her treason, might not be heard in the star chamber in their defence. The bishop of ROCHESTER was at that time extremely ill; but he had sent all that he had to say in writing to the house of lords. The part which SIR THO. MORE took in countenancing this imposture, appears no further than by his sending a letter to the nun, which much offended the king, and by several conversations which he had with her, on account of the opinion he had conceived of her holiness and humility. He justified himself however in several letters to CROMWELL, and said, he was now convinced "that she "was the most false, dissembling hypocrite, that had been "known; and guilty of the most detestable hypocrisy, and de- "vilish dissembled falsehood." His own justification, seconded with the good offices which the lord chancellor AUDLEY, and CROMWELL, did him, prevailed at last upon the king to have his name struck out of the bill. The act was then agreed on, to attain the nun and those who had been her confederates of high treason, for which they lost their lives; and to adjudge the bishop of ROCHESTER and five others guilty of the misprision of treason, for which they were to forfeit their goods and chattels and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure.

Whilst the parliament was thus busied, the news was brought of the sentence that had been given at Rome against the king, with all the circumstances of contempt that have been already mentioned. The parliament was no less offended than his majesty, at this contumelious usage of their sovereign; and they were therefore now resolved, to take this opportunity of abolishing the power of the holy see in England, and to tear it up by the roots. The king's interest now was happily for them the same with that of his subjects; and the resolution that had been taken, by the zeal and diligence of those who favoured the reformation, was soon put in execution. In a few days, a bill came up from the house of commons, discharging the subjects of all dependence on the see of Rome; enacting that all payments made to the apostolic chamber, and all provisions, bulls and dispensations should from thenceforth cease for ever: that all dispensations or licences for things that were not contrary to the law of God, but only to the law of the land, should be granted within the kingdom,

kingdom, by and under the seals of the two archbishops in their several provinces: that no licence should be given for any thing new, which had not been formerly in use to be granted, till it were first examined by the king and his council, whether it were fit to be dispensed with. The exemption of abbeyes and monasteries was confirmed, and the king was authorized to grant a commission under the great seal to visit them; with a power to his majesty and his council to order and reform all indulgences and privileges, or the abuses of them, which had been granted by the see of Rome. In the conclusion it is declared, that they did not intend to vary from the church of CHRIST about the articles of the catholic faith of Christendom, or in any other things declared by the scriptures and the word of God necessary for their salvation. As this salutary act gave great ease to the subject, so it entirely spoiled that base trade of indulgences, so pernicious to true religion, but so profitable to the holy see. The monasticks, and the religious, saw the privileges of their houses were plainly struck at in this bill, since the king was authorized to reform them; which put them into much uneasiness and confusion. On the other hand, all those who wished for a reformation, and that the church of England might recover her original purity and independence, saw with great pleasure that this act would not only root out entirely the papal power, but also establish the scripture as the standard of the catholic faith.

On the same day that this bill was passed in the house of lords, that they might pull down at once that formidable power under which the nation had so long groaned, another bill was read; declaring the king's marriage with CATHARINE against the law of God, confirming the archbishop's sentence against it notwithstanding any dispensations to the contrary, and establishing the succession to the crown of England in the issue of his majesty's present marriage with queen ANN. Moreover, it was enacted, that if any person should divulge any thing to the slander of this marriage, or of the issue begotten in it, or being required to swear to maintain the contents of this act, and refused it, were to be adjudged for misprision of treason, and suffer accordingly. In this manner was the power of the popes in England abolished, and the king's marriage confirmed, by act of parliament. The two houses having thus finished their business, were prorogued on the thirtieth of March to the third of November following. But

before they broke up, that they might set a good example to the king's other subjects, all the members took the oath relating to the succession: and commissioners were sent all over the kingdom to administer it to the people of every rank and denomination. The oath which was taken by several abbots and friars of every order, as it is given in the collection of public acts, was to this effect: that they would bear faith and true obedience to the king, and to the issue of his present marriage with queen ANN; that they would always acknowledge him the head of the church of England; that the bishop of Rome has no more power than any other bishop; that they renounced obedience to him, and would preach no other doctrine than what was sincerely agreeable to the scriptures and catholic tradition; and that they would pray first for the king as supreme head of the church of England, then for the queen and her issue, and then for the archbishop of Canterbury and all the orders of the clergy.

In a short time after the breaking up of the parliament, there was a meeting of the privy council at Lambeth, where several people were cited to take the oath; and amongst the rest, SIR THO. MORE, and bishop FISHER. SIR THOMAS being first called, and the oath being tendered to him under the great seal, he desired to see the act of succession which had enjoined it: and this being also shewed him, he said he would blame neither those that had made the act, nor those who had taken the oath; but for his own part, tho he was willing to swear to the succession in a form of his own drawing, yet the oath which was offered was so worded, that his conscience revolted against it, and he could not take it with safety to his soul. He was ordered then to withdraw, that others who attended might be dispatched. Every one else that was summoned took the oath without any scruple, except bishop FISHER; who gave nearly the same answer which SIR THO. MORE had done. Upon this SIR THOMAS was called in again: and the lord chancellor observing, what a great number had taken the oath, and how much the king would be offended with him for being the first and almost the only one who had refused it, he answered as before, that he judged no man for having done it, but that he could not do it himself, for reasons which might give more offence perhaps than the refusal, and which might be called a disputing against law; nevertheless if the king commanded it he would put his reasons into writing. The

archbishop being very desirous, because of the great character of MORE and FISHER, that they should not go away without taking the oath, pressed SIR THOMAS with an argument, which, tho our learned church historian relates with a seeming approbation, I must own myself surprized at. "Since you blame no other person," says CRANMER to him, "for taking this oath, it appears that you are not persuaded it is a sin, and are only doubtful in the matter; you are certain however of this, that you ought to obey the king and the law; and there being a certainty on the one hand, and a doubt only on the other, you are obliged therefore to do that about which you are certain, notwithstanding the doubts you may be under."

It is really difficult to say, whether I am more surprized that this argument, should come out of the mouth of so good and so wise a man as CRANMER, in a case of such importance; or that it should at all shake the resolution of so able a man as SIR THO. MORE, as he writes himself it did; or that it should escape the observation of so expert a casuist as bishop BURNET. To say that this argument has more sound than sense in it, and more artifice than truth, is not saying enough: it teaches a doctrine opposite to what ST. PAUL hath taught us; who hath not only said, that "every man should be persuaded fully in his own mind," but also that, "tho nothing is unclean of itself, yet that to him who esteemeth any thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean; and he that doubteth is damned if he eat." Thus, tho obedience to the king and the laws of the land, was a thing right in itself, and the duty of every subject, yet if it appeared to SIR THO. MORE, that the oath now required was contrary to the laws of God, to which another law had restrained the power of the legislature, he was so far from being obliged in conscience to take this oath, as the archbishop suggested, that he would have violated his conscience and have been self condemned in doing it. The rest of the people, who saw nothing in it, which they thought contrary to the laws of God, were not blamed by him, it is true, for they had done only their duty: but it does not thence follow, what CRANMER wrongfully concluded, that SIR THO. MORE was only doubtful in this matter, and that he was not persuaded, that in him who thought the oath was contrary to the law of God, it would be a sin to take it; and even he that doubteth, St. PAUL says, is self condemned if he complies.

SIR THO. MORE however was not in doubt; his conscience positively leaned, he said, to the other side; and he offered to purge himself upon oath, that it was not from obstinacy or humour, but purely out of a principle of conscience, that he refused to swear in the words prescribed. The reader, I hope, will pardon this digression; to which I had no other motive than my love of impartiality, and a sense of my duty as a church historian. I shall now go on with the conference.

When the archbishop was silenced by the plea of conscience which SIR THOMAS urged, and urged with the utmost propriety, the abbot of WESTMINSTER went a plainer and a shorter way to work with him; telling MORE, who was a much wiser and a much better man than himself, "that howsoever the matter
" might appear to him, he might see his conscience was errone-
" ous, since the great council of the realm was of another mind;
" and therefore he ought to change his conscience." There needs no other reflexion on this reasoning than what bishop BURNET has made upon it; that it was very fit for so rich an abbot, and discovered of what temper his own conscience was. The knight replied however with great modesty, that if he stood single in his opinion against the parliament, he should have reason to suspect his own understanding: but he thought he had the whole council of Christendom on his side to oppose to the great council of England. What SIR THO. MORE said for himself, was assented to by the bishop of ROCHESTER, as a justification also of his own refusal: but they both offered to swear to the succession of the crown in the issue of the king's present marriage; because they thought the parliament had a right to determine that matter. Secretary CROMWELL, who tenderly favoured SIR THO. MORE, to use his own expression, and who knew the consequence of this debate, when he saw SIR THOMAS could not be moved to take the oath as it was tendered, saw that his ruin would become inevitable; and in his great anxiety protested with an oath that he had rather his only son should have lost his head, than that the oath should have been refused by SIR THO. MORE. The archbishop, who wanted neither sense nor candour, and who foresaw the ill effects of contending with men of their character and popularity, and with whom severity would do nothing, pressed extremely to accept the oath on the terms they offered it. For it would not only give a fair occasion to satisfy
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the princess dowager and her daughter, that they were not bound to insist upon their pretensions, but the great character, he said, of these two men would also go far in silencing the emperor and other foreign princes; as well as in quieting the scrupulous consciences of many dissatisfied people at home. But in what way soever these able ministers of the king might be willing to compromise this dispute, the king himself was much irritated, and would not be governed by their advice. It was no part of HENRY's character, to yield a point he had once insisted on, if he could avoid it; and therefore MORE and FISHER were both indicted on the statute, and committed prisoners to the tower; without the use of books or paper, lest they should write against his marriage or supremacy. The good old bishop was particularly used ill; his temporalities were seized, all his goods were confiscated without leaving him clothes enough to cover him, and the necessities and comforts of life denied him. In this situation we must leave them for the present, and turn to other affairs.

When the nun and her accomplices were brought to tyburn, who were executed about this time, she confessed the imposture they had been guilty of: and the wickedness of this design not only alienated the minds of people from the papal interest, but also induced them to believe, that many of the visions and miracles, by which the orders of the religious had raised their credit, were of the same artificial nature. The pope did not long survive the mortification of being disowned in England; nor did his death make any alterations in the measures which the court were taking to break the papal yoke. Tho the separation from Rome therefore was made in the former session, yet the king's supremacy being not thorowly settled, an act was passed at the meeting of the parliament in November, to confirm the title which the clergy had already given him of "supreme head of the church;" and to annex to it a power of visiting and amending all errors and heresies, which in the spiritual jurisdiction should be reformed. By another act, the form of the oath about the succession was prescribed; and all the people were obliged to take it, under the penalty contained in the former act. The reader must remember the putting down the payment of annats, or first fruits of ecclesiastical benefices, to the pope; and the clergy probably thought they were rid for ever of this burden. But the king had his eye upon this revenue, which he thought

thought worth his own acceptance: and having got all the assistance which he wanted from the clergy in his designs on the court of Rome, his majesty now procured an act, that the first fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical preferments should be paid for the future to the king, as supreme head of the church. Another act declared it treason, to speak or write any thing against the king, or queen; to deny his dignity or title; or to call him heretick, schismatick, infidel, tyrant, or usurper of the crown. The design of this act, was to restrain the insolence of some observant friars in particular, who took great liberty with the king in their public preaching, and even sometimes to his face. The fourteenth act of this session, appointed and made a provision for many suffragan bishops, which it had been usual to have within the realm. These were the same with the Chorepiscopi in the primitive church; which were introduced sometime before the first council of Nice, and continued till the ninth century; when a forged decretal of DAMASUS condemned the use of them, and occasioned their being every where laid aside by degrees. They were now revived however in England: and the bishop of the diocese was to present two to the king for every town appointed, one of which his majesty was to present to the archbishop to be consecrated: they were to exercise such jurisdiction as the diocesan should give them, or as suffragan bishops had been used to exercise, but their authority was at last no longer than the bishop continued his commission to them.

These were all the acts of this session of parliament, I think, which concerned the church; and these were followed by the grant of a subsidy to the king, with a preamble full of flattery, about his wisdom and policy in the government of the kingdom for above four and twenty years in great wealth and quietness. In return for this subsidy, given by the parliament with so much cheerfulness and zeal, the king sent a general pardon, with the exceptions ordinary in such cases. But however it did not content him, that SIR THO. MORE, and bishop FISHER, should be excluded by general clauses from this act of grace: there were two particular acts in this session to attain them of misprision of treason: the bishoprick of Rochester was declared void; the king's grants to SIR THO. MORE, hardly worth the naming, were set aside; and he was invidiously charged with ingratitude towards

his majesty. Severe and revengeful as this treatment was, there were those it seems who thought it necessary in such an important crisis; lest an indulgence to them, who had so great an authority among the people, might encourage others to revolt by their example, and to be corrupted in their affections towards the king. Supposing the bishop and SIR THOMAS to have been disaffected themselves, and to have used every opportunity of sowing sedition amongst others, this treatment of them would have been just. But they were not wanting in zeal and loyalty for the king; they were even willing to take the oath to the succession, how much soever they disapproved his second marriage; and their treason consisted only in a point of conscience. Allowing however that the severity which was shewn them was not unjust, it will be a very difficult thing to prove it was not impolitick. If their reputation was high, and their credit remarkably great among the people before, the prosecuting them thus to death for a mere opinion, and an opinion which the king himself and all the subjects of England had till now embraced, was the ready way to raise them higher. The English are naturally an humane benevolent people: and they are not only therefore inclined, to pity those who suffer, even where the cause of suffering may be just, but also to think well of their conscience, if not of their opinions, when they see men determined to endure all extremities for them. But unjust and impolitick as it was in the government, to treat such great men as these with unexampled cruelty, yet many thought at that time, that the hand of providence was visible in thus retaliating the barbarities, which they had dealt out to others for their opinions, on themselves. The bishop had prosecuted all the preachers of the new doctrine, who came in his way, with a relentless fury; and SIR THO. MORE, during his power, had pressed the king continually to shew no mercy to hereticks, had followed them to the rack to see their punishment was not mitigated, and had always insisted on the extremity of the law; which he felt now himself to be very heavy. Such reflections as these are always made, where the foundation for them is not so reasonable, as it seems to be in the case before us.

The parliament having given the finishing stroke to the authority of the see of Rome, and the king's supremacy, by the acts which passed in the late session, at the close of the year fifteen hundred and

thirty four, we are now come to a revolution in the English church; by which an end was put to that blind obedience to the see of Rome, which had enslaved our ancestors for so many ages, without any foundation in scripture or in reason. Here therefore it will be proper to stop, and to put a period to this book; that the mind may be at leisure to make the proper use of this event in the English history.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XII.

THE king having surmounted all the difficulties of his divorce and his second marriage, and with the concurrence of his parliament and clergy, having totally extirpated the papal power in England, he had now the sole government of all his subjects without any competitor. The following year therefore was opened by a proclamation, forbidding the name of pope to be given to the bishop of Rome, and commanding it to be erased out of all books and writings, that the remembrance of it, if it was possible, might be lost for ever. This was followed by instructions for an exact enquiry into the estates of all the clergy within his kingdom, that the first fruits and tenths might be paid to their just value; which was returned to him in a book deposited in the exchequer, and which still regulates the payment of our first fruits, where the livings are not discharged. At the same time, all the bishops voluntarily took an oath, to maintain the king's supremacy in the church, and to renounce solemnly all obedience to the bishop of Rome. We may reasonably suppose, **THAT** that as there was no law to require this test of the bishops, that it was set on foot by CROMWELL; who might not only intend to draw his brethren so far into the designs against the pope, as to make it impossible for them to return back, but perhaps also to try the temper of some whom he might suspect were

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were enemies to the reformation ; and who, if they should refuse to take this oath, would ruin themselves with the king. In this he might have an eye particularly upon GARDINER bishop of Winchester, who had given too many proofs of his aversion to the new opinions, and of his zeal for the see of Rome. If this however was the intention of the primate, the bishop had too much cunning, and too little piety, to be caught. He was not one of the last therefore of the bench of bishops to take this oath ; tho he abhorred it in his soul as unjust and impious. He saw, as well as the archbishop, that an absolute submission to the king in this point, which was to him a very tender one, was the only way to preserve his favour : and if that were preserved, he should be in a condition to oppose, or retard at least, the reformation in other points. What an effect is here of a furious and mistaken zeal ! A Christian bishop incurs the guilt of perjury deliberately and with design, that he may have it in his power to give a check to what he deemed heretical. When the reader comes to see his conduct in the reign of MARY, he will own I have not charged this prelate wrongfully with perjury, in the oath which he took now to renounce the pope.

Besides this crafty bishop, there were others at court and in the king's favour, who strenuously opposed any further changes : at the head of these was the duke of NORFOLK, who tho uncle to the queen was her mortal enemy ; and who tho he complied with the king in his divorce and marriage, like a good courtier, yet upon all occasions persuaded him to make no innovations in religion. To this duke, and the bishop of WINCHESTER, was associated in these counsels LONGLAND bishop of Lincoln ; who had been confessor to the king, who understood him well, and who knew how to manage him : and as they had a great party with them in the court, so they had almost all the churchmen in the kingdom covertly on their side. But that which gave the greatest strength to their interest, and weighed more with the king than any thing else, was, that he himself had wrote a book, and a book he believed that was much admired, against these very notions which the reformers were now endeavouring to introduce. They knew the vanity of his heart about this book ; which, from the many extravagant commendations that his flatterers had bestowed upon it, he had been almost made to believe was inspired into him ; and they took care to practise upon this

vanity, to serve their purpose. They concluded, that whatever firmness the king now expressed for the old religion, which the fears of a change might perhaps produce, yet that the interests he must embark in with the princes of Germany against the emperor and the pope, with the power that the queen and the archbishop had, would prevail on him at length to give way to a change: and in this they were not mistaken. But yet their zeal against heresy was much enflamed by the monks and friars; who by the acts of parliament lately passed were left to the king's mercy. They were no more to plead their bulls of immunities and exemptions, nor to claim any privileges further than the king was pleased to allow them. No new saints from Rome could draw any more wealth or honour to their orders: privileges and indulgences were out of doors; so that the arts of drawing in the people to enrich their churches and houses were at an end. But yet this was not all. Some intimations had been given them, that the king and his ministers had an eye upon their estates: and unless therefore they could prevent any further progress of this reforming spirit, they were undone. They thought and spoke prophetically upon this subject: but by an infatuation not unusual, the very steps they took to prevent their ruin, were those which hastened and completed it. This is not however to be related till we get further on.

If the zeal of those who favoured the old religion was thus warm and busy, that of the reformers was no less so. At the head of these we must place the queen, who had been well instructed by CRANMER; and who made use of all her power with the king, which was extremely great, to favour the reformation. She had taken SHAXTON and LATIMER, who were popular preachers against the papacy, to be her chaplains, and had promoted them to the sees of Worcester and Salisbury; of which the cardinals CAMPEJUS and GHINUCCI, their late bishops, were deprived by an act of parliament. Next to the queen, we must place the primate; who, besides the advantage of his rank and character, which gave him a great authority, was perhaps of all the men in England the most fitted for the business of the reformation, on account of his learning and application. Bishop BURNET tells us, that besides six or seven volumes which lord BURLEIGH had, he himself had seen two in folio of the hand writing of this prelate, containing a great collection of quotations out of the scriptures, the

the ancient fathers, and later doctors and schoolmen, upon all the heads of religion; that he might be well prepared to carry on this important undertaking. The next in it to the archbishop was secretary CROMWELL, who, as one of the first acts of the king's supremacy, was made his majesty's vicar general, and visitor of all the monasteries and places exempted from jurisdiction. He had not only joined himself in a firm friendship with CRANMER, but he also assisted him with all his influence in promoting a reformation which he had much at heart. They had several coadjutors in this great design; but these were the chief instruments employed in working upon the king, without whom it was impossible to do any thing in it. But happily for them, and for religion, they had his prejudices only, and not his interest, to contend with. His interest, after what he had already done, was evidently to join the protestant princes of Germany against the emperor, who was appointed to execute the pope's sentence against him: and as his passions had so far got the better of his prejudices, that he had extirpated the pope's authority from his dominions, so CRANMER took all occasions to shew the absurdity of permitting those doctrines to be still maintained, which had no other foundation but in the decrees of Rome. He pressed the king incessantly that all the disputed articles might be heard and examined freely; and as to reasons of state, he was to do his duty as a christian prince, and to leave the event to providence. It was necessary to open these particulars, that I might give the reader a view of the state of the court of HENRY, and of the principles which the parties went upon when the reformation was introduced.

As the two houses of parliament and the bench of bishops had done their part to establish the king's supremacy, the next thing was to engage the clergy, the regulars especially, to acknowledge and submit to this determination. The Franciscan friars at Richmond were the only men that made an obstinate resistance; but many secret practices were entered into by these orders against the state; which heated the king's temper and provoked him to great severities. One of the first things resolved on, in order to lessen the credit and authority of these people, was a general visitation of all the monasteries and religious houses, in which the abuses were great and visible. The archbishop of CANTERBURY led the way to this by a metropolitical

tical visitation, for which he obtained a licence from the king. The scheme of the reformation was not forward enough yet to do any thing of much consequence: he took care however that every one should submit to the king's supremacy, and renounce all dependance upon the pope; whose name he saw struck out of all the public offices of the church. Shortly after began the great visitation of all the monasteries, by several commissioners authorized for that purpose; who had instructions to direct them, and injunctions to be left at every religious house. It would be disagreeable, I presume, as well as unnecessary, to give the reader these instruments at length: the instructions only contain above fourscore articles of enquiry, into the government, behaviour, and education of the persons of both sexes, in these places of devout retirement. Many severe things are said of the proceedings of these visitors; and, according to lord HERBERT, some of them very truly. What with permitting several to relinquish their engagement, which they were weary of; what with giving others a little pension for their lives; and what with threatening and persuasion, they procured the surrender of several monasteries to the king. To spare others, they took great sums of money, many jewels, and church ornaments, to their own, and the king's use. The full report of this visitation it seems is lost; but the extract from it which bishop BURNET saw, relating to above a hundred and forty houses, contains in it abominations, he says, equal to any that were in Sodom. The king was extremely incensed against the monks, whom he considered as the great disturbers of his repose; which, together with the prospect of getting their estates into his hands, made him push the matter against them with the utmost violence. As soon therefore as the commissioners had given in their report, it was very industriously propagated over the kingdom, and fully answered the end which he had in view. The whole nation was scandalized to the last degree, to find the places sacred to retirement and devotion, a few excepted, given wholly to faction, lewdness, idolatry, or superstition; which made it easy for the king to get them afterwards suppressed in parliament; as it will be related in its proper place.

These proceedings however did not quiet the king's resentment against this set of people, who were continually corrupting the affections of his subjects: and therefore some monks and friars,
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who had been too free with the late statutes, and with his majesty's new title of supreme head of the church, were in this year apprehended, tried, and executed. But as one of their accusations against the king, was, that he intended to overturn the old religion, so he affected at the same time to use the same rigour towards those who had openly preached up the new opinions; and put them to death with the others. The truth is, his majesty was so fond of his new prerogative, that he would make his own opinions the standard of those of his subjects; and they were to believe so far, and no further, than he himself did. His temper was likewise become so stern and unappeasable, that he lost all his former clemency and good nature; and thro the remainder of his life was severe and cruel. Finding therefore that the terrors which he had already given were not sufficient to make people believe, as he had a mind they should believe, he was now resolved to make great examples, that every body at least should be kept in awe; and to this end began with bishop FISHER.

The poor old man had been confined a prisoner in the tower above a year; where he had endured a great deal of misery, for want of fuel, diet, clothes, and other necessaries of life. Whether this was owing to the king's direction, in order to try if it would work the bishop into a compliance, or whether it proceeded from the negligence and inhumanity of those who had the care of him, it is impossible to determine. The news however of his sufferings on account of the papacy reaching Rome, the pope made him a cardinal; perhaps as much in opposition to king HENRY as in gratitude to the bishop. Be this however as it might; as soon as his majesty was informed of this promotion, he sent to examine FISHER about it; and tho the bishop protested he was so far from endeavouring to procure it, that he would not stoop to take it up if the hat lay at his feet, yet all our historians agree, that this promotion precipitated his fall. He was tryed by the lord chancellor, and a committee of the lords, with the judges; and being found guilty on the statute in denying the king's supremacy, was beheaded. Thus died the good old bishop FISHER, in the eightieth year of his age, with a great deal of learning, a great deal of devotion, and every virtue that could adorn a christian, and a prelate; if we except his cruel zeal, and want of candour towards those whom he deemed heretics. This is the only stain upon the character of this pious prelate; for as to the business of the maid of Kent, his honest heart was imposed upon, by false reports, and his own enthusiasm.

He was many years confessor to the king's grandmother, and used his influence with her so far in the noble design of advancing learning, that he persuaded her to found divinity professorships in both universities, to erect and endow Christs college in Cambridge, and to add to the foundation of ST. JOHN'S; which he had already augmented liberally by his influence with the king. In consideration of these benefactions, the university of Cambridge made him their chancellor, and he continued ever to be their friend. HENRY the seventh promoted him to the see of Rochester; which, according to primitive practise, he would never change for a better. He was in great favour with the king whose reign we are now relating, on account of his great learning and good qualities, and might have had any bishoprick which he pleased; but he said his church was his wife, and he would never part with her for her poverty. In the business of the divorce he took the side of the queen; and as he took it upon a principle of conscience, so he always continued to assert her right, and to withstand the king with a firmness becoming his office and character. The king was too imperious to endure such a contradiction to his will with a good grace; and from that time looked always with an evil eye on FISHER. It was not however to be expected, that a man grown old in the prejudices he had been bred, without strength of understanding enough then to combat them, and without any passion or interest to gratify by laying them aside, should veer about with the court doctrine like a weathercock, and contradict the system he had contended for with zeal and acrimony. In the opinion of many, the king should have proceeded against him for the misprision of treason in the business of the maid of Kent, which was a matter of state; and not for his denying the supremacy, which was a point of conscience. He suffered however with the greatest fortitude and alacrity; and in his last moments prayed for the prosperity of the king and kingdom.

In a few days after SIR THO. MORE was brought to his trial for denying the king's supremacy. He pleaded strongly against the statute for making it treason; and brought many arguments to prove, that the king could not be the supreme head of the church: but being found guilty he was sentenced to die as a traitor. He received this sentence with that equal temper of mind, which he had shewed in both conditions of life; and then set himself wholly to prepare for death. He had so great a contempt of the world, and the loss of life was so little terrible to him,

him, that his ordinary facetiousness remained with him on the scaffold. Many censured this as too light and ludicrous for the occasion: but it was so natural to him, and the consciousness of his own integrity gave him such an inward pleasure, that what was a mournful solemnity to the spectators was to him a matter of joy. In this manner ended the life of the great SIR THO. MORE; great in his profession, great in his endowments, great in his character, but greatest of all in those virtues which adorn a christian. When I have said this, I must except, as I did in the good old bishop of ROCHESTER, the same fiery zeal in the persecution of those, who revolted, as he thought, from the catholic faith. This cruel treatment of their fellow christians, was the more surprizing in them, because naturally they were both, of a sweet, humane, and generous disposition. In his youthful days too SIR THO. MORE had freer thoughts of things; as we may learn from his Utopia, and his letters to his friend ERASMUS. But afterwards, some how or other, he became devoted to the passions and the interest of the popish clergy, to a degree of superstition. He was indeed their great, and almost their only champion; but the chief strength of his writings, which were adapted to the vulgar rather than to the learned, consisted in an easy fluency of expression, concealing the dark side of the popish principles, and exposing with great art the pernicious consequences which might be supposed to follow from a reformation. His knowledge of antiquity was very moderate, but in divinity it was less; for he had no critical skill or learning in the scriptures, more than what he had gathered from some of the writings of ST. AUSTIN. To his ignorance therefore in these particulars, we are to impute, I think, his zeal and bigotry for the papacy. But for justice, humility, devotion, sweetness of temper, contempt of money, and true greatness of mind, SIR THO. MORE was an example to the age he lived in.

If the king intended by the execution of these two popular men, to strike a terrour into all the rest of his subjects who might dislike the oath, it is certain that he gained his point; and, till the rebellion broke out afterwards in Lincolnshire, there were no more executions on account of treason. The commission of vicar general which had been given to CROMWELL, being judged not sufficient to all the purposes which the king intended, another commission was given him at this time, confounded by most historians with the former, appointing him lord vice-gerent in all ecclesiastical affairs; which not only gave him precedence next
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the royal family, but also cloathed him with a delegation of his majesty's whole power as supreme head of the church. After what had been done in England by the parliament and convocation, in order to extirpate the papal power and to establish the king's supremacy, and all this by the direction of the king himself, the reader will be surpris'd perhaps to hear, that CLEMENT being dead, and PAUL the third being advanced to the pontificate, HENRY sent to CASSALI, who had been his minister at the court of Rome, and who still resided there for his own pleasure, to apply himself to the new pope. Yet so it was. CASSALI received instructions to recommend the case of the king his master to the pope's consideration, and to persuade him to consult some of the learned in France upon it. The pope, who was very desirous to heal the breach which his predecessor had made imprudently, gave an ear to this proposal, and had several conferences with CASSALI in what manner to bring it about. But the news arriving at Rome of the execution of the friars, and of bishop FISHER and SIR THO. MORE for denying the king's supremacy, his holiness perceived that the hopes of an accommodation with England were at an end: and therefore to maintain the honour of the papal see, he excommunicated the king, absolved all his subjects from their allegiance, ordered all ecclesiasticks to leave the kingdom and the nobility to take up arms against the king: He forbid Christians of all nations to have any commerce with the English people, laid the kingdom under an interdict, and annulled all the treaties which foreign princes had made with HENRY since his second marriage, declaring the issue of it to be illegitimate.

Tho the pope thought it necessary to shew his displeasure in this manner for what had been done in England against the papacy, yet as he was apprehensive it would signify little without an army from the emperor to enforce it, which was not ready, he contented himself for the present with drawing up the bulls, and reserved the publication 'till a fitter season. The king however being informed of what was intended against him, and that the pope had threatened besides to give away his kingdom to an Italian prince, resolved upon an alliance with the protestant states of Germany, that he might find employment for the emperor. But a firm alliance between HENRY and the protestants was not the most practicable thing in the world. The latter wanted only the liberty of their religion in peace and quietness; and the sole aim of the former was to excite them only against the emperor; without

without any regard to the protestant religion, which he did not cherish, but persecuted in his kingdom. The project of an alliance therefore between the king and the German protestants, tho it was attempted, and in reality made the pope and emperor somewhat uneasy, yet came to nothing thro the pride and conceit of HENRY; who expected the Germans as well as the English should learn of him what they were to believe.

I have already taken notice, that many efforts were used by the king in order to persuade CATHARINE to lay aside the title of queen, and to submit to the decision that had been made against their marriage, but without effect; and that he had so far indulged a little petulant resentment for her refusal, as to dismiss all her attendants who gave her the name and ceremony due to a queen. This was repeated with more rigour, after the parliament had passed the bill which condemned the marriage; and finding no hopes of redress from the emperor nor the pope, the queen fell into a sickness at this time, which put an end to her life. When the king was informed of her disorder he sent her a kind message; and before she expired, she dictated a letter of great tenderness to him, forgiving the troubles he had cast her into, praying God to do the same, and concluding with this vow, "that her eyes desired him above all things." The king appeared much affected with her letter, and more so at her death: but tho she had desired to be buried in a convent of observant friars, yet he caused her to be interred in a monastery at Peterborough; which, for the honour of her memory, says lord HERBERT, the king reserved when the rest fell, and erected it into an episcopal see. Thus ended the life of CATHARINE queen of England, in the fiftieth year of her age, and after residing in this kingdom above two and thirty. Her person in her youthful days was none of the most engaging; but what she wanted in beauty, she made ample compensation for, in the mildness of her temper, the modesty of her nature, and the virtues of her life. If these did not procure the king's affections at first, they certainly preserved them for many years, and he was extremely fond of her. But finding no hopes of further issue, and her person becoming disagreeable to him from a disorder she had contracted, his affections were lost; and he treated her with great indifference, tho with a civil respect. At last, when he had resolved upon a divorce, and could bring her to no compliance, he looked upon her as his enemy; and his indifference was turned to hatred. When the sentence therefore condemning his marriage

riage with her was pronounced, he treated her with a rigour much below the greatness of a king; at the same time that he was obliged to connive at a disobedience to the orders he had given. She recommended the care of her daughter MARY to the king; for whose sake, it is probable, she underwent all the disgraces that were put upon her, without going out of England, where her life could not be very comfortable. Amidst all her greatness, she was an example of industry to her sex; and accounting no time, she said, to be lost, but what was laid out in dressing her, she worked a great deal herself, as well as kept her attendants well employed. Her cause having embarrassed many of her friends as well as her enemies, tho she was universally esteemed on account of her virtues, yet she was not greatly lamented at her death. The king perhaps regretted it as much as any body; and if he thought seriously of it, had, in my opinion, the greatest reason. His queen however expressed an indecent joy at it, both in her dress and manner; and the king's concern, it is evident, was of no long continuance.

The death of CATHARINE seemed to give a fair opportunity for HENRY to renew his friendship with the emperor, and some overtures were made on both sides to this effect. But CHARLES insisting on conditions, relating to the pope especially, which the king could not comply with, his majesty was determined to avail himself of the love and obedience of his subjects, which he had before experienced on so many occasions. The parliament therefore, which had stood prorogued for above a year, was now called to meet; in which every thing that related to the papal power was abolished, that there might not be left the least pretence whatever for acknowledging the authority of the see of Rome. But the great business which the king intended for this session, was suppressing the lesser monasteries; as well to revenge himself of the monks who had given him a good deal of trouble, and to prevent their ill intent for the future, as to get their estates into his hands to support his government. The report therefore which the visitors had made to the king of these houses was laid before the parliament. The nation had been much and industriously enflamed, as I have already said, with this report of the visitors; and the parliament wanted no sollicitation to enact, that all sorts of religious houses, as well as those which had been already given up the preceding year, which had not in lands and revenue above the clear yearly value of two hundred pounds, with all the ornaments, jewels, chattels, goods and debts

debts belonging to them, should be given to the king and his heirs for ever.

Many reasons were assigned to the publick for the dissolution of these houses, besides the abominable vices which had been practised in them: but the true reason was undoubtedly, as I have suggested, to distress the monastic order, and to furnish the king with a revenue without oppressing his other subjects. Thus fell the lesser monasteries, to the number of three hundred and ninety six; bringing in together upon a moderate computation, two and thirty thousand pounds a year; and by their goods and chattels, sold much below their value, above a hundred thousand in ready money. But whatever were the reasons for the dissolution of these houses, it is certain that the use was not made of it which might have been made, since the revenue of the crown was so little improved. Besides an opportunity of gratifying his favourites and hungry courtiers, the king had probably a regard to CROMWELL'S observation, in distributing the abbey lands at easy rates into so many hands; which was, "that the greater the number of people was which had an interest in these estates, the more irrevocable they would be." In order to collect the revenues arising from this dissolution, a new court was erected, called "the court of augmentation of the king's revenue," with a full power and authority to dispose of these lands, in a manner that should be judged most for the service of the crown: and this was an evident intimation, that his majesty had a design to proceed further in this affair, 'till he had got possession of the estates of all the monasteries in the kingdom. Whatever were the sentiments of the people about the court, who were enriched by this ecclesiastical treasure, the bulk of the nation who got nothing by it, who claimed a share as it were in the goods of the church, and who thought it might so happen that either their own children or relations might have a place in these houses if they had not been destroyed, were not a little displeased at this proceeding. This displeasure was encreased by their commiseration, when they saw ten thousand people thrust out of doors without any warning, and most of them unable to earn their bread; while their churches and chapels were perverted to secular, and some of them to irreligious, uses.

When the parliament had finished the business relating to the monasteries, and passed several laws relating to the state, they were dissolved. We are told by the learned historian of the reformation,

mation, that at this time a motion of great consequence was made by CRANMER in convocation, that they should petition the king for leave to make a translation of the bible in the English language. The bishop probably was right as to the fact; tho I have not been able to find in what convocation this was moved. That no convocation of either province sat with this session of parliament, may be concluded, I think, from the silence of our registers, and the ancient extracts of our convocations, which mention only the proroguing them to the day after this session of parliament began, and then go on to their proceedings in the following year. But whether the motion came originally from the convocation or not, it is certain that the king was strongly importuned by those who favoured the reformation to cause the scripture to be translated in the vulgar tongue. The reasons for this were so obvious, and the design so plausible, that all impartial people concluded, the word of God must be contrary to the practises of those men who would suppress the use of it. As much as CRANMER and his party were for putting the bible into the hands of the people, the bishop of WINCHESTER and the papists were as much against it; and not only opposed it in public, but in private with the king. It happened luckily however on the side of the latter, that in the preceding year, almost twenty Hollanders had been burnt in several places in England, for heretical opinions which they had imported here; and which were all said to be owing to an indiscreet use of the scriptures. Hence an argument was drawn against allowing the bible in the English tongue to the whole nation; which, during the distraction and uncertainty of opinion that then prevailed, would only prove a snare, and serve to propagate error and new mistakes.

It was therefore proposed by GARDINER and his friends, that a short and plain exposition of the most useful and necessary doctrines of the Christian faith should be drawn up in the English tongue for the instruction of the people; which would keep them in a subjection to the king and church in matters of faith. The proposal of such a treatise was neither disliked nor objected to by the archbishop, any otherwise than as insufficient, and as not fulfilling the commands of the Jewish and Christian lawgivers, that the people should search the scriptures. These arguments prevailing, and a petition having been sent to the king, either from the convocation or from some of the bishops and clergy, a great opposition was made to it at court. It was represented to the king, that as a diversity of opinions would be
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the necessary consequence of allowing all the nation the free use of the scriptures in the English language, so it would be impossible for him to govern his subjects, in matters of faith especially, as supreme head of the church. To combat an argument which was so likely to win upon the king's temper, it was on the other side suggested to him, that nothing could make his supremacy so acceptable, nor the see of Rome so odious, as to let the people find, that the popes had insisted on a blind obedience to an authority which had no foundation in the scripture, and that his majesty had brought them into the light of truth, by allowing them the free use of the word of God in their own native language. These arguments, joined with the power which the queen and the archbishop had with the king, prevailed at last upon his majesty, to give orders for a new translation, of the bible into English; tho by whom it was made, or in what manner, no account at all has been preserved.

The suppression of the monasteries, the grant of a new English bible, and the queen's known attachment to the reformation, gave the German princes some hopes that the king would renounce the doctrines, as well as the authority, of the see of Rome; and they made some overtures of entering into a league with him against the emperor and the pope. Many conferences were held at Smalcald in consequence of these overtures, and the league was in great forwardness. But as the protestants were much in the confidence of the queen, who promoted this agreement all that was in her power, so the popish party were exasperated against her as their greatest enemy. Bishop GARDINER was at this time ambassadour at the court of France; but CROMWELL having imparted to him the articles on which the league was to be formed, this prelate wrote with great earnestness to the king, to dissuade him from entering into it, and to terrify him with a representation of the consequences that would follow. Whilst he was thus endeavouring to prevent an alliance, to which the king himself was not much inclined, the duke of NORFOLK and his friends at court were casting about to make an agreement with the emperor and the pope. The queen was an effectual bar to any projects of this nature; not only from her power and influence with the king, but because of her marriage, which had been declared null from the beginning by the see of Rome, and would never be allowed of by the popish party. The first part of the scheme therefore was to get rid of the queen; which,

from the temper of HENRY, and some other circumstances concurring, they did not despair of.

A few months before, the queen was delivered of a dead son; which was an accident that some had observed to make an ill impression on the king. He had concluded, or at least pretended to conclude, from the death of his sons by queen CATHARINE, that the marriage was displeasing in the sight of God; and upon this misfortune it was believed that he might draw the same conclusion. This was therefore an occasion too favourable for the popish party not to be improved against the queen: but this was not the only one. The king had at this time a violent passion for Miss SEYMOUR, a maid of honour; who had all the charms of youth and beauty, and a temper that was in the mean, between the gravity of the one, and the gaiety of the other, queen. This alienation of the king's affections being perceived, the next step was to infuse a suspicion of the queen's fidelity into his mind, for which her natural levity gave them but too good a pretence. Tho' this is one of the most memorable passages in the reign of HENRY, yet the nature of my work precludes me from entering into it with that precision, which is necessary to give the reader a true idea of the cruelty with which this queen was treated. It must suffice here to relate, that she was committed to the tower on the second of May; on the fifteenth was tried, and found guilty, on the deposition of a single evidence, that he had heard the lady WINGFIELD swear before she died, who had been a servant of the queen's, that her majesty had a criminal correspondence with her brother, and four other gentlemen; and on this evidence only, that on the twentieth of May she was beheaded. I will not conceal that it has been said by some historians, that SMETON one of the four confessed his carnal knowledge of the queen: but if he was not practised on by her enemies to make this confession, how came it to pass, that he was never confronted with the queen as an evidence upon her trial, but received his sentence three days before? This is a sure sign that he had been tampered with, and that they were afraid he would not stand to his confession, if he was brought in court before the queen: and there are historians who say, and historians whose interest it was not to say it, that he repented at his death of the wrong he had done the queen by a false accusation.

But what more than any thing shews the rage and injustice of the king in the fall of ANN, is getting the marriage between
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them annulled and the issue illegitimated, and marrying Miss SEYMOUR the day after the queen was executed. HENRY remembered an engagement between the earl of Northumberland and the queen, before his majesty had declared a passion for her: and tho the earl took an oath at this time before the two archbishops and some more of the privy council, and received the sacrament upon it, that there was no contract nor promise of marriage ever between them, yet the poor queen under sentence of death, either probably because of some hopes of life being given her, or at least of the burning being turned into beheading, was on the seventeenth of May persuaded to confess, in the archbishop's court at Lambeth, a just and lawful impediment; upon which, her marriage with the king was pronounced by CRANMER to have been null and void. If the king was so prejudiced by his passion for Miss SEYMOUR as to be resolved to be rid at any rate of the queen and to illegitimate her daughter, yet her enemies should have considered the matter with more coolness; and when they had enflamed the king with her pretended unfaithfulness to his bed, they should have rested the matter there, and not by a contradictory sentence have made them both appear unjust. I will explain what I mean. If the marriage between the king and the lady ANN BOLEYN, was, by reason of a precontract or any other impediment, null from the beginning, as this sentence pronounced at Lambeth had declared, then she was not the king's wife, there was no adultery, if she had really had any carnal commerce with other men, and the act of attainder for it was therefore absolutely unjust: but if to clear the king and his creatures of this iniquity, it should be alledged that her marriage with the king was a true marriage and there was no just impediment, then the sentence of divorce and declaring the issue illegitimate, was an unrighteous arbitrary sentence. The reader may draw from hence what conclusions he pleases; but I must own it appears to me to be one of those transactions, in which from a consciousness of not having sufficient proof, people bring what proves too much, and destroys the credit of the whole cause.

Thus however fell this unfortunate queen, in the bloom of youth and beauty, by a sentence unprecedented in England; occasioned as much by the fickle, imperious, cruel, temper of her husband, as by the fraud, the malice, and policy of her enemies. There was naturally a freedom and openness in her behaviour,

viour, which inclined her sometimes to talk with more familiarity to the gentlemen of the king's household than was consistent with her dignity; and their zeal in serving her was thought too ardent to flow from a less active principle than that of love. This was canvas enough for her enemies to embroider on it such colours of guilt, as should be sufficient to excite the jealousy of a husband, who wanted only a plausible pretence to part with her. But as no proof was ever made of her crime, as her influence with HENRY was always employed to the purposes of learning and religion, and her life was full of good works, so I believe it will not be saying too much in her favour, to say that she was innocent of the charge against her; that her real crime with her enemies was her promoting the reformation; and her sole offence against the king, that she had brought him a dead child, and could not prevent his inconstancy by her charms. She was young and beautiful, and had been courted with great assiduity for several years by the king: and under such circumstances if she had the foibles natural to her sex, can we wonder at it, or can we blame her? The only blemish which I think can be fastened upon her with any truth, is what I have already mentioned, her giving ear to the king's addresses before his former marriage was declared illegal; and even this will admit of some mitigation. She yielded to her destiny with great composure and resignation; giving evident marks of piety and a due sense of religion: and tho she reproached herself on account of some little severities to the princess MARY, the day before her execution, and sent to beg her forgiveness, yet she persisted in her innocence of the facts for which she died, to the last moment of her life. On the scaffold, indeed, she contented herself with acknowledging the obligations she had to the king, with praying for him, and desiring the prayers of the by-standers for herself: knowing well from the king's temper, and from what she had seen with regard to CATHARINE, that there was no other way to preserve her daughter from his resentment. The enemies to the reformation which was carrying on under her patronage, have endeavoured to blacken her reputation as much as possible: and on the other hand the protestants have thought themselves obliged to stand up in her vindication, and to assert her innocence. But they have both proceeded upon a false principle; since the truth and goodness of religion does in no respect depend upon the life and conversation of its professors. Little regard therefore is to be had to what has been said by either party relating to this queen:

queen : the facts which are indisputable should alone determine us ; and they are greatly in her favour. But I must turn again to the history.

There was nothing at this time which kept the king and the emperor at a distance, queen CATHARINE being no more, but the illegitimation of the lady MARY : and that his majesty might be out of danger of any trouble from him, and perhaps too that there might be a way opened for an accommodation with the pope, it was much pressed by the party who favoured the see of Rome, that the king should be reconciled to her on her submission, and that the act declaring her illegitimate should be repealed. In consequence of this advice, she wrote a letter to the king full of duty and respect in general terms, and desiring to be admitted to his presence and favour. But her submission had some reserve in it, which HENRY not permitting and she intending to adhere to, she was in danger of embroiling herself with him again. She acknowledged her former obstinacy and perverseness, and offered to submit to the laws about the succession ; but further than this she did not care to go. This however would not satisfy the king : he insisted on her acknowledging, that his marriage with her mother was incestuous and unlawful ; and that she should renounce the pope's authority, and recognize his majesty as supreme head of the church of England. These were things, we may be sure of very hard digestion to the princess, who had been educated in the belief of the reverse ; and she tried all the ways she could think of to evade so explicit a renunciation of her belief. But all would not do. The king had brought himself up to that height of imperiousness, that he would not bear the least contradiction to his will in any thing. Finding therefore that there was no favour to be had, without a clear and absolute submission upon the points required, the lady MARY sent a paper to her father written with her own hand, in which she owned him for her sovereign and the supreme head of the church ; renouncing all authority of the bishop of Rome, and acknowledging the marriage of the king with her mother incestuous and unlawful. This confession was drawn up in as full and explicit terms, for the belief and judgment of her heart, as words could make it ; and yet nothing is more certain, than that it was in almost every article contrary to her conscience and repugnant to her belief. But she had priests enow about her, who, according to her own principles, and theirs, could absolve her of this perfidy, when the catholic interest made it necessary.

In about a fortnight after the execution of the queen, and the king's marriage with Miss SEYMOUR, a new parliament met; at the opening of which, the lord chancellor told them the reasons for which it was summoned. After making a great flourish on the king's care and wisdom in endeavouring to keep his people in peace and quietness, and to leave them so to those who should succede him, his lordship desired them to reflect on the many troubles and vexations, which his majesty had been involved in by his first unlawful marriage, and the danger he was in by his second: and then recommended their providing an heir to the crown by the king's direction, who, if his majesty died without children lawfully begotten, might rule over them. To this end it was necessary, that the act of the former parliament, declaring the succession of the crown to the issue of the king, by the late queen ANN, should be repealed. Notwithstanding this was the avowed design of calling a new parliament so soon after the dissolution of the former, and tho the king at this time assumed an absolute power in all affairs, yet it gave a good deal of trouble to his ministers, to dispose the parliament to make and unmake acts about the succession, according as the king happened to like or to dislike his wives. It was not therefore till after the sessions had been opened above three weeks, that they ventured to propose the bill to the two houses, confirming the two sentences of divorce against the former queens, declaring the issue of their marriages illegitimate, and establishing the inheritance of the crown on the issue of queen JANE, or the issue of the king by any other wife whom he might marry. The bill, after this preparation, passed without opposition: and as they thought it not prudent to declare to whom the crown belonged after the death of the king, if he should fail of having heirs, and "considering his wife and excellent government and the love and affection which he bore to his subjects, they gave him full power to declare the succession to the crown, either by letters patent under the great seal, or by his last will signed with his own hand." Whether the parliament could give him a power, to cut off the inheritance of the crown, and to dispose of it in this manner, without any regard to the constitution and the custom of the English nation, was at that time disputed. But this however is very certain, that his majesty's power was then absolute, and that his will was a law to his parliament as well as his ministers; or they would never have passed an act of such a nature.

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When they were informed at Rome of the proceedings against the late queen, the pope not only concealed his displeasure against HENRY for renouncing his authority, but even entered into treaty with CASSALI, still residing at Rome, to bring about an accommodation. He desired him to inform his majesty, that he had always favoured his cause in the time of his predecessor; and tho he had yielded so far to the necessity of his affairs, as to give out a sentence against the king, yet he never had intended that it should be carried into execution. But whether HENRY was by this time so entirely alienated from the court of Rome, whether he was so fond of his new power as supreme head of the church, or whether he could not in honour recede from the steps he had taken, the offers of the pope were rejected without any deliberation: and to cut off all further attempts to a reconciliation, he procured two acts to be passed in this parliament, for the utter extinguishing the authority of the bishops of Rome; in the preambles to which, there were many severe reflexions on their avarice, tyranny, and ambition. The pope, perceiving from hence that all hopes of an accommodation with England were at an end, endeavoured to stir up and unite all the princes of Christendom in a war against the king, as an heretick, and a deserter from the papal see. When the parliament had provided a remedy, against an evasion of the act which enjoined the residence of ecclesiasticks, and passed two or three inconsiderable bills relating to the state, they were dissolved; leaving it as a matter of astonishment to posterity, that they should employ their whole authority in giving a power to their sovereign, which none of his predecessors had ever enjoyed; as if they had been called for no other purpose.

But the king was now become so absolute and tyrannical, that he made every body give way to him: and the convocation which was now sitting, being of the same complexion with the parliament, used the same endeavours to become agreeable to the king, and confirmed the sentence of the invalidity of his marriage with queen ANN. Hither CROMWELL came as the king's vicar general, and took his place above the archbishop. In a few days after, the prolocutor sent to the upper house a collection of opinions which then prevailed, but which they thought erroneous; and therefore requested that some orders might be issued to check their progress. These opinions being for the most part the tenets of the old Lollards or the new reformers, it was artfully inserted

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in the preamble of this representation from the lower house, that they intended not to do, or speak any thing, that might be unpleasant to the king, whom they acknowledged as their supreme head, and were resolved to obey; renouncing the usurped authority of the bishops of Rome with all their laws and inventions, and addicting themselves unto the king, and the ordinances made within his realm. After a recital of the opinions, the lower house complain, that certain books having been examined by a committee and declared full of error and heresy, yet had not hitherto been condemned by the bishops, but had been permitted to remain in the hands of the unlearned vulgar: that by this connivance the people were furnished with arguments to dispute against the church, and to disturb the kingdom: and that those who had deserted from the received doctrine, tho they were under an ill character as to faith and morals, yet presumed to teach their singularities without any authority. These complaints were clearly levelled at CRANMER, LATIMER, and SHAXTON, who were known to be the promoters of the new religion. The queen, who had been their patron and supporter, being taken off with disgrace and ignominy, the interest of these prelates was thought to be on the decline: and therefore the lower house imagined, that if they took care not to offend the king, they had now an opportunity to push the reformers with success. The king indeed had affected a great rigour against hereticks; but CRANMER and CROMWELL had never more of his majesty's favour, since he took them into his service, than at this time. This was quickly visible, by their persuading the king to go one step further in the reformation; in retrenching such ceremonies in the public worship as were not founded on the word of God. The project of the convocation therefore, instead of defeating the reformation, or bringing its advocates into disgrace, seems rather to have advanced it, and to have added credit to those who took the lead. Accordingly in a few days after, CROMWELL came into the upper house, and declared it was his majesty's pleasure, that the rites and ceremonies of the church should be reformed by the rules of scripture, and that nothing should be maintained that did not rest on that authority. The archbishop entertained at that time in his house, one ALESSE a Scotch divine; in great esteem for his piety and superior learning. The vicar general, being somewhat nettled at this complaint of the lower house, brought this divine with him to the convocation; and, by virtue of his power, desired the doctor to declare his opinion about the sacraments. ALESSE, being thus solicited, was at no great loss to

prove, that there was no other sacrament instituted by CHRIST than those of baptism and the LORD's supper. To this STOKESLY bishop of London replied in a long discourse; and in which he shewed more of the learning of the schools and of the canon law, than of an acquaintance with the gospel and the word of GOD. He was seconded with some vehemence by the archbishop of YORK, the bishops of LINCOLN, and CARLISLE, and others of that party. These were all answered in a learned and elaborate speech by archbishop CRANMER; who dilated on the absurdity of the niceties of the schools, which were evidently without use, and without authority: he then proved the absolute sufficiency of the scriptures to all the purposes of religion; deduced the use of the sacraments from thence; shewed the uncertainty of tradition; and declaimed against monastic vows, the celibacy of the clergy, and many other usages which were unsupported by revelation. To what was thus irrefragably suggested by the archbishop, Fox bishop of Hereford, who had been ambassadour to the German princes, added other arguments to shew, that no doctrine or usages should be allowed of which were not warranted by the scriptures. He told them that the common people were now so enlightened by the gospel, which they were every where studying all over Christendom, not only in translations but in the original language, that it was a vain imagination to think to govern them by those arts, which in the former ages of ignorance had been successful.

In a few days after this debate, of the result of which our historians have not informed us, the vicar general brought into the upper house of convocation several articles devised, it is said, by the king himself, and corrected in many places in his own hand writing; with orders to examine them, and to make a report to his majesty of their deliberations. As these articles contained a great many alterations of the established doctrine in matters of faith, which had been thought necessary to salvation, as well as of the ancient usages which had been instituted in the church, they occasioned many learned and passionate altercations between the parties which had been formed by the two archbishops, and of which they were at the head. Notwithstanding therefore our learned church historian, and all others before and after him have called this a convocation, yet this is an inaccuracy which should be corrected. An archbishop of YORK has no seat in the upper house of convocation of the province of Canterbury. This was rather an assembly of all the bishops, and "other

“ the most discreet and best learned men of the clergy of the “ realm,” as they are called by the king in his majesty’s declaration which confirms these articles ; nor are there any footsteps of a convocation held this year in the province of York in the archbishop’s register. In this assembly however the articles were at last agreed to, and subscribed, by a great majority of the bishops, and clergy ; of which number was his grace of YORK himself, and the bishop of DURHAM, tho they were of the party which had opposed them. It can scarcely be thought impertinent in a work of this nature to give these articles of religion at full length, in the words in which they were drawn and published : but as they are very tedious and verbose, and the language of them not agreeable to the present mode of writing, the reader, I apprehend, will be better pleased, if I only give him an abstract of these important constitutions, which made so great a change in the doctrine and discipline of the church.

The first article requires, that all the bishops and preachers should instruct the people to believe the whole bible, and the apostle’s, the Nicene, and the Athanasian creeds ; and all the points of faith contained in them to be necessary to salvation : that all interpretations of doctrine should be made according to them, and in the very same words with them ; and that all heresys contrary to them should be condemned, particularly those which had been already declared against in the four first general councils. Secondly, concerning baptism they were to instruct the people, that it was instituted in the new testament by our saviour CHRIST ; as well for infants as for such as have the use of reason, for the remission of sins and the grace of GOD : that every one therefore must necessarily be baptized ; but that being once become the children of GOD by baptism, it ought never to be repeated : that those who had the use of reason and desired baptism, must come to it with repentance of their former sins, with a firm belief of the articles of religion, and with a full trust in the promises of GOD made in that sacrament ; or else they should not obtain the remission of their sins, and the grace of the HOLY GHOST. Thirdly, concerning penance, which is called a sacrament, the people were to be instructed, that it was instituted by CHRIST as a thing necessary to salvation, and consisted of contrition, confession, and an obedient reconciliation to the laws of GOD ; with exterior acts of charity, which are called the worthy fruits of penance : that contrition should be explained to mean an acknowledgment of sin with great shame and sorrow, as it is an

an offence against God, for which we have no satisfaction to make with our own works or merits; that to this should succede a trust and confidence in God's mercy, whereby the penitent may hope that his sins will be forgiven, not for any worthiness of his own, but for the only merits of our Saviour's death and passion: that to attain this faith, the second part of penance, that is, confession to a priest, is necessary, if it may be had; which was instituted by CHRIST to apply the promise of God's grace and favour to the penitent: that the people therefore should be taught to believe the absolution of the priest, as spoken by the authority of CHRIST himself, and to give no less credit than if it was spoken in the words and the voice of God: that auricular confession to the ministers of the church is not to be despised, but to be reputed as a means, whereby the sinner, in asking absolution, may attain the comfort of his conscience when it is grieved for sin: as to the third part of penance the people were to be taught, that tho the death of CHRIST is a sufficient sacrifice for sin, yet the penitents must add prayer, fasting, giving alms, and all other good works, as time and occasion shall require, or else they cannot be saved; and that by these they would not only obtain everlasting life, but also a mitigation of their afflictions in this present life, according to the scriptures. Fourthly, the bishops and preachers were to teach the people, touching the sacrament of the altar, that under the form and figure of bread and wine, which they perceive by their outward senses, there was truly and substantially contained and comprehended the very same body and blood of CHRIST which was born of the virgin MARY, and suffered upon the cross, and is therefore to be received with all honour and reverence; every one examining his own conscience, according to the instructions of ST. PAUL, before he shall receive it. Fifthly, the people were to be instructed, that justification imports the remission of our sins and an acceptance into the favour and the grace of God, which is in other words a perfect renovation in JESUS CHRIST; that this justification is to be attained, by contrition, faith, and charity, with all other spiritual graces and motions, which must concur in, and follow it; and being justified, we are bound to fear, and to love, and to have sure confidence in God; to call upon him, to have patience in all adversities, to hate sin, and to purpose not to sin again; with other such like motions and vertues as are consenting and agreeable to the laws of God.

The other articles, which were agreed to in this assembly, concerned

cerned only the rites and ceremonies of the church. The first related to images; of which the people were to be taught, that they represented good examples of virtue, and might excite them to remember and lament their sins; and therefore might stand in the churches but should not otherwise be esteemed: and that they might not fall into such superstition, as it was thought they had done in times past, by censuring them, kneeling, and offering to them, they were to be taught to reform these abuses, lest idolatry might ensue; and that they do it not to the images, but only to God, and his honour. Concerning the honour paid to saints, which was the next article, the people were to believe, that they were not to be honoured with that confidence and trust which is due only to God, and as tho they could attain those things at their hands of which God is the only giver; but as persons already passed out of this world to glory, and because of the examples of vertue and goodness which they exhibit to those who remain behind; and finally as they may advance our prayers and demands to CHRIST. Besides honouring them in this manner, there was another article to direct the people to pray to the saints, to pray with them, and for them, to almighty God for his grace and for the pardon of their sins; so that it be done without any vain superstition, as thinking saints more merciful or more ready to hear us than our LORD, or that one saint can serve for one thing more than any other. For this purpose the days, ordained by the church to celebrate their memories, were to be kept holy to God, in remembrance of him and his saints; unless they were moderated by the supreme ordinary, and then the subjects ought to obey the alteration. As to ceremonies in worship, they were not to be condemned and cast away, but to be used and continued as things good and laudable, to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things that they do signify; such as the vestments of the priests, the sprinkling holy water, giving holy bread, bearing of candles on Candlemas day, giving ashes on Ash-Wednesday, bearing palmes on Palm-Sunday, creeping to the cross and kissing it on Good-Friday, hallowing the font, and other like benedictions by the ministers of the church. Finally, as to purgatory the people were to be taught, that it consisteth with charity for a Christian man to pray for souls departed, and to cause others by our alms to pray for them in masses and exequies, as it had been customary from the beginning: but since the places they were in, and the pains they suffered, were not ascertained in the scripture, we ought to commend them to God's mercy, remitting all other things to him who knows their state and condition;

dition; not retaining those abuses which under the name of purgatory have been advanced, as tho souls might be delivered out of it by the pardons of the bishops of Rome, or by masses said in certain places, or before certain images.

This is an abstract of the articles drawn under the king's direction, as they were passed in an assembly of all the bishops and other eminent clergy of the whole realm; which, tho it may be long enough to tire the reader, yet is as short as I could make it, consistently with a faithful and a clear account of what every article contained. Notwithstanding the many long and passionate contests which they occasioned, and tho they were subscribed at last by a great majority as they are now recited, yet so many errors were still retained as well as so many reformed, that neither party, in my opinion, had any great cause to triumph. Indeed the bulk of both parties were made very uneasy, and reproached their leaders with cowardice and compliance. On one side, the reformers were thought to have behaved too faintly, in acknowledging penance as a sacrament, in permitting auricular confession, and the real presence in the eucharist, doing honour to images, and praying to saints, to be established. On the other side, the bishops who were of the old religion were reproached for having abandoned the catholic cause, in yielding up tradition and the decrees of the church as a rule of faith; in putting down the immediate worship of images, and saints; in passing over four sacraments at once; and in a word, by destroying the gainful trade that had been carried on by the belief of purgatory, which was now in these articles made uncertain and insignificant. Thus each side complained, and each side had reason: but the truth of the matter is, the king had taken on him the title of supreme head of the church, and he was determined to shew his qualifications for it: he himself therefore directed the whole system in his cabinet council, ordering this article to be altered, and the other to be retained; and there was not one of them who dared to combat the sentiments of his majesty, for fear of doing more prejudice to the cause which he appeared to contend for. The only thing that was to be done, was, in the way in which CRANMER managed him, by dropping suggestions mildly, at proper seasons, by which he might be informed as it were insensibly, without seeming to contradict or to suspect his judgment. This apology was common to both the parties; but the reformers had other pleas to urge in their justification. Many of the bishops and divines, who attained afterwards to a clearer understanding

standing of these subjects, were at that time rather doubtful than convinced, and it was therefore their ignorance, and not their cowardice, which made them willing to acquiesce in the old opinions: our saviour did not reveal all things to his disciples 'till they were able to bear them; neither did his apostles on a sudden abolish the rites of Judaism, but complied with them for a time, and went to the temple to offer sacrifice. In like manner, it was said, the clergy were to be brought out of their ignorance by degrees, and in the same gentle way to instruct the people; or else it might happen, that those would be alienated from the truth who might be won over to it. Besides, the peace of the nation would be in danger, by driving the people furiously into a total change at once, who were already but too much disposed, by the practices of the friars, to rise in arms. Upon all these considerations, these slow steps were vindicated by CRANMER and his associates, as the surer method of succeeding in the reformation. The archbishop however took this opportunity, when so many things were to be settled, to offer a paper to the king; in which he had wrote down some queries tending to a farther reformation, and in which he desired his majesty not to give any judgment, 'till he had them well examined. But the king would hear of nothing further at that time, and so nothing more was done.

On the last day which this assembly of the bishops and clergy sat, the king communicated to them a summons, which he had received from the pope, to a general council that was to be held at Mantua: and a motion was made by Fox bishop of Hereford, that they should take this subject into their consideration, and represent their sense of it to the king. Wherefore a paper was drawn up, in which, after acknowledging that a true and lawful general council was a very good means to preserve the peace and unity of the church, they declared, that neither the pope, nor any one prince in the world, had power to call a general council, without the consent of all other christian princes, who had a supreme government over their subjects. The whole assembly signed this resolution, with CROMWELL as vicar general or vicegerent at their head: and the king, being thus supported by a solemn concurrence of the great clergy of his realm, published a long and fierce protest against the general council at Mantua summoned by the pope; and against all others that should be summoned by his authority.

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The king having established a new frame of religion in the articles above recited, set forth at this time an injunction to restrain the number of holy-days, which were encreased to that excess, that there was scarcely time enough left for labour to carry in the harvest, or for the judges to do the business of the courts in term: besides, such frequent relaxations brought on a habit of idleness, and were oftentimes abused with riot and intemperance. Wherefore, with the assent of the prelates and clergy in convocation, as it is said, the king limited the holy-days to the feasts of the apostles, of the blessed virgin, and all those which did not fall in the time of term or harvest; with a liberty to the priests to perform their accustomed service in the churches, provided it was not done in a solemn manner, nor enjoined as a duty upon others. In the same year, the vicar general issued injunctions to all who had the cure of souls, by the king's command, to the following purpose: That in all parishes and places of preaching, the king's supremacy should be taught, once every Sunday for a quarter of a year together, and then twice a year at least; and that the authority of the bishop of Rome, having no establishment by the law of God, was justly taken away: That in the articles which his majesty had lately published, some things are points of faith and necessary to salvation, and others are only rites and ceremonies of the church; that these were to be distinguished in their instructions to the people, that they might know what was necessary, and what was instituted only for the sake of decency and order: That the late injunction for suppressing superstitious holy-days should be read to the people, with an exhortation to govern themselves according to it: That they should not extol or set forth images, miracles, or relicks, or allure people to pilgrimages, upon any motion of superstition or covetousness, contrary to the intention of the articles; but should rather exhort them to keep the commandments of God, and to provide for their own families; bestowing what they have to spare on the poor, and not on images and relicks: That in their instructions to the people, they should put parents in mind to teach their children the LORD's prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments, in the English language, which should be often repeated by them; and to bring them up to learning, or some honest trade, whereby they might avoid the mischiefs of idleness and poverty: That sacraments should be duly and reverently administered, by the parsons, vicars and curates; and if any were absent from their benefices by licence, they should leave learned
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and able curates in their place: That every parson or proprietor of a church, should provide a latin and english bible, to be left in the choir for every one to read in at his pleasure; that the people should be exhorted to study it as the word of God, to avoid controversies among themselves upon points they did not understand, and to refer them to others who were better learned: That those who had the care of souls should not frequent ale-houses or taverns, use tables, cards, or other unlawful games; but should employ their leisure hours in studying the holy scriptures, and should be examples to others of purity of life: That forasmuch as the estates of the church are the patrimony of the poor, and yet the poor in these times are not sustained by them, therefore every possessor of a benefice, who can spend twenty pounds a year or upwards, should distribute amongst the poor parishioners, in the presence of the church wardens, the fortieth part of the revenue of their benefices: That every one who could spend a hundred pounds a year or upwards in benefices or promotions, should for every such hundred pounds allow a competent exhibition to maintain a scholar in the grammar schools or the universities; that so when they have made a proficiency in learning, such scholars may assist their patron in his cure, or be of service to the publick with their wisdom and advice: And finally, that all parsons vicars and clerks who had churches, chapels, or houses gone to decay, should bestow the fifth part of their revenues upon them yearly, till they were well and sufficiently put in repair. These were the injunctions which CROMWELL published at this time as the king's vice-gerent, and as the first act of his majesty's supremacy in the church; the assent of the bishops and clergy not having been pretended to these, as in all the former orders. They had the stamp of the king's authority, and were indubitably approved of by him: but the good spirit and the good sense with which they abound, make it probable, in my opinion, that they were the work of CRANMER. They were better calculated than the articles to promote the reformation; in putting an end to the cheats and corruptions of the clergy, in obliging them to diligence, to learning, and to strictness of life: and, what is worthy of observation, the very same opinions about pilgrimages, images, saints, and instructing the people in the Christian faith in their mother tongue, for which the Lollards were burnt but a little time ago, were now enjoined by the king's authority. No wonder therefore that the clergy were extremely offended with these injunctions, which had not the consent of convocation; and which

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made them apprehensive, that they were now to be slaves to the king, or his vice-gerent, in as great a degree as they had ever been to the popes. But I must leave them for the present, in order to take some notice of a single ecclesiastick, who made a great figure in the world at this time, and gave no small disturbance to his majesty.

The ecclesiastick whom I mean to introduce now to the reader, is cardinal POLE, descended by his mother from the duke of CLARENCE, brother to EDWARD the fourth. As he was thus of the blood royal, the king it seems had determined to educate him for the highest dignity in the church; and to make him as eminent in learning, and other polite accomplishments, as he was already for his quality, and a natural sweetness and nobleness of disposition. For this purpose he had given POLE the deanry of Exeter, and several other preferments, to support him at Paris, and other places abroad, to which he sent him for improvement. But at Paris he forfeited the king's favour in some measure, in not assisting his agents to procure the determination of the French universities in the business of his divorce. But he did not then declare himself openly against the king's cause; neither at his return to England, where he was when the clergy made their submission and acknowledged the king supreme head of the church, did he think fit to oppose this proceeding: he was not present indeed in the convocation, as our historians say, and where he should have sat as dean of Exeter; and he contented himself with being silent in his opinion about the king's supremacy. But finding the lengths the king was running against the papal power, which his principles led him to disapprove, he went to Rome for the society of some celebrated ecclesiasticks whom he had contracted a friendship with at Padua, and were now removed thither. The reputation which he was in abroad for his wit and eloquence, inclined the king to call him home to assist him in his affairs. But POLE still declined to return, on some pretence or other, till he found his majesty would allow of no more delays: and then he wrote him word, that he did not approve of what the king had done, either in the business of his divorce from queen CATHARINE, or in his separation from the see of Rome. HENRY was very desirous to bring over a man, who was allowed to have the preeminence of all the learned divines abroad; and therefore condescended to write an apology to him for his proceedings, and to desire the reasons upon which POLE had disapproved them. The dean, being thus pressed,

wrote his book on church union printed in this year; in which he speaks of the king in very offensive terms, exhorts him to return him to the subjection which he owed to the see of Rome, and in conclusion invites the emperor, and the other princes of Christendom, to turn their arms against him. Nettled as the king was at this indecency and ingratitude, he took care to conceal it; in hopes of decoying him into England, where he might take his full revenge. At first therefore he invited him over to explain some passages in his book, which his majesty pretended were not understood: but finding the dean was not to be drawn thus into his toils, he laid aside his disguise, and proceeded severely and openly against him, by divesting him of all the dignities which he held in England. The loss of these was very amply made up to him by the emperor, and the pope; and the cardinal's hat which he was rewarded with, not only served to alienate him still more from the king, but to attach him closer to the interests of the apostolic see. The king was so much incensed at this book of POLE's which was more considered for the author and the wit and eloquence which was in it, than for any learning or solid argument, that he ordered some of the prelates to write against it. Accordingly the bishops STOKESLY and TUNSTAL, who were of the old religion, joined in a long and learned letter to the cardinal, in vindication of the king: even GARDINER bishop of Winchester, who was returned from his embassy, published a book of true obedience; to which BONNER, who stuck at nothing for preferment, added a preface. The severer punishments, which the king intended against POLE, were inflicted on his relations; and they felt the weight of his majesty's displeasure very sensibly. But I must turn now to a scene of another sort.

The reader has been already told of the discontents which had arisen on the dissolution of the lesser monasteries: these were still fomented by the religious who had been turned adrift, and who did not fail to improve the articles and injunctions, and a subsidy now given to the king, into a grievance; in order to encrease the dissatisfaction and discontents of the people. To these the old clergy joined themselves; who were alarmed at the late stretch of the king's supremacy, and who were determined to blow the spark of sedition till it enflamed the nation to suppress it. The power of the popes in deposing kings, and giving away their dominions to other princes, was not forgotten: the same council that established transubstantiation had asserted it, and there were several

several precedents for it in many parts of Europe. Thus their own interest mixing with a zeal for their old religion, they thought the pope's authority gave them as good a warrant to rebel, and to seduce the people, as it had done to any others in former times; for which some of them had been canonized. For the pope had excommunicated and deprived the king, put the kingdom under an interdict, forbid all his subjects to yield obedience and other states to hold correspondence with him, dissolved all his leagues with foreign princes, commanded all the clergy to leave England, and the nobility to take up arms against him. The force of these thunders indeed was much abated; but yet some storms were raised by this which gave no small perplexity to the king. The inferior clergy, the friars, and the bigots among the laity, being interested alike in what had been done, and in what they apprehended would be further done, sounded the trumpet of rebellion to those whom they could influence, till they were all engaged in arms; nor were the great abbots wanting to increase the disorders among the people. They were not yet struck at, it is true; but there was a great opening made whenever the king should be inclined to give the blow: and tho' a letter was sent to all of them in the king's name, to quiet their apprehensions, and to silence the report that all the monasteries were to be suppressed, yet this rather increased than removed their jealousy; and in the mean time their houses were crowded with the religious whom the suppressed monasteries had turned out into the world to beg their bread.

The people however continued quiet till the harvest was got in; and as they did not all agree in the causes of their discontent, so they did not break out all at once into rebellion. Tho' the late alterations in the frame of religion, and some other affairs purely ecclesiastical, were at the bottom of this insurrection, yet the reader will not expect, that I should give a minute detail, in a work of this nature, of the progress of this rebellion, of all the steps which were taken by force or persuasion to suppress it, of the miseries which it brought upon many places and persons, with the several calamities that are attendant on a civil war. Historians of another sort must be consulted for these events; and I can only give such an account as will be sufficient to carry on the thread of the story. The people of Lincolnshire, headed by a priest, to the number of twenty thousand, were the first who took the field. They sent a remonstrance to the king in very submissive language; complaining of some acts of parliament, of

the suppression of religious houses, of men of ill dispositions and mean birth at the council board, and of bishops who had made a change in the fundamentals of religion. The king published a manifesto in answer to this remonstrance, and sent some forces, such as he could get together, to disperse the malecontents: but on an intimation from some of their heads, that a general pardon would effectually dissipate this insurrection, a general pardon was immediately issued out, which succeeded according to expectation. A commotion afterwards in Yorkshire, which was called the pilgrimage of grace, was more formidable in its appearance, and more dangerous in its consequence. The priests leading the way with crosses in their hands, and the army following with banners, on which were painted a crucifix, the five wounds of CHRIST, and a chalice, and declaring that they meant only the restitution of the church, and the suppression of hereticks and their opinions, the people flocked about their standards in such numbers, that they soon became an army of forty thousand. Thus this affair grew daily more important; and the court became apprehensive that the rest of the kingdom would follow the example of the northern counties; for the people of Durham, Lancashire, and Westmorland, were in arms already. The duke of NORFOLK was sent against the Yorkshire rebels, tho not with an army strong enough to make head against them. The reader remembers that his grace was a zealous stickler for the old religion, and could not approve of the alterations that had been made: it was not therefore the most agreeable thing in the world to him, to command his majesty's forces against the people who had taken up arms, in a cause which he espoused himself. Besides he perceived himself in a very unfortunate dilemma; being as much afraid of conquering, as being conquered. In the first case, a victory over the rebels would extinguish all the hopes of the party which in his heart he favoured: in the last, he ran the risque of being suspected by the king, and losing all his interest with him; which he had at his heart too as much, if possible, as the other. In this perplexity, his inability to hurt the rebels with the little force he had, afforded him a handle to proceed with them in the way of treaty; which he laid hold of with great alacrity. In such a cause, we may be sure, the duke of NORFOLK did not want acquaintance with some of the leaders: they might probably be his tenants or intimate friends. However he contrived it in such a manner, that they were determined to present a humble petition to the king, and to entreat the duke to second it with his interest. The duke, being made acquainted with

with this resolution, consented to their request; but in order to presume on a favourable answer from his majesty, it was necessary he said that there should be a cessation of arms; during which, he offered to go with any of their leaders with their petition to the king. This proposal being accepted and the cessation proclaimed accordingly, the duke, with two of the rebel chiefs, set out for London. The king had nothing to do but to gain time; and therefore delayed sending an answer to their petition, in hopes that the malecontents would disperse themselves by degrees, as several had already done. But in this he was mistaken. The leaders perceived his artifice, renewed their hostilities, and resolved to give battle to the royal army. Had this resolution been executed, it would probably have changed the face of affairs very much: but a great rain which fell having swelled the river which parted the two armies, it could not be forded. The king however having been informed of this resolution, dismissed their deputies, and sent the duke of NORFOLK back with an answer to their petition, and a general pardon, ten excepted, six of which were named and the other four kept in reserve. These terms were unanimously rejected with disdain, and a treaty at Doncaster, to which they were to send three hundred deputies, was agreed upon. But their demands were so exorbitant that the conference came to nothing. The duke of NORFOLK was by this means thrown again into great perplexity. He would have been glad that the king would have granted all the demands of the rebels; and he wrote his majesty word, that if some content were not given them, this affair might end very ill; as his majesty's army was in no respect able to make resistance. He insinuated, as far as he durst, the reasonableness of some of the things which were demanded; and the lord DARCY accused him afterwards of encouraging the rebels secretly to insist on these demands. However, what with his grace's representations, and the obstinate humour of the malecontents, the king found it necessary to come to gentler terms, and sent a general pardon to the duke, with a promise of a parliament at York; but ordered him not to proclaim them without the last necessity. The duke receiving these powers, did not delay the execution of them; and upon his management with the leaders the king's offers were accepted; the people were glad to get out of such a scrape so easily, and every one returned quietly to his own home. The ecclesiasticks, who had expected quite another issue, were greatly disappointed; and notwithstanding this agreement, they kept up a rebellious spirit among the people which broke out again in a few weeks.

weeks. It rose again however the second time to no great height; and notwithstanding many little risings in several places, the whole kingdom was quieted by the end of January.

The king being thus delivered of all the apprehensions that he had been in, upon account of these commotions, and being persuaded that the monasticks were his personal enemies, and had chiefly fomented the people's discontent, he resolved now to go on with his design of suppressing all the other monasteries; tho he had given his royal word that he had no such design. To this end he made use of the same methods which he had practised before with such success against the lesser houses. A new and strict visitation was appointed of all the monasteries and abbeys which remained: the visitors were to examine into the conversation of the monks, into their affection towards the pope, and the king's supremacy; and to discover what tricks and impositions had been used, with images, and relicks, in order to get money from the superstitious. Many of the abbots had been more or less guilty in the late rebellion: many liked the reformation and the changes which were introduced: others were guilty of great disorders and were in fear of a discovery to their shame and ruin: several were glad to accept of a pension for life, proportioned to the value of their house, and to their innocence: others again were induced upon the hopes of preferment to give examples of a quick and chearful surrender: and by these means, one hundred and twenty one religious houses were in this year surrendered to the king. In most of them, the visitors obliged them to sign a confession, of their former idleness, gluttony, and sensuality; and the common preamble to the surrenders, was, that upon full deliberation, and upon their own proper motion, for just and reasonable causes moving their consciences, they did freely give up their houses to the king. But as there was no law to force them to make such resignations, many of the great abbots would not comply with his majesty's humour, and stood it out till the following parliament extirpated them all. Several of the abbots being attainted of high treason, and executed, the king seized on the abbey lands pursuant to those attainders; which was thought a great stretch of law, since the offence of an ecclesiastical incumbent is a personal thing, and cannot prejudice the church. But if there was any illegality in this proceeding, the parliament approved it, at least tacitly; for they excepted out of the provisos, made concerning the abbies that were suppressed, such as had been forfeited and seized on by any

attainders

attainders of treason. Loud and frequent complaints were made of the visitors, as in the former instance; as if they had practised with the abbots and priors to make the surrenders, and had conspired with them to cheat the king. On the other hand all the stories of slander, that could give an idea of the irregularity and the wickedness of the several houses, were industriously spread about to justify their suppression. But the people, who had a superstitious fondness for the images, and relicks, and other impostures which those houses were full of, alledged that their enormities should be punished as personal crimes, and the whole body not suffer for the vices of a few. To recover the people from this superstition, and to detect the secret cheats that had been practised in these houses, the visitors were ordered to examine the relicks and feigned images, to which pilgrimages were usually made, which was done with great success. It would be tedious and disagreeable to recite all the forgeries and impieties of the monks, and all the instances of ignorance and superstition in the people, by which immense sums were gathered. The shrine of BECKET is what I shall only mention; which had infinitely more offerings made to it than the altar of CHRIST, or the virgin MARY. There was one diamond offered to it by LEWIS the seventh, who came from France to it in a pilgrimage, which was believed the finest in Europe. BECKET had not only a day in the calendar sacred to him, but the day of raising his body was every year kept holy; and every fiftieth year there was a jubilee for fifteen days together, when indulgence was granted to all who came to visit his shrine, which by the record of the sixth jubilee was no less than an hundred thousand. The riches of the shrine, together with the disloyal practices of this prelate, determined the king to unshrine and unsaint him all at once. Two large chests were filled with the gold that was about it, which were each a load to eight men to carry out of the church; and the skull which was placed upon it, and had been worshipped with great devotion, might have been the skull of an harlot or a murderer, for the skull of BECKET was with his other bones in his coffin. These were ordered to be mixed with other dead men's bones, that they might not be any more distinguished; his name was struck out of the calendar; the office for his festival was erased out of the breviary; and with the demolition of this saint, the superstition in England as to images and relicks was quite extirpated.

In October this year, the queen was delivered of a prince;
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to whom was given the name of EDWARD. But the joy which his birth gave by putting the succession to the crown out of all dispute, was greatly lowered by the death of the queen in twelve days after. The king was very disconsolate for her loss; as she had not lived long enough for him to be tired of her, and to place his affections some where else. Having caused his two daughters by his former marriages, as we have seen, to be declared in parliament illegitimate, he was greatly delighted at the birth of this son, whom in a few days he created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester as his heir apparent.

When these proceedings of HENRY's about the monasteries and images were all known at Rome, the most satirical pens were employed to point him out as a sacrilegious tyrant, who made war with heaven and the saints. The stile of POLE was known in these invectives, which gave the king an implacable animosity to him and all his family. The pope published all the thunders that he had threatened; in which he challenged "a supreme" power over all the kings in the whole world," and commanded his sentence against HENRY to be executed. But the thunders of the Vatican had now lost their force: and tho the pope wrote to other princes to inflame them against his majesty, and even offered his dominions to the king of Scotland if he would invade him, yet this only made the breach between HENRY and the holy see more irreparable, and enraged him further against those who corresponded with POLE or abetted the interest of the papacy. The first thing which his majesty did, in answer to this sentence, was to procure a declaration against the pope's pretensions, to be signed by all the bishops in England; in which, among other things, it was said, that CHRIST expressly forbid his apostles or their successors to take to themselves the power of the sword, or the authority and state of kings: and if the bishop of Rome, or any other bishop, assumed such a power, he was a tyrant, and usurper of other men's rights, and a subverter of the kingdom of CHRIST. In order to refute the calumnies spread at Rome, as tho the king had suppressed all ecclesiastical offices, and denied them any authority but what they received from the civil power, and by a commission from his majesty, there was another paper drawn about this time, to which thirteen prelates and twenty divines only subscribed, being probably all that were then in and about London; explaining the limits of the ecclesiastical and civil power with great clearness and moderation. But whether

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any public use was made of this paper our historians have not informed us.

The translation of the bible, which the king had directed about three years before, was now finished and printed. When CROMWELL presented this bible to the king, he procured his majesty's warrant for all the subjects in his dominions to read it without controul; for which the archbishop wrote a letter of thanks to the vice-gerent; "rejoicing that he saw this day of reformation, which he concluded was now risen in England, "since the light of God's word did shine over it all without any "cloud." To make way for the use of this translation, and to direct the curiosity of the people, HENRY published a proclamation, acquainting them that the permission of this English bible, was more than his duty as a king required; that they were to look upon it as an instance of his grace and favour; and were therefore to manage themselves in reading it with temper and discretion, for the increase of their faith and the amendment of their morals; not presuming to consult it for dispute and wrangling, nor to expound difficult places without assistance from the learned. At the same time the lord vice-gerent set forth fresh injunctions to all incumbents; that one of these bibles should be provided for every parish, and set up publicly in the church, which all the people should be encouraged to peruse as the true word of God; that every Sunday and holiday the people were to be instructed in the principles of religion, by teaching them the creed, the LORD's prayer, and the ten commandments in English; and in every church there should be a sermon, once a quarter at least, to declare to the people the true gospel of CHRIST; exhorting them to works of faith and charity, and not to trust in other mens merits, in pilgrimages, relicks, or images, or saying over beads which they did not understand. The clergy were likewise required, to remove all images which had been superstitiously applied to pilgrimages and offerings, and to permit no candles before any but the cross, the altar, and the sepulchre; teaching the people that it was idolatry to make any other use of images than as remembrances of those whom they represent, and recanting their error if they had taught otherwise. All incumbents were ordered to keep registers in their parishes of all burials, christenings and marriages, and to teach the people that it was right to omit the suffrages to the saints.

These injunctions, which struck at some of the great branches
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of popery, were looked on with an evil eye by those who favoured that religion: but however they submitted in such a manner as to prevent any advantages from being taken against them. The king had broke the rebellion of his own subjects, had secured himself from the dangers threatened by the pope, and having a son born which took away all expectations from the lady MARY, they were under a necessity of complying with the king's humour; and they did it with a good grace. Indeed they gained so much on his majesty by this artful complaisance, that he began to hearken more to their counsels than he had done for some time. After GARDINER's return from France, he was sent on an embassy to the emperor; in which there were very strong presumptions that he had reconciled himself to the pope, and had a correspondence with him. The king however seemed not to believe it, and still continued to make use of him as a minister; at the same time that he treated him with great contempt, and as a servant rather than as a privy counsellor. But the crafty prelate had made himself master of the king's temper, and would condescend to any meanness at one time, in order to gain the ascendancy at another. There was one topick in which he was always sure of the king's ear; which was, that a zeal against heresy was the greatest advantage that his majesty could give his cause all over Europe. The king had all his life time been a great stickler for the belief of the real presence, and it was no difficult matter to persuade him to a severity on that head. Opportunely for GARDINER and his associates, there was at that time one LAMBERT, who had been chaplain to the factory at Antwerp; who for combating publicly this opinion was questioned by the archbishop, and appealed to the king. The king's vanity and interest concurring to persuade him to embrace this opportunity of shewing his zeal and learning, a solemn trial was ordered in Westminster hall; at which his majesty intended to preside in person, and to manage part of the argument against the heretick. But it was no equal match. The poor priest had besides the king, the archbishop of CANTERBURY, the bishops of LONDON, WINCHESTER, and DURHAM, to contend against, with several others who engaged him one after another for five hours. Can it be wondered at, that being awed by the stern looks of the king, by so great an appearance of bishops and nobility, by so many disputants of rank and learning, and being wearied with the length of the dispute, without having any second to countenance or support him, he should at last be put to silence? I think it cannot. When he was thus silent, the king asked him whether

ther he was convinced by their arguments, and whether he would live or die? His answer was, that he committed his soul to God, and his body he submitted to the king's mercy. But the king had little mercy in his nature, and none at all for an heretick; and therefore ordering CROMWELL as his vice-gerent to pronounce the sentence of his condemnation, the poor man was burnt in a most shocking manner, to the scandal of Christianity and the reproach of all his adversaries. As little reason as there was to boast of their success, from their being obliged to confute their opponent by a faggot whom they could not convince by reason, which was an evident disappointment to his majesty, yet he wanted not flatterers, in GARDINER and his party, to extoll him above the ablest divines in Europe, for the share he had in this dispute; by which it appeared, they said, that he was a defender of the faith indeed, and supreme head of the church. There was no occasion to blow up his vanity in this manner, for HENRY had already a most extravagant conceit of his own learning and abilities; and it was no less fatal to these flatterers than to the other party.

The emperor having concluded a ten year's truce with the king of France, and being therefore at leisure to give some trouble to the king of England, who still refused to legitimate his niece, HENRY cast about to be before hand with him, by trying at another league with the protestant princes of Germany; which either should not be limited to the defence of their religion, or should be regulated by the reformation which he had introduced in England. But he found in the Germans men of a very different stamp from his own subjects. There were three things, about which they were as positive and as obstinate as his majesty; and these were communion in both kinds, their worship in the vulgar tongue, and the marriage of the clergy. The express words of the institution, and the novelty of the contrary practise, had engaged them very early in contending for the first: common sense made them desire to understand what they did and said in the worship of God: and the lewd and dissolute practises of the unmarried clergy were so public, that they thought the honour of their families, which they were very jealous of, could not be secured, unless the clergy might be allowed to marry. But these were points which HENRY stuck at more than at the sophisticated niceties of the schools; and as he could not put the same choice to them as he had done to LAMBERT, this treaty
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came to nothing, and they were as little satisfied with the king as the king was with them.

The archbishop's interest at this time at court was evidently on the decline: he had lost both the queens who had helped to soften the king's temper with regard to the reformation; he lost now the greatest friend which he had on the bench of bishops, by the death of Fox bishop of Hereford, who was much esteemed and employed by the king: and tho his party thought they had supplied his place, by helping BONNER to that see, and translating him in a few months afterwards to London on STOKESLY's death, yet they had too much reason to find soon what a fatal mistake they had committed in his promotion. As to the other bishops that adhered to CRANMER, they were rather a dead weight, than an advantage to the cause he patronised. LATIMER was despised for his weakness and simplicity: SHAXTON was hated for his pride and litigious humour; and BARLOW had been accused of public indiscretions, and great want of judgment. Many of the preachers of the new religion, unbridled in their zeal and forward in their dispositions, never considered the king's temper, nor troubled themselves about the consequence; but publicly attacked the doctrines which his majesty had not relinquished. Many complaints of these things were brought to the king, and the good archbishop was thought answerable for them all. They tended evidently to lessen his interest at court, where he had not one friend but CROMWELL; who is accused too of taking more care of himself than of the interests of religion. The king was much irritated at these proceedings of the preachers of the reformation; and letters were sent in his name to all the bishops, "to take care that the people should be well instructed in the truth, and not unwarily charged with too many novelties." The archbishop, and the vice-gerent, finding their cause was losing ground, and that the king began to lend an ear to its enemies, judged it necessary to support their interest with a queen who might be their protection and support. They had seen how much HENRY was influenced by his two last wives in the business of the reformation; and therefore the only way they had to retrieve a design which was almost lost was to engage him in an alliance with some of the princes of Germany, that they might have another queen in their interest. The beauty of lady ANN of Cleve had been founded very high; and therefore CROMWELL set about a negotiation in order to make the match.

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In the mean time, a new parliament having been summoned, and sitting, the king caused a report to be spread, that cardinal POLE was endeavouring to procure a league against his majesty, and that the kingdom was to be invaded. The late truce between the emperor and the king of France afforded a colour for this report: and to give the greater credit to it, several people of quality were dispatched to visit the ports, the king himself went on a progress, a fleet was equipped, and musters taken all over the kingdom. This was however no more than a piece of state policy, to make heavy taxes necessary to withstand such an invasion, if the king had not acquired a large revenue by the surrender of the monasteries; and so to make the people easy under the dissolution which he intended. After the sessions of parliament had been opened about a week, the lord chancellor informed the upper house, that the king, being desirous to have all his subjects of one mind in religion and to put an end to controversies, had commanded him to move, that a committee might be appointed for examining the different opinions and for drawing up articles of agreement, which might be reported and considered by the house. The lords assented to this motion, and named the vice-gerent, the two archbishops, and six other bishops, for a committee; and their attendance on the house was dispensed with till they had expedited this business. But tho eleven days were taken up in carrying it on, it came to nothing; the committee being of two parties, and neither side yielding in any point to the other.

The duke of NORFOLK, who was ever watchful of the interests of his cause, finding no good was likely to be derived to it from hence, informed the house, that the committee having made no progress in the affair which was under their consideration, he had some articles to offer which he desired might be examined by the whole house; and when their lordships had freely delivered their opinions of them, that a law might be made for their perpetual observation. The articles were, I. Whether CHRIST's real body was present in the eucharist without any transubstantiation? II. Whether the sacrament was to be given to the laity in both kinds? III. Whether the vows of chastity, made either by men or women, ought to be observed by the law of God? IV. Whether by the law of God private masses ought to be celebrated? V. Whether priests by the law of God might marry? VI. Whether auricular confession was necessary by the law of God? Tho these articles were proposed, as I have

said, by the duke of NORFOLK, yet it was very well understood that it was a project of the king's; to screen him from the imputation of heresy and innovation, and so to prevent a league from being formed against him. This was also the more necessary, considering the design he had of dissolving all the religious houses: and by forming these articles into a law, added to those already made against the pope, he should render all his subjects in a manner dependent on his will. The archbishop however was the only person who had courage of mind enough to oppose the establishing these articles by act of parliament: he argued against them for three days together in the house of lords with great spirit and judgment; but he was single and unsupported.

The parliament, for some reason or other, tho for what is not said, was prorogued for a week; and at their next meeting the lord chancellor told them, that not only the spiritual lords, but the king himself, had taken great pains to bring about an agreement which was now effected: and therefore he moved in his majesty's name, that a bill might be brought in to establish the six articles, and for the punishment of those who should in any respect offend against them. Upon this motion the lords appointed the archbishop of CANTERBURY, two other bishops, and a master in chancery, to draw up one bill; and the archbishop of YORK, the bishops of DURHAM and WINCHESTER, and a master in chancery, to draw up another bill to this purpose. The last, we may be sure, was most approved of; and three days after it was offered, it was engrossed, passed, and sent down to the commons, where it met with no opposition. The king desired the archbishop, since his grace could not consent to this bill, that he would not be in the house on the day when it was to pass: but CRANMER excused himself to his majesty, and told him that he thought himself bound in conscience to be there, and to give his vote against it. This was at once risking all his interest with a man of HENRY's imperious absolute turn, but as it happened the archbishop did not lose his favour by it: the king looked on him as an ecclesiastick of very singular probity, who had courage enough to deliver his mind in such a cause. In the preamble to this act, which was called "the bloody statute," there is a great flourish about the king's personal application to the parliament and council on the subject of these articles; in which he had opened many things of high learning and great knowledge to them. This was probably a stroke of bishop GARDINER's pencil, who knew the weak side of the king, and never missed an opportunity of taking him

him by it to serve his purpose. After reciting the articles, and returning thanks to his majesty for the great pains he had taken in them, the bill enacts, that whosoever should speak, or preach, or write, against the first, which establishes the real presence in the sacrament, should forfeit their estates real and personal to the king, be judged hereticks, and burnt without abjuration. Those who preached, or disputed obstinately, against the other articles, were adjudged felons, and were to suffer death as such without benefit of clergy. Those who spoke against them in word or writing, were to be prisoners during the king's pleasure, and forfeit their goods and chattels for the first offence, and for the second to suffer as felons. All the marriages of priests are declared void, and if they still retained their wives and cohabited with them as such, they were to suffer as felons. The women were also to be punished in the same manner as the priests: and those who contemned, or abstained from confession, or the sacrament, at the accustomed times, for the first offence were to be imprisoned and forfeit their goods and chattels, and for the second to be adjudged as felons. All archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, were to hold their sessions quarterly for the execution of this act, and to proceed upon presentments and by a jury. All ecclesiastical incumbents were to read it in their churches once a quarter; and in the end a proviso was added concerning vows of chastity, that they should not oblige any except such as had taken them above the age of twenty one years, or as had not been compelled to it.

As this act gave great joy to those who favoured the old religion, in engaging the king so much against the hereticks, so it gave as great an uneasiness to the reformers; who were now exposed to the rage and malice of their enemies, and had no hopes left of carrying on their cause. The popish clergy had but one fault to find with it; which was the severe clause against their incontinence, inserted by CROMWELL that it might cut with both edges: and the reformers had but one particular to approve of, which was that they were not at the mercy of spiritual courts, or trials ex officio, but were to be tried by juries; tho denying the privilege of abjuration was a severity without a precedent. The archbishop sent his wife abroad to her relations till better times, and withdrew himself very much from court, and from public business. The German ambassadors, and probably at his grace's instance, desired an audience of the king, assured him how much their masters would be grieved at the passing this act,

act, and pressed him earnestly to put a stop to the execution of it. The king replied, that he found it necessary to make the act in order to repress the insolence of some people, but that it should not be executed without very extraordinary provocation. The German princes, when they heard of it, went further than their ministers in their remonstrances to his majesty; they warned him of many bishops whom he had about him, who loved popery and the old abuses in their hearts, and took this method to bring him back again to his former servitude; hoping, if they once made him cruel to those whom they called hereticks, it would be an easy matter to force him back into the papal yoke. But the king was so great a bigot, and had picqued himself so much on his theological learning and abilities, that there was no diverting him from his purpose.

The next great business of this parliament was the suppressing the religious houses; or rather declaring the king's right to them, founded either on surrenders, forfeitures, or attainders, to be good in law. The king had a great desire it should appear to the world, as tho the abbots, priors and monks had been induced of their own accord to surrender their houses; and yet there was not a soul but what knew that the surrenders were all extorted. There were no less however than twenty abbots present in parliament at the passing of this bill without a single protest from any of them. They saw that the king was determined to destroy all the religious houses at any rate, to which they must submit; and therefore they thought it their wisest way to do it with a good grace, and to make the best bargain they could. According to CAMDEN, the whole number of monasteries was six hundred and forty three, ninety colleges, an hundred and ten hospitals, and chantries and free chapels two thousand three hundred and seventy four; the yearly value of which according to the rate they had been last let at, in which the rents were greatly lowered in order to raise high fines, amounted to above an hundred and sixty thousand pounds. But besides the value of the lands, the king acquired a prodigious sum, from the goods, the plate, and the church ornaments, the bells, the lead, and the materials of all the buildings, and the gold, and silver bullion that was in several. The unjust and arbitrary methods which had been taken to procure these surrenders, the razing to the ground so many edifices, some of which were stately and superb, the laying so many churches and chapels in rubbish, the rapacious scrambling of some of the visitors, and the grievous dis-

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appointment of the common people who were frequently relieved at these houses in their travels, made a tragical representation. But the king had now acquired such an absolute power over his subjects that no body durst openly oppose his will. Indeed he condescended to make many promises, in order to induce the parliament to give him all these religious houses, easing the subject particularly from all future subsidies, loans, or common aids; none of which were performed: and after the dissolution of the monasteries, he exacted great loans, we are told by SIR EDW. COKE, and received them against law. He built it seems a few forts and castles upon the coast, with the money which he had amassed from this dissolution; and of the many fine projects which were given out, this was the only benefit which the publick reaped for all this treasure.

Whatever the king or his courtiers might pretend by the dissolution of these houses, it is evident by what followed that neither the interest of religion nor the good of the church or state were consulted in it. Had the superstition and immorality complained of in these houses been expunged and rectified, which might have been done without taking away their revenues; or had the number of them been retrenched, and the revenues translated to public and pious uses; had more bishopricks been erected; and many of the old ones been better endowed; nay had the abbeyes dissolved been turned into public schools and seminaries of learning, into hospitals for disabled seamen and soldiers, for the poor worn out with age and labour, for widows and orphans, or for merchants and tradesmen brought to decay thro misfortunes and ill success, the community would have found their account in a disposition of this sort, the loss of the monasteries would not have been much regretted, and this stretch of power in his majesty would have appeared with a good grace. But as no good accrued to the state, in vesting these lands in the king, who gave them away or sold them at a low rate to the courtiers, so by conveying such a number of impropriated parsonages, and estates discharged of such tithes, to lay proprietors, there was a great deal of mischief done to the church. The stripping parishes of glebes and tithes, in order to annex them to religious houses, defeated the original settlement of such tithes, and was an encroachment introduced by the papal power. These ought therefore in justice and in good sense to have reverted to the parishes from which they had been forcibly taken. For if it was a scandalous encroachment to

alienate these tithes belonging to the parochial clergy, in order to give them to the monks, and others, who had a religious character, and several priests of their own houses to supply the cure, it was much more unjustifiable to enrich the laity with them. But this strange abuse of the power which the king had acquired over his subjects continues to this day without a remedy, to the scandal and disservice of true religion. For to the mean and wretched provision which is reserved for the minister in almost all the vicarages throwout the kingdom, we must in a great measure impute, if not the defect of his qualifications, yet the insignificancy of his interest and character, and many disadvantages in conduct and learning; all which together have brought the whole order into contempt.

But another misfortune consequent on this suppression of the monasteries, was, the destruction of many valuable records and books of learning which were deposited in them. Printing was then but a late invention, and had secured but a few books in comparison of the rest. The chief parts of learning lay in manuscripts; and most of these of any consequence were in the possession of the monks. But the abbeyes at the dissolution falling into mercenary or illiterate hands, the libraries were most of them wretchedly disposed of. Thus the noblest antiquities of England, were sold to shopkeepers for common paper, or by whole ship loads to book-binders abroad for the price of their covers, to the irreparable loss of learning. But in order to make this dissolution of the religious houses less offensive, particularly to the archbishop and his friends, who were against the grant of any of the houses to the crown, of which the crown were not the founders, and who insisted that all the rest should be applied to the public service, another bill was brought into this parliament by CROMWELL, for enabling the king to erect new episcopal sees by letters patent. The preamble, and the most material parts of this bill, were drawn by the king himself, and are still extant under his hand: in these it is set forth, "that the ill and idle lives of those who were called religious had made it necessary to change their houses to better uses; that the word of God might be better taught, children brought up in learning, scholars supported in the universities, old infirm people maintained, readers in Latin, Greek and Hebrew provided for, amending the highways, and enlarging the allowance of parish priests: for these ends, a full power was given to the king to erect and found such new bishopricks and to make such translations and divisions of them

them as he thought fit." These were evidently the projects of the archbishop; and it was probably owing to the decline of his interest and the change of counsels and ministers which soon after followed, that none of these good designs were accomplished. In this session of parliament passed the statute of precedence; giving to the king's vice-gerent the place of all next the royal family, and next him among the ecclesiasticks the two archbishops; then the bishops of London and Durham; after them the bishop of Winchester as prelate of the garter; and all the other bishops are to take place according to the date of their consecration.

These were all the public acts, relating to religion, or the church, which were passed in this parliament. But there being an act of a very singular nature, in which the changes of religion in the minority of the next reign was grounded, it will not be impertinent to the design of this history to recite it. Great complaints had been made, as far as the people durst then complain, of the illegality of the king's proceedings in the injunctions published by his authority; in which without consent of parliament, some of the laws had been altered, and a tax had been laid on his spiritual subjects. A bill therefore passed in this session, in the preamble to which it is said, that the king's proclamations had been treated with great disobedience and contempt, by those who did not consider what the royal power might do, which the king took very ill; whereupon it was enacted, that his majesty for the future with the advice of his council, might set forth proclamations with pains and penalties to be observed in like manner as acts of parliament; provided none of the king's subjects should suffer in their persons, liberties and estates, nor any of his majesty's proclamations, laws or customs should be subverted. But this proviso was expressed in such ambiguous terms, that it was no difficult matter for the king to counteract or to evade it. A power was also given to the council of the king's successor, if the successor was under age, to issue out proclamations which were to be obeyed in the same manner with those set forth by the king himself.

When the parliament was prorogued, the king, being apprehensive that the archbishop might be distressed about the law of the six articles which had passed against his opinion, and thro a fear of having displeased his majesty by his opposition, sent the lord vice-gerent and the dukes of NORFOLK and SUFFOLK to dine

with him at Lambeth, and to encourage him with an assurance of the king's constant kindness. They executed their commission very faithfully, and the archbishop was not insensible of this testimony of the king's esteem. The lords made him many compliments on their own part, for the gravity, the learning, and the eloquence, with which he had opposed the six articles, and which were much admired by those who differed from him. The lord CROMWELL in particular told him, that the king made this difference between his grace and all his other counselors; that when complaints were brought against any of the rest, his majesty admitted them, and examined into the facts on which such complaints were grounded; but he would not so much as lend an ear to any complaints against his grace. From hence he passed on to other compliments, and in particular to draw a parallel between the archbishop and cardinal WOLSEY; in which he said, that the one lost his friends by his pride and haughtiness, and the other gained his enemies by his gentleness and humility. The duke of NORFOLK replied to this, that his lordship indeed might best speak of the cardinal, for he knew him well, having been long his man. CROMWELL, nettled at this reflection, made answer, that tho he had served cardinal WOLSEY, yet he never liked his manners; and tho he intended, if the cardinal's attempt on the popedom had succeeded, to have refused going with him to Rome, yet he knew the duke was determined to bear him company thither. The duke of NORFOLK swore with a great oath that he lied, and gave him other contumelious and reproachful language. The archbishop, and the other company, were put into great disorder with this quarrel; and at their interposition, the duke and the vice-gerent were in all appearance reconciled: but it laid the foundation of such an enmity between these two great ministers, as was attended with very fatal and important consequences.

In a short time after this gracious message from the king, his majesty sent for the archbishop, in order to talk with his grace himself about the law of the six articles, which he had so strenuously opposed, and with reputation from his enemies, in the house of lords. The archbishop having delivered himself with great freedom on this subject, the king, somewhat shook perhaps in his judgment, ordered his grace to put all his arguments in writing, that his majesty might give them a further consideration. By the statute this was a crime which might bring a man to the stake: but the archbishop confiding in the king's honour

honour and friendship, drew up the reasons which had induced him to oppose this law ; grounded chiefly on the scriptures and the authority of the ancient doctors of the church. It does not appear, however, that the king was at all convinced by the archbishop's book : and how much soever his good opinion of this prelate might incline his majesty to use him with tenderness and candour, yet those of the archbishop's party were not so kindly dealt with. The bishops, SHAXTON, and LATIMER, being terrified with the severities of the bloody statute, which laid them under a necessity of being hypocrites or martyrs, resigned their bishopricks to the king ; hoping to be less exposed to the malice and persecution of their enemies : but they had no sooner put the instrument of their resignation into his majesty's hands, than they were presented for speaking against the articles, and committed to the tower. Commissions were issued out for proceeding upon that statute in the city of London, in which GARDINER took care that proper persons should be employed ; and they did the business so effectually, that in a few days five hundred were sent to prison, as more or less guilty of the breach of the statute. But this immoderate zeal had its usual consequence, and defeated its own intention. For when the king was shewn by CROMWELL and the archbishop, who got the lord chancellor and the duke of SUFFOLK to join in this remonstrance, that the commissioners had laid snares to entangle some, and had concluded others guilty upon presumptive circumstances, added to the ill consequence which might ensue from executing the statute against so many people, his majesty was prevailed with to pardon them all ; and there were no more proceedings on it till after the fall of CROMWELL.

But the king had not yet fully satisfied his ambition in the point of his supremacy : the bishops seemed to have some authority independent of their head, which HENRY would not permit ; and he therefore obliged them to take commissions, in which they acknowledged the king the fountain of all jurisdiction and authority as well ecclesiastical as secular ; and that those who formerly exercised this jurisdiction, which ought to be returned whenever his majesty should please to call for it, did it only in a precarious manner and upon royal curtesy. But because his vice-gerent could not be every where nor execute the office of an universal superintendant, for this reason he gives them a commission to execute all the branches of episcopal authority under his majesty. Thus every thing was regulated by the king's will,

and he obtained a blind condescension from both parties. It had always been CRANMER's notion, that the spiritual offices were subject to the king's power as much as those of the state, and that the hierarchy had no jurisdiction independent of his majesty: and that he might therefore give a home thrust to the popish party who abhorred this principle, in a point which of all others would shake their interest with the king, it is probable this commission was set on foot. But they were not to be caught with scruples of conscience, and would go any lengths rather than ruin themselves with the king.

By this time the suppression of all the monasteries and abbeys was compleated; and the king had the reputation both at home and abroad of having plundered the church in a sacrilegious manner. The parliament were certainly inexcusable for having put such immense riches into his hands designed for pious uses, without making any provision for their being expended to the benefit of the publick. But towards the latter end of this reign the parliament met merely to gratify the king's passions, without examining the motives or the consequences of what he required. Thus not content with the dissolution of the abbies he got the hospitals to be next surrendered, and given to the crown. But whilst HENRY was thus busied with his domestic affairs, he was not inattentive to what passed abroad: and finding that a rupture between the emperor and the German protestants was at no great distance, he sent fresh ambassadors to the princes; and hearing much of the beauty of the lady ANN of Cleve was inclined to ally himself with that family. But the princes answered, as they had done before, that the sole intent of their league was to maintain the principles of their religion: and as the king had made so severe a law, about communion in one kind, the celibacy of the clergy, and private masses, they could enter into no further correspondence with him; unless a statute which differed so much from their doctrine was mitigated or withdrawn. HENRY, whose will was a law in England, and to whom every body stooped without hesitation, was not a little offended at this obstinacy of the German princes: and GARDINER, dreading above all things an union with this league, took an occasion to divert his majesty from it, by flattering his vanity in the most sensible part. The bishop told him, it was below his dignity to permit a parcel of dull petty princes of Germany to dictate to his majesty, who was the most learned monarch in Europe, in the business of religion. With this, and some other weak

pretences, he irritated the king against the league, and a great coldness ensued between him and the protestants. The artifices of this prelate would have been more prejudicial to the reformation than they were, if the king had not in some measure seen a little into him, and if the archbishop had not had a counter-battery to play against him.

The king was jealous of his supremacy to such a degree, that he omitted nothing which could serve to support it, or that would convince the people of the justice of that title. Hence CRANMER took occasion to suggest to him the necessity of the free use of the scriptures, as the only expedient which could undeceive his subjects in the false notion they had entertained of the pope's authority. It is true the English bible had been set up in churches a year before: but as many people scrupled to read the scriptures publicly, lest they should be suspected of heresy, the archbishop therefore moved the king, that the people might have leave to have a bible in their houses to read at their leisure, in order to convince them that the pretended authority of the see of Rome had no foundation in the word of God. The bishop of WINCHESTER perceiving the tendency of this stratagem of CRANMER's, and that the king was likely to be won over by it, did all he could to divert him from it. He challenged the archbishop, in his majesty's presence, to shew any difference between the authority of the scriptures and of the apostolical canons, which he pretended were equal to the other writings of the apostles. They disputed one day upon this topick for some time, and the king was very attentive to the debate. At last, perceiving there was solid learning offered with much modesty by CRANMER, and nothing but an affectation of it with much subtlety in his opponent, his majesty rose up hastily, and rebuking GARDINER with some sharpness, said, that the archbishop was an old experienced captain, and ought not to be troubled with fresh-men and novices. Upon this a proclamation was issued shortly after for the free use of the scriptures in the English tongue; which the king intended should pass among his people by only one translation; and which was committed to the care of CROMWELL by letters patent.

The king having now determined to marry again, and an alliance with the houses of Cleve and Saxony being at this time for his interest in his views against the emperor, was inclined to engage with the lady ANN; whose picture HANS HOLBEN the famous painter

painter had sent over, but too much to her advantage. It seems there had been a treaty of marriage negotiated between her and the prince of LORRAIN; but they were both under age, and it went no further than a contract between the fathers, which they had too themselves annulled. This was a matter however which the king's ambassadors objected to; and which was promised to be fully cleared, when she came over, in due form of law. Upon this the match was concluded, and she was brought over to England in the latter end of the year fifteen hundred and thirty nine. But when the king first saw her, and found none of those charms which he was led to believe she had, he took an incurable aversion to her, and resolved if it was possible to break off the match. But his affairs at that time made the friendship of the German princes so very necessary to him, that he could not safely put such an affront upon the dukes her brothers as that would be. He expressed the great trouble he was in to many of his servants, particularly to CROMWELL; and was determined to try what he could make of the precontract with the prince of LORRAIN, in order to stop any further proceedings. Accordingly this affair was brought before the council, to which the ambassadors of the duke of CLEVE were summoned. Here in a formal instrument they protested, that the contract was in the minority of the prince and the lady ANN, when they could give no consent, and was by the joint approbation of their parents annulled, as it was registred in the chancery of Cleve. The archbishop of CANTERBURY, and the bishop of DURHAM, being called upon to give their opinions, agreed there was nothing in such a contract to prevent the solemnization of the king's marriage with that lady. Accordingly, being pressed much to it by CROMWELL, and the ministers of Cleve, the king was married to her, tho with a dislike that was visible to all about him. The day after, he told CROMWELL, that he had not consummated his marriage; and that his aversion was encreased to such a degree, that he believed he never should. I have abbreviated this transaction, which is foreign to church history, as much as I could; it being necessary to say something of it, that the reader may understand an event which followed from it.

In about three months after, there was a meeting of the parliament, at which the lord chancellor declared the business relating to the state for which the king had called them; and the vice-gerent spoke concerning the affairs of religion: he told them, that there was nothing which his majesty so much desired,
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as an entire union among his subjects, in which he placed his great security: but some incendiaries opposed it as much as the king promoted it; and between rashness on one hand, and inveterate superstition on the other, great dissensions had arisen. These were enflamed with the reproachful names of papist and heretick; and tho they had now the word of God in all their houses, yet they studied rather to justify their passions out of it, than to direct their lives. In order to remove these dissensions, his majesty had appointed some bishops and divines, to draw up an exposition of those things which were necessary for the institution of a Christian man; and others, to examine the ceremonies which might be retained, as being of good use: and this being done, he was determined to punish all those who should transgress against the established opinions, of what side soever they might be. The lords approved of the commissioners named by the king; and ordered that they should proceed in the examination intended without any delay. The next business before the parliament, was suppressing the knights of St. John of Jerusalem; who at their first foundation were to be guards to those who went in a pilgrimage to the holy land, and were at this time the knights of Malta dependent on the emperor and the pope. It was not therefore thought proper to let these have any longer a house in England, who were subject to a foreign power at enmity with his majesty; and as they were not willing to surrender it, the king was inclined to force them by act of parliament. Accordingly they were suppressed by an act of this session, which gave the revenues of the house to the king; who allotted a pension to the prior of a thousand pounds a year, and considerable allowances to the knights.

Whilst the parliament was thus going on in their business under the direction of lord CROMWELL, whom the king had in this session made earl of Essex, the duke of NORFOLK accused him of high treason at the council table, arrested him in his majesty's name, and sent him prisoner to the tower. Tho this storm had probably been gathering for some time, yet CROMWELL had no suspicion of it till it fell upon him. To account for the sudden disgrace of this great minister, even to the taking off his head, by his having had the principal hand in the king's marriage, as almost all our historians do account for it, is, in my opinion, unsatisfactory and absurd. It is unsatisfactory, because it is not an adequate cause of his majesty's yielding him to the block; and it is absurd, because in this very session of parliament, three months after the king's

marriage, he advanced him to the dignity of earl of Effex. The truth is, this minister had many enemies in the natural course of things, and they only waited for an opportunity to strike him home. The duke of NORFOLK had determined it probably from the quarrel which they had at Lambeth; and CROMWELL's new advancement to the earldom, we may suppose, did not abate the envy that his honours and employments had before occasioned. But the true reason, I apprehend, why the duke of NORFOLK ventured to attack him at that juncture, and why the king gave him up to the duke's resentment, is, that his majesty was now enamoured of Miss HOWARD, niece to the duke of NORFOLK, who was swayed as much by her uncle, as she swayed the king. His grace probably finding his interest thus advanced, and fearing perhaps that CROMWELL might be able to counterwork the charms of the young lady, judged this, or never, the time to push him. As soon therefore as he had an opportunity, the duke represented to his majesty, that there were a surprizing number of disaffected people in the kingdom; and yet it was hard to believe, that a prince like him would willingly give occasion of discontent; which made every body conclude, that he must have been ill served by his minister, who had no doubt abused his confidence: that the publick had accused him of many things, which, considering how the king had loaded him with favours, made him eminently guilty, if the allegations were true that were brought against him: that if no particular fact could be proved upon him, it was a very great crime in itself, to alienate the hearts of his majesty's subjects from their loyalty; and therefore he took the freedom to tell his majesty, that the best way to regain the affections of his people was to sacrifice a minister who was so much detested by them. What the duke of NORFOLK had thus opened, we may be sure was well seconded from his instructions by his niece, whom the king was resolved to marry: and considering the fickle wayward temper of HENRY, and that he had no tenderness for a minister, if it would throw off any odium from himself by treating him with cruelty, it is no wonder that CROMWELL's enemies were so successful against him. The next day after his commitment, the good archbishop, who had always entertained a friendship for him, and had not learnt to forsake a minister because he was in disgrace, wrote a letter to the king in his favour: he magnified the diligence of the earl in his majesty's service and preservation, the love he bore to the king, and the fidelity and success of which he had acquitted himself in all his employments: he thought

thought no king of ENGLAND, he said, had ever been so happy in a servant, upon which account his grace had loved him, as one who loved the king above all others: if he was a traitor it would be a matter of joy to his grace that he was discovered; but he earnestly prayed God to send his majesty such a counsellor in his stead, who could, and would serve him as the earl had done. There is nothing can shew more the firmness of CRANMER's friendship, and the true greatness of his mind, in supporting a man in distress when all the world had forsaken him, than this letter to HENRY, who was of all mankind the most impatient of contradiction. But it was all in vain. The ruin of CROMWELL was decreed: and he, who had fervently complied with the king's pleasure, in procuring POLE's relations to be attainted, without their being brought to give an answer or to make their defence, fell now himself under the same severity; a severity which had never been known in England, till he as a slave to the king's will had procured it to pass in parliament; and for which, in the opinion of most people, he was permitted by providence, without any proof of guilt against him, to be exemplarily punished.

The fall of CROMWELL was the prelude to the king's divorce; and his majesty had already sent the queen, under a pretence of better air, to Richmond. A motion being made, and assented to, in the house of lords, that an address be presented to his majesty desiring him to permit his marriage with the queen to be examined into, the archbishop of CANTERBURY, the lord chancellor and some other peers, were sent down to the commons to desire their concurrence in such an address. This being agreed to, the whole house of lords with twenty commoners waited upon the king; where such a solemn farce was acted on both sides as I could wish not to relate. After what has been seen of the arbitrary rule of HENRY, and how much all his subjects stood in awe of his imperious humour, I believe the reader will not imagine, that any of his parliament durst have moved in a case of this importance without his express direction. And yet, as tho nothing had been preconcerted, as tho the king had been a stranger to their business, and as tho it had arisen wholly from themselves, none of which was true, they tell him that they had a matter of the greatest consequence to propose to him; so great, that they must first beg his majesty would give them leave to move it. He did so, and they desired that he would order a trial to be made of the validity of his marriage. The king's turn came next; and that he might not fall short of them in
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this solemn mockery, he made a deep protestation as in the presence of God, that he should conceal no circumstances that related to it, and that there was nothing he held dearer than the glory of God, the good of the commonwealth, and the declaration of truth. He then agreed, that the matter should be referred to the convocation; who appointed a committee to examine witnesses. The substance of the whole evidence, and their reasoning on it, amounts to these three particulars: that there had been a precontract between the queen and the prince of LORRAIN which was not fully cleared; because it did not appear whether the espousals were made by the parties themselves, or in words of the present tense: That the king having married the queen against his will, he had not given a pure inward and compleat consent; and since a man's act is only what is inward, extorted or forced promises do not bind: That his majesty had never consummated his marriage with her; and the whole nation had a great interest in the king's having more issue, which he could never have by the queen.

There is no difficulty in conceiving why the popish party should drive on this divorce with all their might; in order to get rid of an alliance with the protestant princes of Germany, and to make another with the house of NORFOLK, which they were sure would protect them against their enemies, and in the end perhaps might lead the king back to Rome. But there is a difficulty in accounting for the conduct of CRANMER, and his friends in the convocation, upon this occasion. The archbishop had pronounced in council before the marriage, that there was no weight in the objection of the precontract, and that it ought to be no obstacle. If the second reason took place, it would open such a door to insincerity, perfidy and fraud, that there could be no such thing as public treaties or agreements, nor any safety in private contracts; since if one of the parties pretended he was not willing and his consent was not inward, he was furnished with an excuse to break loose from all engagements. As for the third reason, which was taken from the want of consummation, they had all surely forgotten what the king alledged in the process of his divorce from CATHARINE, that consummation was not necessary to render the marriage valid: and there was evidently no necessity of annulling this, under colour that the king was not pleased to lie with the queen; especially when he had one undoubted heir already. But whether CRANMER's courage was shook with the fall of CROMWELL, and he complied out of fear
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as well as the rest, or what were his motives for assenting, we cannot tell: the whole convocation, it is certain, without one disagreeing vote, adjudged the marriage null, and that the king and the lady were both absolutely free. This was the greatest piece of complaisance, amidst an unparalleled series of it, that HENRY every had from his clergy; and the only excuse that can be made for it, is, that these reasons were as just and weighty, as those which were usually admitted by the court of Rome for a divorce. The truth is, the king was resolved upon any terms to get rid of the queen; and the convocation were resolved not to offend him. But if the clergy were so mean as to prostitute themselves and the cause of truth and justice to the king's passions, the parliament were not behind them. The archbishop and GARDINER reported the sentence of the convocation to the lords; and they sent the two prelates on the same errand to the house of commons: in consequence of which, a bill for annulling his majesty's marriage with the lady ANN of Cleve, was brought in, and passed, without opposition. Tho the king did not think it necessary to ask her approbation whilst he was meditating the divorce, yet he sent the lord chancellor and some other peers to demand her consent to what had been done by the parliament and clergy. The queen was shocked and surprised extremely with the news at first; but recovering herself a little, she gave her consent and approbation of the sentence under her hand, and accepted the settlement of four thousand pounds a year which the king had offered, and a palace in England with the title of his adopted sister. In all appearance she had entertained no great affection for a husband, who had given her tokens of his dislike; and with whom there was no prospect of her enjoying much felicity as a queen.

This grand affair being thus adjusted, the parliament passed an act, to mitigate one of the articles in the bloody statute, relating to the marriage of the clergy, and their incontinence with other women; changing the pains of death for both these crimes into a forfeiture of their goods and benefices to the king. As soon as this act was passed, in which probably both the parties agreed, a motion was made and a bill brought in accordingly in the house of lords, to give the force of a law to what the committees, appointed to examine the doctrines and ceremonies of religion, should publish with his majesty's approbation; as if every particular had been enumerated in that act, any custom or law to the contrary notwithstanding; with a proviso, that nothing might be done by them which was contrary to the laws of the realm.

then in force. It is impossible to read without indignation what a slavery this parliament was held in by HENRY ; which invested him with the infallibility taken from the pope, and not only gave him a power over the consciences of his people, but over their lives and fortunes. On the one hand, they were enjoined to submit to the king's will in matters of religion, any law or custom to the contrary notwithstanding : and on the other, they were forbidden to do any thing contrary to the laws of the realm then in force. Thus they were liable to be prosecuted by virtue of this statute, whether against law they obeyed the king, or in obedience to the law they refused to comply with his will. But the acts passed in this reign are full of these contradictions ; inserted doubtless with a design to keep all ecclesiastical proceedings under the inspection of the secular courts, since they are the only expounders of acts of parliament. But, as tho HENRY had lost all sense of shame, and had a mind to let the world see, that he could say black was white and his parliament would confirm it, the next act which passed in this session was to declare, that after a marriage was consummated, no pretence of a precontract, or any degrees of kindred or alliance not mentioned in the scripture, should be made use of to annul it. Could the parliament, could the king forget, that he had consummated his marriage with ANN BOLEYN, and that a precontract was made use of, a pretended precontract, to dissolve his marriage, and to illegitimize his daughter ? Whatever were his majesty's motives to these contradictory acts of parliament, his design in allowing the marriage of all degrees of kindred prohibited only by canon law, was evidently to make way for his marriage with Miss HOWARD cousin german to ANN BOLEYN ; which would have been an alliance not conformable to that law.

Before the session was ended, the convocation of the province of Canterbury offered the king a subsidy of four shillings in the pound of all ecclesiastical preferments, to be paid in two years ; in acknowledgment, as they said, of their great happiness under his protection. The king accepted their present very graciously, and the parliament confirmed it. There is no doubt but this was intended as an example which they should follow : but the parliament either did not, or would not, take the hint ; and his majesty was therefore obliged to demand in form an aid of the house of commons. But as obsequious as we have seen them to the king's will, in passing the acts which he required, this demand which touched their pockets was not so readily acquiesced in. At last however the commons granted a subsidy to his majesty,

majesty, as large as if he had been engaged in an expensive war. In this session was erected the court of first fruits, and tenths; and an act passed for the payment and recovery of tithes to lay impropriators. When these bills, and some others which concerned the civil polity, were made ready for the royal assent, the king sent a general pardon, with an exception to CROMWELL and some others, and passing the bills, dissolved the parliament.

AS CROMWELL'S execution had been delayed for some weeks, and he had used all his endeavours to save himself that he could, he was not without hopes of having a pardon. The king was so moved with a letter that he wrote to his majesty, that he ordered it to be read to him thrice: but his enemies had gone too far to permit him to be restored to the king's favour, which would probably end in their own destruction. The duke of NORFOLK therefore and GARDINER, seconded by the charms of Miss HOWARD, prevailed on the king at length to sign a warrant for his execution, at the dissolution of the parliament; which was performed with great barbarity. In this manner died the earl of ESSEX, raised from a very mean original, by the strength of his natural parts, his adroitness in business, and his absolute submission to the king's will, till he became as great as a subject could possibly be. His elevation alone, from being the son of a locksmith to a precedence next the royal family, must have created him many enemies amongst the nobility. It is true that he behaved amidst all his greatness with a becoming temper; and, which is extremely singular in a man of such rank and power, with gratitude and respect to his old acquaintance who had obliged him, and were still in a mean condition. But the very procuring himself the successive dignities, of master of the rolls, a baron, dean of Wells, lord privy seal, great chamberlain of England, vice-gerent to the king in all ecclesiastical affairs, a knight of the garter, secretary of state, and earl of Essex, we may naturally enough suppose would incite the hatred and the envy of all the great men at court; who might think their own honours lessened by being conferred on a man of his mean extraction. The suppression of the abbeyes with all the train of ills that followed it, and his associating with CRANMER in the reformation, made all the popish party his avowed and inveterate enemies. The lazy, illiterate, and ill disposed ecclesiasticks hated him out of measure, for the injunctions which he laid them under, to diligence, learning, and good manners. Many of the reform-

ers thought he did but half their business; and that he did not exert himself with any of that zeal and application for the cause, which he used to grow rich and great and to secure the favour of the king. Thus he fell under the weight of popular odium, says bishop BURNET, rather than of guilt. The charge against him was general, supported by no proof, believed at the time by all impartial people to be groundless; and if not suspected to be so by his enemies, why was he not allowed to hear it, and to speak in his vindication? He was certainly too desirous of wealth and honour, and he might take some unjustifiable, tho not illegal steps, in order to procure them. They might possibly too be measures which were a warrantable foundation for his removal as a minister; but there was nothing in his conduct from first to last that could excuse his enemies for bringing him to the block. The great, and the only crime in his administration, was the absolute submission which he paid to the king's will in every thing; which indeed might be the parent of some other crimes, but for which he was not strictly answerable. Let his offences however towards the people have been what they might, yet it is certain that he had done nothing that could offend the king. Whatever he did as a minister, he did to please or obey his master; and the execution of the earl of ESSEX will be an indelible stain upon the memory of this monarch. Had he had a little more courage of mind, and less attachment to wealth and power, he would probably have lost his interest with the king, but then he would have saved his life. Notwithstanding the haste he was in to acquire riches, yet he was very charitable to the poor; and we are told by STOW in his survey of London, that "he has often seen himself above two hundred people relieved plentifully twice a day at the lord CROMWELL's gate." To speak of him impartially, he had many noble qualities far above his birth, and equal to the station in which the king had placed him: and if he was not one of the best ministers for the people which England had ever seen, yet he had more wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience, than any king of England had ever met with in a minister. This is CRANMER's testimony of him to the king; and if it had been CROMWELL's good fortune, to have served a prince of less imperiousness, or more gratitude, than HENRY, he would have had a better fate.

The progress of the reformation fell with the earl of ESSEX; and indeed it was a hard matter for the archbishop to keep the ground

ground he had got. He had been named in the house of commons as the supporter of all the heresy that was in England; and the popish party imagined, that they had done but half their work in destroying CROMWELL, if they did not send CRANMER after him. The king, that he might shew how even he held the ballance between the parties, ordered a strange execution in a few days after that of the earl of ESSEX, which people were much perplexed with. At the same time and place were burned and hanged three priests for sowing heresy, and perverting the scriptures; four others for maintaining the pope's authority, and holding a correspondence with cardinal POLE; and three more for denying the king's supremacy. But notwithstanding this severity towards the papal interest as well as the reformation, the hopes of GARDINER and his associates were much encreased with the fall of CROMWELL and the advancement of the new queen; which his majesty publicly owned about this time: and indeed the change of counsels at court from these two events were soon perceived, to the great grief of all who wished for a reformation. But luckily, the king was diverted for some time by other affairs at home and abroad from attending to those of religion.

The ecclesiastical committee as above mentioned, appointed by the king and confirmed in parliament, gave the last finishing to a book, which had been partly prepared two or three years before, "for the necessary erudition of a Christian man." It would be tedious and disagreeable to give the reader even an abstract of this performance, which was wrote in a plain and nervous stile, adapted to weak capacities, and in the parts relating to practise was well executed. But there were so many absurdities of the old religion still retained, so much metaphysical jargon about the merit of good works, about the essential parts and consequents of faith, about free will and grace, that this book, instead of promoting the reformation, visibly put it back. As soon as this work was presented to the king he ordered it to be published; and it was probably more an explanation of the king's religion than of any other man's in the kingdom. It declared the national church to be a compleat body, with power to reform heresys, and to do every thing that was necessary for preserving its own purity, or governing its members; in which the popish party were not pleased. But on the other hand, transubstantiation, private masses, and communion in one kind, were strongly asserted; in which the reformers were dissatisfied. The changes which the other committee made, appointed for

the ceremonies, were only the rasure of some offices and collects in which the pope was prayed for, with a new primer for the devotions of the common people; and so it was not thought necessary to reprint the mass book. After the explanation made by the other committee had been seen and approved of by the parliament, the king caused it to be republished with a preface of his own before it, declaring that as hypocrisy and superstition were purged away by setting forth the scriptures to his people, so a spirit of presumption, dissension, and carnal liberty, was breaking in: to correct which he had ordered this book to be wrote and published, requiring his people to read and print it in their hearts, and to pray to God to grant them the spirit of humility for receiving it aright. The zealots of the old religion began now to push the king to use greater severities against hereticks: and BONNER, who had hitherto taken the side of the reformers, which he thought the readiest way to preferment, being now in the see of London, began to shew himself. He procured many to be indicted upon the bloody statute, which by an order from the star chamber were discharged. But there was one instance of his cruelty in bringing an ignorant illiterate boy to the stake, by obliging the grand jury with oaths and menaces to find him guilty against their judgment, "which if the many stains of his life had not dashed all particular spots," says bishop BURNET, "was sufficient to blemish him for ever."

About the end of the year fifteen hundred and forty, the monastery of Westminster was turned into a bishop's see, with a deanry, twelve prebends, and officers for a cathedral. There were five more erected afterwards at Chester, Gloucester, Peterborough, Oxford, and Bristol; the preambles to their foundation, being for the most part the same with that to the act of parliament empowering him to erect them, which has been already recited. The cathedrals founded for priories were at this time also converted into collegiate churches, consisting of deans and prebendaries. But as all this came far short of what the king had once intended, so the design of the archbishop was disappointed by the channel in which these foundations run. He intended to have restored the cathedrals to what they had been at first, to be colleges and nurseries for the diocese; in which there should be readers of languages and divinity, in order to train up young clergymen under the bishop's eye, who might promote them to benefices according to their deserts. But the archbishop's credit and interest at court was then so low, that he had it not in

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his power to carry this project, noble as it was, into execution. The king had no minister about him that had any influence over him, and age and indisposition increased his imperious temper, so that every thing he did afterwards towards a reformation was by fits and starts, backwards and forwards, as the humour led him. The new book of the bishops which was in truth the king's own religion, and perhaps the king's own religion only, was made the standard for all his subjects in matters of faith and doctrine; and whatsoever was not agreeable to it was judged heretical, whether it leaned to one side or the other. In a short time after endowing the new bishopricks, there was another impression of the bible in a larger volume, revised by COVERDALE afterwards bishop of Exeter, and a preface added to it by CRANMER. The king issued a proclamation, requiring all the curates and inhabitants of every town and parish to provide themselves a copy of it in six months, under a penalty of forty shillings a month till it was provided; in order, he said, that his people might perceive the power, wisdom and goodness of God, observe his commandments, obey the laws and their prince, and live in godly charity among themselves: not intending that his subjects should presume to expound, or take arguments from scripture, nor disturb divine service by reading it when mass was celebrating, but that they should read it meekly and reverently for edification and amendment.

At the latter end of the summer, the king went a progress into Yorkshire, with his fair and beloved queen; of whom he was so much enamoured, that on his return to London, he gave public thanks to God for the happy choice he had made, and desired his confessor to join with him in the same solemnity. But the next day, the archbishop by the advice of some of the privy council, to whom he had communicated his information, put a paper into his majesty's hands, accusing the queen of the most infamous and notorious lewdness both before and since her marriage. The witnesses being examined with great strictness and privacy, it appeared that she had prostituted herself to some of the duke of NORFOLK's domesticks, with many circumstances of the most shameful kind; and that she had repeated these practises whilst she was on the progress with the king, by the help and connivance of the lady ROCHFORD. When the archbishop and some of the other privy councillors were sent to examine her, she denied every thing; but perceiving the whole progress of her incontinence had been disclosed, she confessed the matter

matter to the archbishop, which he took in writing, and which she signed. The king was greatly moved at this confession, and ordered a parliament to be summoned for her impeachment. Soon after their meeting, the lord chancellor moved the upper house, to consider the case the king was in by the queen's ill behaviour, and proposed that some of their number should be sent to examine her about it. When the committee made their report that she had confessed to them, a bill was brought in, praying the king that the queen and her accomplices, with her bawd the lady ROCHFORD, might be attainted of treason, and suffer the pains of death; and that the king would not trouble himself to give his assent to this act in person, but grant it by his letters patent under the great seal. They were accordingly beheaded on tower hill, the queen confessing her lascivious practises before her marriage, but denying solemnly to the last any incontinence after that. She had not however the good fortune to be believed by any one, in express contradiction to the confession of those who had lain with her, and were executed for it. The death and infamy of the lady ROCHFORD led every body to observe the justice of God upon her, in being the chief instrument in the destruction of her husband and queen ANN, whom she had brought to the block by her artifices and hatred: and indeed the fall of the queen, and the miseries which it drew on the duke of NORFOLK and his family, were interpreted by some people as the scourges of heaven for their cruel prosecution of the earl of ESSEX.

Before the parliament broke up, the king began to shew he intended to lay his hands on the colleges and hospitals as he had already done on the abbies. But as the local statutes of most of them prevented the governors or presidents from surrendering the lands belonging to their houses without the consent of the whole society, which in most houses could not be obtained, an act passed in this parliament to annul the local statutes of all colleges and hospitals, and to dispense with the governors or presidents and fellows from adhering to them. But this affair was not entirely finished till three years afterwards, in a much shorter method, as it will be related in its proper place. Whilst the parliament was thus occupied in doing every thing which the king required, the convocation, which was now sitting, was much divided about the new translation of the bible, which was proposed to be reviewed. Many complaints it seems had been brought against it in hopes of getting it suppressed; but finding the

the king was determined not to call it in, some of the bishops moved for a new translation, or at least a correction of this already extant; in which it would be easy to procure such delays as would prevent its being finished in many years. The allowing an English bible being the point which the king had fixed, it was impossible for GARDINER to contest it openly; but to the motion for a review and a new translation, he added that many of the Latin words might still remain, as having either such a majesty, or such a peculiar signification, that they could not be fitly rendered. He produced a catalogue with an hundred of these words, hoping, if this motion could be carried, the translation would be so full of Latin words, that the people would not understand an English bible, nor discover the visible opposition that there was between the scriptures and the church of Rome in many articles. But CRANMER, who had always his eye upon that party, perceiving the design of the bishop of WINCHESTER, and that he should not be able to carry his point in the convocation, procured an order from the king to refer the correction of the translation to the two universities, which the bishops highly resented; and all those of the province of Canterbury, except ELY and St. DAVID's, protested against it. But it signified nothing; the king had declared it to be his pleasure: and he even granted in two months after, a privilege to a London bookseller to print the bible in English; which makes it probable that the translation was permitted to pass as it had done before, and that the universities did not examine it.

About this time bishop BONNER published some injunctions to his clergy; which having a spirit in them so very different from his own, we may suppose, I think, were imposed upon him by a particular order from the king, and probably at the request of the archbishop. They contained in substance, an order for the clergy to read every day a chapter in the bible with some gloss upon it, and to study the book compiled by the bishops: that no curates should be employed which were not examined by him or his officers: that they should instruct the children of their parishes in English, that they might know how to believe and pray, and live according to the will of God: that they should endeavour to reconcile all who were at variance, and be good examples of love and forgiveness to their flock: that they should permit none to go to taverns or alehouses and use unlawful games on Sundays, or holy-days, in time of divine service: that they should perform the duties of their function

decently and diligently, use no unlawful games, nor go to ale-houses and taverns but upon urgent necessity: that no plays nor interludes should be acted in their churches: that when they preached they should explain the whole gospel and epistle for the day according to the opinions of some learned doctor of the church, insisting chiefly on those places which may stir up the people to good works and prayer, and in which they may explain the ceremonies of the church: and that none should be permitted to preach under the degree of a bishop who had not obtained a licence from the king or himself. That the reader may comprehend the reason of the two last injunctions, which at this time of the world appear a little extraordinary, it may be proper to inform him, that when popery prevailed in England, there were few or no sermons except in lent, when the friars laid themselves out with much devotion and solemnity to raise the people into a fervour by their enthusiasm. The tendency of their sermons was to extoll the laws and ceremonies of the church, and not to acquaint them with the word of God, or with the simplicity of the laws in our Saviour's gospel. On the other hand the reformers took great care to instruct the people in the fundamentals of Christianity with which they had been so little acquainted in times past: and this new way of preaching, affording a great deal of knowledge as well as exhortations to holy living, was run after by the people with prodigious zeal. But as the preachers were too apt to indulge their resentments in their sermons against the friars, for the cruelty which they had been the cause of to their friends, it was thought proper that none should be permitted to preach, out of their own parish especially, without a licence.

The archbishop was not wanting in his care that the most eminent men should be licenced as itinerant preachers; but as in that age of ignorance a sufficient number could not be found for the whole nation, they would not intrust the instruction of the people to those who were not approved of; and so it was ordered that none should preach without a licence. To supply this defect, there was set forth a book of homilies on all the epistles and gospels for the year; containing a plain paraphrase of those portions of scripture, with many practical exhortations arising from them: and to these there were added sermons on some particular occasions, which were to be read to the congregation by those who were not licensed to preach. Had this still continued a practise in the church with young men just initiated in

in their function, and with others of small abilities for composition, it would in my opinion have been not only more reputable for the order, but more for the interest of true religion. I believe it will be allowed by every one, who understands human nature and has observed what passes in the world about him, that there is more mischief done by ignorant enthusiastic preachers than there is good done by the best. I shall not descend into particulars in order to prove what I say; it might be thought perhaps invidious and offensive; besides, it is needless; for made as we are, the fact must be so, and without the immediate grace of God, cannot be otherwise. I shall therefore turn again to the history.

The preachers who were licensed, having many complaints brought against them to the king, began to write down what they delivered, that they might be able to justify themselves from such accusations; and hence the reading of sermons grew into a practice in the church of England, which till then had not been known. Here again I must leave the history to make a reflexion or two which I hope the reader will forgive, and which my own profession and the nature of my work will justify. I agree entirely with the learned historian of the reformation, that if we lost the heat and enthusiasm which the friars shewed in their declamations by this change, yet we have got in return for it such a treasure of excellent discourses, for reasoning, stile and composition, as the church of CHRIST was never blest with in any country besides this. But I have often wished, I must confess, that besides reasoning and illustration, for which the sermons in our church are deservedly so much admired, it was the practice likewise to address the passions; on all the subjects which would admit of a peroration of that kind. The judgment, it is true, may be convinced by reasoning only, and therefore reasoning should always have its place: but without speaking to the passions it is impossible, I believe, for any kind of oratory to persuade the heart; which I look upon as the most important part of all our office. To persuade the heart, I must own, is a very difficult undertaking, neither is it always in the power of eloquence to do it: but there is a power in the soul of man, which discerns things by other properties than either sense or reason could discover in them; and if this internal fire is not kindled in the preacher, he can never reach the heart of the hearer in such a manner, as to send him away with a resolution to practice what he has heard. Reason seldom shews her images in a
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light strong enough for the heart and affections; and is too slow in its operation to raise any warmth in that region from whence are the issues of life. I will not presume to say, that the want of success which we complain of in our preaching, is in a great measure to be ascribed to the want of proper pathetic addresses in our sermons, in order to keep up the attention and to touch the heart; but it may be said, I believe, very truly, that the success of our modern methodists, and of all enthusiasts since preaching has been in use, is owing principally to their letting alone the understanding, and exciting the passions of those who hear them. We take, and for that very reason perhaps because they have taken this way, the way directly contrary, and think ourselves concerned only with the understanding; tho that has little or no share in directing our moral conduct. But if this is a defect in our method of composition, there is another defect which I will take the liberty to mention, of some consequence in this part of the sacred function; which is a defect in the delivery, and was doubtless introduced with this practice of reading sermons. The heat and fire of the declamation, which gave it a particular flavour of the heart and character of the speaker, was lost by writing down their sermons; for which as I said we are well compensated, by the chastity of composition, in language, argument, and method: and the action, and energetic force, with which the heart inspired the speaker, has been also lost by reading sermons; for which we have no compensation, and is therefore inexcusable. It is inexcusable, because it is of consequence to our success, and may be remedied with proper pains and application. Let us read an oration of DEMOSTHENES, or TULLY, in the same manner we read our sermons; and what impression can we suppose it will make on our own minds, or on the minds of those who hear it? When a preacher therefore goes up into a pulpit, with a composition of cool and unassuming reasoning, suppose it ever so excellent, and reads this to the people, tho not with negligence and blunders, yet without life or spirit, without being at all affected himself with what he says, or without seeming to desire that he may affect his audience, let him not complain at his coming down of want of attention in them, or of want of success with a good discourse. I wish, for the sake of my own profession and of the interest of religion, that these observations may have some weight. They seemed to me of too much importance, and to be too much wanted, to be passed over in a work of this nature, when they were so fairly pointed out. But I must now return to the history.

The reader must have taken notice that in the injunctions above mentioned, there is a direction that plays and interludes should not be acted in the churches: and to explain this it may be necessary to inform him, that these were intended to represent the corruptions of the monks, and some other tricks of the popish clergy; and from thence they proceeded to the pageantry of the worship practised in the church of Rome. These were therefore by an odd strain of policy connived at in the churches: and the people, having been provoked with the cruelties and ill conduct of some of the clergy, were well enough pleased to see their cheats and absurdities exposed to public scorn. The clergy however complained, and complained with too much reason, of this scandalous abuse of places set apart for public worship, and the mockery of solemnities which many people were still very devout and serious in the use of. The men of learning and piety amongst the reformers could not admit the propriety of these theatrical entertainments on subjects of such a nature, and condemned these petulant and licentious practises. But the political men of that party countenanced them all they could; imagining, that as contempt was one of the most operative affections of the mind, nothing would so effectually put an end to those abuses which remained, as to expose them to derision: the churches however were purged of them by one of these injunctions.

In the beginning of the year following, a parliament was summoned to give the king a subsidy for a war he intended against France, and which broke out in the following summer. But with this there passed an act of great importance to religion. It was moved for by CRANMER, and seconded by some of the bishops: but as the emperor was then concluding a treaty with HENRY, the popish faction, which had been depressed since the queen's disgrace, revived again; and GARDINER opposed the archbishop's motion all he could. In short the whole party set at him with so much vigour and unanimity, that his friends on the bench, who had less courage and zeal, it may be, than his grace, were very earnest with him to defer it till a better opportunity offered. The archbishop, who was timid only where he had to do with the king, and who thought that the event of designs good in themselves should be left to the care of heaven, opposed this political prudence in the cause of religion, and in which he had brought the king to acquiesce. He was resolved

therefore, he said, to push it as far as it would go, and he did push it with some success; tho not to that length he wished, and especially as it was clogged with some clauses which were very disagreeable. Thus tho no books were to be printed about religion without a licence from the king, and no plays or interludes were to meddle with any thing but vice and to set forth virtue, yet none were to read the scripture in any open assembly, or expound it, without a licence, nor was any woman under the rank of a gentlewoman, nor any man under the degree of yeoman, to read it in English for themselves. The translation of the bible by TINDAL, which is called crafty, false, and untrue, was forbidden to be kept in the king's dominions, and all other books which were contrary to the doctrine set forth in the bishop's book above mentioned for the "erudition of a Christian man." The annotations, or preambles, that were in other bibles, were to be cut out, or dashed; and the king's proclamations and injunctions, with the primmers and other books printed in English for the instruction of the people, before the last three years, were to be still in force. All ecclesiasticks who taught or preached contrary to the doctrine set forth in the bishops book, for the first offence were admitted to renounce their error; for the second to abjure and carry a faggot, which, if they refused, or fell into a third offence, they were to be burnt. The laity for the third offence were only to forfeit their goods and chattels, and to be liable to imprisonment during life. The party accused was allowed to bring witnesses to his own purgation, which before this act was not granted; and the offenders were to be proceeded against within a year after the crime was committed. The statute of the six articles was declared to be still in force notwithstanding this act, and the king was empowered to alter or repeal any provisoe in it at his pleasure. Notwithstanding therefore the favour which seemed to be allowed in moderating the rigour against hereticks, their lives were still in the power of the king, as much as tho this act had not been passed. If the archbishop therefore was not sure of the king's indulgence, it is hard to say, whether he got or lost most by this act "for the advancement of true religion."

The more CRANMER endeavoured to set forward any design which tended to a reformation, the more he irritated the popish party to contrive and attempt his ruin. They were not content with complaining against him to the king the year before, for encouraging the preachers of heresy and the abuses of true religion

religion in Kent, tho it had been discovered to their shame to have been a conspiracy against him with the assistance of some of his own servants, but this year they renewed their attempt against him, by another plot at Windsor, which was deeper laid, and in which they intended to have proceeded very far. The king had now taken for his sixth wife CATHARINE widow to the lord LATIMER, and was spending the summer with her at Windsor. She was known to wish well to CRANMER and the reformation; and for that reason perhaps it was thought proper that the plot against him should thicken, and that if they did not strike him now it might be too late. To this end, the godly bishop GARDINER had made use of Dr. LONDON, a man much in CROMWELL's favour whilst he was in power, but who had now attached himself to the popish party as the party uppermost in the court; and having failed in their design the year before, they were determined now to make sure work. The Doctor having been very zealous and much employed in the suppression of the monasteries, it was no difficult matter for him to get access to those who favoured the new religion. Accordingly he insinuated himself into the acquaintance of four people at Windsor, whom he informed against; and a commission being granted, at GARDINER's motion in the council, to search all suspected houses for books written against the articles, these men were seized for having some of them; and being accused of having spoken some words against the mass, three of the four were condemned, and burnt, notwithstanding the late act which CRANMER got. LONDON, flushed with this success, had taken informations, with the help of a man of the law, against several persons of quality in and about the court, that he might at length proceed to the archbishop: but a packet, in which all their project was concerted, being intercepted, they were sent for and examined: and like pious witnesses moved by a true zeal for religion, they denied upon oath the whole accusation against them, knowing nothing of their papers having been intercepted. The Dr. was so abashed at the conviction of his perjury, and with the punishment inflicted upon him for it, that he did not long survive it. But GARDINER, who had escaped a discovery of being concerned in this conspiracy, was not thus to be defeated in this design against the primate. He never ceased therefore to insinuate himself, and to get all his party who had any credit with the king to insinuate to him, that it was great injustice to prosecute poor and ignorant men with such severity, when he permitted the chief supporter of heresy to remain in such eminent favour with him

him, and in a post of the highest dignity. Our historians assure us, that his majesty was not pleased with the burning of the men at Windsor, when he was informed of the whole proceeding: and being now determined to discover the bottom of the designs which CRANMER's enemies had entertained against him, he gave an ear to their accusations, and desired to know the particulars which were to be objected against him. As the king would never before this receive any complaint against the archbishop, GARDINER imagined that his majesty was now alienated from his grace, and that the point which they had been labouring at so many years was at last happily gained. A long paper therefore of many particulars against CRANMER and his chaplains, was soon drawn up, and put into the king's hand with much confidence and triumph. Soon after his majesty had read the paper, having a mind to divert himself in his barge on the river, and the archbishop who was informed of his being near the stairs at Lambeth coming there to pay his duty to him, the king called him into his barge. After some little discourse, the king lamented the growth of heresy, and the dissensions and confusions which followed from it; acquainting his grace, that he intended to find out the chief encourager of these new opinions and to make him an example to the rest. The archbishop said it was a very good resolution, but entreated him first to consider well what heresy was, that he might not condemn those as hereticks who stood up for the word of God against the inventions of men. Upon this the king told his grace, that he was the man complained of as the chief promoter of heresy in his dominions; at the same time putting into his hands the paper of accusations which was brought against him. As soon as CRANMER had read the paper, kneeling down he confessed to his majesty, that he was still of the same mind as when he first opposed the law of the six articles, tho he had done nothing contrary to them, and desired the king that he might have a trial. The king then asked him about his wife; and his grace confessed that he had a wife, but had sent her into Germany on the passing of this act. His majesty was so charmed with his openness and integrity, that he discovered the whole plot that was laid against him, and insisted on his proceeding against his enemies. The good archbishop would have waved it, but the king having determined on it, a discovery was made that it was a contrivance of GARDINER's and Dr. LONDON's, who had invited informers to appear and accuse him falsely. The king was much incensed at the discovery, but the archbishop pressing

sing for no reparation, there was not much notice taken publicly of it. The only resentment which his grace expressed, was in shewing their letters to two of the conspirators who had been very signally obliged by him, and admonishing them to be more honest and faithful for the future. I have related this transaction at some length, tho not with all its circumstances, in order to shew the affection which HENRY had for this archbishop, notwithstanding the opposition of his sentiments, which the king would not endure in any one else; and that the reader may be convinced of the good spirit of CRANMER, and that his behaviour was suitable to the doctrine and example of the meek and lowly Saviour of the world; as it became so great a bishop and so eminent a reformer of true religion that it should be.

A parliament meeting shortly after, the great act of succession to the crown was passed in it; by which it was first provided to prince EDWARD and his heirs, and the heirs of the king's present marriage; after them, to his daughters MARY and ELIZABETH; and in case they had no issue, or did not observe such limitations or conditions as the king should appoint, it was then to fall to any other whom the king should appoint by his letters patents, or by his last will under his hand. A clause was added to enjoin an oath against the pope's supremacy, and to maintain the succession according to this act; against which it was made treason to say or write any thing, or to the slander of any of the king's heirs named in it. Many reflections might be made on the inconsistencies in this act; but I pass them by to relate the substance of another act which passed in this parliament, which is more pertinent to this work; an act, to qualify the severity of the bloody statute, and to prevent any one from being indicted on it without the presentment of twelve men upon oath, or from being imprisoned without such indictment, or the king's special warrant, and admitting the parties indicted to all such challenges as they were allowed in any cases of felony. None were liable to be presented unless it was within a year after the offence, and if it was for words in a sermon it must be within forty days. There was a good deal of time and much pains bestowed in procuring this bill to pass the two houses: but the conspiracies, against CRANMER and some of the king's servants in the former year, had greatly abated his majesty's rigour in the prosecution of heresy, and made a bill of this sort in a manner necessary. The archbishop endeavoured at the same time to make a reformation of the canon law, and to that end obtained ano-

ther act for thirty two commissioners to revise it, as it had been granted by parliament once or twice before: but tho he pressed this matter with great vehemence, yet it was found more for the interest of the prerogative and the authority of the civil courts to keep this affair undetermined, and he could never carry this point during the reign of HENRY. The business of the parliament being finished with a remission of a loan of money that had been made the king, and which was an act of tyranny and injustice that he had exercised once before, a general pardon passed with an exception however to heresy, and the parliament was prorogued.

The lord chancellor AUDLEY, who had held the seals from the resignation of them by SIR THO. MORE, having lost his health, the king made WRIOTHESLY lord keeper, with a power to do all that the chancellor could do, during AUDLEY's sickness, which is the first instance of it in England; but AUDLEY dying soon after, the other was made chancellor, who had been secretary of state before, and was of the old religion. The king being now to go into France to carry on the war which he had entered into, that he might give some content to both parties on the subject of religion, and as a ballance to the chancellor, made SIR W. PETRE, a great friend of CRANMER's, secretary of state; and during his absence committed the government to the queen, aided by these two, the archbishop of CANTERBURY, and the earl of HERTFORD. At the same time, a translation of the prayers for the processions, and the litanies, was made into English, and sent to the primate with an order that it should be used throwout his province. The friends of the reformation were greatly pleased with these proceedings; not only on account of the things themselves, which were very acceptable to them, but also as they had hopes from hence that the king's ears were again opened to the motions of the archbishop for a further reformation. His grace indeed had almost prevailed with the king at this time to make some more advances towards it: but GARDINER, who was then ambassador with the emperor, having intelligence of the design, wrote his majesty word, that the emperor would infallibly join with France against him if he made any further innovations in religion, which diverted the king from it. But if the archbishop did not succeed in this as he had expected, he made an advantage of GARDINER's absence in promoting men of learning and moderation to some vacant bishopricks, which gave him a greater party among the bishops than he had ever had before.

The king's stay in France was of no long continuance, and having spent some time at his return in viewing and improving the fortifications on the coast, in November he called a parliament, in order to get a subsidy for carrying on the war. The convocation granted him one of six shillings in the pound to be paid in two years, and the parliament, besides a considerable aid for his necessities at this time, suppressed all the colleges, hospitals, free-chapels, chantries, and fraternities, which had not yet surrendered, and gave their lands to the king. Thus these foundations, which were made for the benefit of learning, for the relief of the poor, and for prayers for the dead, which at that time was thought a significant service by the king and the whole nation, tho strengthened with the privilege of corporations, and intended for perpetuity, were all put into his majesty's hands to be in the order and survey of the court of augmentations, like the abbey lands. When the speaker presented the bills with a speech of respect and compliment, as is usual upon such occasions, the king told them "that he should take care to
 " supply the ministers for the encouragement of learning, and
 " to relieve the poor, beyond their expectations, with the
 " grants that they had now made him, notwithstanding the ne-
 " cessities of the war". He then expressed his great affection to his people, and the assurance that he had of their duty and fidelity: but there was a great fault, he said, "in the fathers
 " and teachers of the spirituality, who preached one against
 " another without charity or discretion, some being too stiff in
 " their old mumpsimus, others too busy and curious in their
 " new sumpsimus, and few preached the word of God sincerely." He then applied himself to the laity, and reproved them for railing at their bishops and priests; whereas if they had any thing to lay to their charge they ought to impart it to the king or his council, and not take upon them to judge and determine such high points. He exhorted them therefore to live together as brethren in love and charity, and to serve and to fear God; and giving the royal assent to the bills, dissolved the parliament.

The universities were much alarmed, and with great reason, to find their foundations, designed for the service of God, for public ornament and education, to lie wholly at the disposal of the king and his hungry courtiers; and they made an application that they might not be included within the general words in the
 act

act of dissolution. Dr. Cox, the prince's preceptor, wrote a letter on this subject to secretary PAGET; desiring him to acquaint his majesty, how much the nation was in want of schools, and preachers, and houses of maintenance for orphans, and that he begged a competent provision might be made for the clergy, since the chantries and chapels were taken from them, lest poverty might drive them to flattery, superstition, and the old idolatry. I don't mention this, says he, as if I questioned the king's goodness, but because there are so many ravenous wolves about him, who are ready to devour chantries, cathedrals, universities, and a thousand times as much. Posterity, he added, would wonder at such things, and therefore he desired that the king would secure the universities from their spoils. They were accordingly some time after delivered from their fears, as may be seen in their letter of thanks to the king for preserving them in their old condition: and his majesty himself, we are told, was so far from intending to lessen these famous seminaries, that he was rather inclined to promote their interest. This sounds well in his favour; but yet it looks as tho he doubted a good while whether he should dissolve or preserve the two universities; since having received their humble petitions in the beginning of the year, he gave them no answer till October, and it was even talked at court of making great alterations in their charters. But at last he resolved to continue them upon the same footing they had been before; and shortly after he founded Trinity college in Cambridge, which is one of the noblest foundations of that kind in Europe, and to which, I believe, England owes more of its great men, in church and state, than to almost all the rest.

HENRY, being at this time extremely corpulent, and finding by a decay of his strength that he was not likely to live long, had some returning qualms about the old religion, which he had never half deserted. Tho he sent an order therefore to BONNER to publish the English litany for processions that had been set out by authority with a preface exhorting the people to prayer, and to use their mother tongue when they prayed in private, yet within less than a fortnight after he ordered CRANMER to set up an image again which had been taken down by his injunctions. About the same time he issued a proclamation to forbid the use of TINDAL's translation of the new testament, and to call in the books of FRITH, WICKLIFFE, and other hereticks, to be delivered to the civil and ecclesiastical officers in order to be burnt. But he was not content with this sacrifice to his prejudices; the

hereticks themselves must now be burnt. SHAXTON, who had resigned the see of Salisbury and had been long a prisoner, had declared to some it seems in his confinement, "that the natural body of CHRIST was not in the sacrament, but that it was a sign and memorial only of his body that was crucified for us." Upon this he was indited, and condemned as an heretick. But the king sent two bishops to him to persuade him to recant: and he, who had firmness enough to give up his bishoprick and to suffer a long imprisonment, not being able to encounter the fire that was prepared for him, abjured his pretended heresy to save his life; and, what is much more to be wondered at, became himself a cruel persecutor of the reformed. Many others were proceeded against upon the same bloody statute, who had no more firmness than this prelate: but Mrs. ASKEW, who was descended of a noble family, and had extraordinary care taken of her education, was not to be won from her principles by promises or by threats. When she was examined before the council, she gave GARDINER, who was very busy with his authority, a taste of her wit, which he did not relish, in many lively and satirical strokes; and when she was in Newgate she wrote a letter to the king, in which she said, that concerning the LORD's supper, she believed as much as CHRIST had said in it, and as much as the catholic church from him did ever teach. But this did not satisfy his learned majesty, and he was not only determined to burn her if she would not recant, but also to put her to the rack first, in order to discover if she was not supported by some ladies of the court; the queen herself being not unsuspected. The rack producing no discovery, and an offer of pardon at the stake being rejected by her, she, and three men condemned for the same opinion, were burnt in Smithfield.

The popish party, finding the king in this disposition of rigour towards the reformed, imagined they might easily enough improve it to the accomplishment of their wishes. One would have thought they had been defeated so often in their attempts against the archbishop, that they would never more have had the courage or the inclination to attack him. But the spirit of this party to obtain their ends is never wearied with disappointments, nor subdued with a defeat. They collected their whole strength however upon this occasion; and it was not the project of this or that man, but the effort of the whole party to destroy him. Accordingly it was moved by several lords of the privy council, that as CRANMER was suspected of being the head of the Sacramen-

rians and of all those in general who opposed the six articles, he might be dismissed the board and committed prisoner to the Tower. For tho there were many flagrant proofs ready to be brought against him, yet because of his greatness and his majesty's partiality on the former complaints that had been made, an information against him was discouraged, and the evidence were intimidated. The king consented that he should be called before the council the next day, and if he could not clear himself of the charge that they should commit him. His enemies now concluded they had him fast, and a report was spread immediately, in order to encourage informers, that he would be quickly brought to the scaffold and share CROMWELL's fate. But in the night, the king sent privately for the archbishop; and telling him what had passed, desired to know what he had to say. He thanked his majesty for not leaving him to be surprized in a matter of such importance; and after acknowledging the equity of his proceedings, desired only, since he was to be questioned for his opinions, that he might have judges assigned him who had sufficient learning and understanding in such subjects. The king astonished at his simplicity, in not seeing that if he was once in prison there would be villains enough ready to ruin him, told him pleasantly, that if he was such a fool as to take no more care of himself, his majesty would preserve him. When he had instructed his grace in the manner in which he would have him behave before the council, his majesty pulled his ring off his finger, which was well known to them all, and told him that if they should presume to send him to the Tower, he should appeal to the king for his protection, and produce the ring. Early the next morning, the archbishop was summoned to attend that day at the council; and to give him a taste of what he had to expect, when he came he was refused admittance into the chamber, and kept waiting in the lobby, to the surprize of all who saw it. The king's physician who loved CRANMER, and from his profession had then at all times a free access to his majesty, went directly to court, and told him what a strange thing he had seen, "the prisoner of all England waiting at the council door among the liveries." Upon this his majesty sent a gentleman to the board to order them to admit the archbishop immediately. The order was complied with without any more delay; and upon his grace's entrance he was told by some of the council, that there were many informations in their custody against him and his chaplains, as the chief promoters of all the heresy that was then complained of in the kingdom. The archbishop answered, as the

the king had ordered him, that since he had the honour to be a privy counsellor, he desired they would use him as they would willingly be used in the like case, and that his accusers might be brought to his face before they proceeded against him. This request was refused, and he was told he must go to the Tower: he was very sorry, he said, to be used in this manner by those with whom he had sat at that board so long, but since he found he had no justice to expect from them, he would appeal to the king in person, and then shewed his ring. When they saw the ring they were confounded to the last degree; and not daring to proceed in defiance of this token of the king's protection, they rose immediately and went to his majesty to inform him of what had passed. The king had a real affection for CRANMER in his heart; and he took it very ill, that such pains should be taken to destroy a man, for whom he had so often and so openly declared. He began therefore with reprimanding them in very severe terms for their ill usage of the archbishop in keeping him in the lobby amongst the servants: then telling them that he had apprehended he had a wiser council than he found they were, he laid his hand upon his breast and swore, that if a prince could be obliged by a subject he was obliged to CRANMER, whom he believed to be the most faithful of all his subjects. The duke of NORFOLK, seeing the king thus enraged, and dreading his resentment against the party, made a trifling excuse, and said that they meant no harm to the archbishop, but only that he might vindicate his innocence by such a trial as would free him from the aspersions that were cast upon him. But the king, looking sternly at him, answered, that he would not permit men, who were so dear to him, as the archbishop was, to be handled in that fashion: he knew the factions that were among them, and the malice which some of them bore to others; which, he said, he would extinguish, or severely punish. His majesty speaking this with some degree of heat, the council thought it adviseable to reconcile themselves to the man whom they could not ruin; and they all went thro the ceremony of taking him by the hand and declaring themselves his friends. There being so many things to be found fault with and so few to be commended in HENRY's conduct, I have given this transaction, which is one of the most honourable to him, its full lustre; and it is owing to the errors of his reign, and not to any prejudices that I have against him, if there are not many more illustrations of him in this work.

The spirit of the popish party, as I have said, being never wearied

wearied with disappointments, they no sooner found it in vain to push at CRANMER, but they set up another design against the queen. She was known to be a secret favourer of the new learning, which was the modest phrase for the reformation, and had sermons now and then in her privy chamber by some of the preachers of that heresy. This was very industriously carried to the king, with a design to ruin her: but she behaved herself in all other things with such exact regard to the king's inclinations, and with such assiduous care about his person, that he was extremely fond of her, and took no notice of these reports: he would frequently permit her to argue with him upon religious subjects without any resentment, which was not usual to him; for he could never bear any contradiction. But now, a fore ulcer which he had in his leg and his other infirmities making him more froward and untractable, if that could be, than he naturally was, these disputes in his old age, and by his wife, upon so tender a point to him as religion was, in which he had been much flattered by learned men for his attainments and sufficiency, grew unacceptable and even offensive. The bishop of WINCHESTER, who knew, and studied all his humors, took advantage of this displeasure which he expressed against the queen for her free discourse, and aggravated the offence by all the ways that his artifice could suggest. He succeeded so far at last, that the lord chancellor and he had orders to draw up articles against her, for opposing the six articles and reading forbidden books, which the king signed; and the next day the queen was to be sent to the tower. But the paper which the king had signed, being dropped carelessly by the chancellor, and carried to the queen by one of her friends, threw her into the utmost perplexity, and great anguish of mind. The king, hearing of her disorder, made her a visit in her apartment; and by his caresses, and tender assurances of his love, she soon recovered from her distress, and returned his visit the next evening. His majesty received her very graciously, and not without endearment: but starting a religious topick, the queen excused herself from the weakness of her sex and judgment, and said that women ought to be instructed by their husbands, and she much more was to be instructed by his majesty, who was a prince of such excellent learning and wisdom in those subjects. The king replied with an oath, that she was become a doctor, he thought, intending to instruct him, and not to be instructed or directed by him. It was then the time for the queen to play the game which she had projected: and therefore feigning to be surprized at his manner of

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of speaking to her, she answered very mildly, that it seemed he had much mistaken the freedom she had taken to argue with him about religion; that she had done it innocently with a view of diverting him in his pain, knowing the pleasure which he took in such discourses, and that she might receive instruction from them herself; by which indeed she had profited very much. The king, being extremely pleased with this answer, embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with assurances of his constant love. The next day, which was to carry her and her ladies to the Tower, being a very fine one, the king took the air in the garden, and sent for the queen to bear him company. Whilst they were chatting together very chearfully, the lord chancellor appeared with a party of the guards to arrest the queen; but the king stepping aside at a little distance from her, calling the chancellor to him reproached him for his malice, and with many opprobrious names bid him be gone. The poor innocent queen tried to mitigate the king's displeasure, and interceded for the minister who had offended him: but he answered with indignation, that she, poor soul, did not know how little the chancellor deserved that kindness from her. Thus the party were not only defeated in their design, but the king was alienated from them by these malicious practises. The bishop of WINCHESTER particularly fell under his severe displeasure; and tho he made an humble submission to the king which preserved him from any punishment, yet his majesty would never restore him to his favour, and could never afterwards endure the sight of him without uneasiness.

But a much greater storm fell at this time on the duke of NORFOLK, and his son the earl of SURRY. Long and painful services and great fidelity and attachment in a minister, we have seen in many instances of this reign, were of no weight with HENRY, when his interest or his humour led him to give them up. The duke of NORFOLK was the head of the popish party and of the old religion: and tho like a good courtier he had struck in outwardly with all the king's innovations, yet his majesty knew that he all along adhered in his heart to the see of Rome, and that his son was of the same opinion. May we not suppose then that the king apprehended from hence, that these two lords, who had immense wealth as well as great popularity, assisted by the pope, the emperor, and their friends, would attempt after his death to place the crown on the lady MARY, and so the whole building which he had been at such great pains to

raise would be thrown down to the ground? May we not suppose a little further, that finding his leg to grow worse and worse, that he was almost choaked with fat and that his end was drawing near, he might imagine that the only way to prevent the mischiefs which he dreaded, and to secure the crown to his infant son, would be not to leave either of these two lords behind him? I think we may. Indeed if this was not HENRY'S motive for bringing them to the scaffold, it will be hard to find a reason, why all people should be invited to inform against them in any criminal matter, and that the earl of SURRY, one of the most eminent among the nobility for valour wisdom and learning, should be beheaded on a pretence of his giving the arms of king EDWARD tho by the direction of the heralds, and for some passionate expressions when he was deprived of his command. It will be harder still to find a reason, why his father who had served the king in so many eminent posts, and with such fidelity so long, should be condemned by a bill of attainder without any other charge against him than his bearing the arms of England, which he had received from his ancestors, had borne many years in the sight of the king and the whole court, and for which he had the opinion of the heralds likewise. But whilst these processes were carrying on, the king was seized with an illness which brought him insensibly to his end. However, neither the consideration of the account which he was going himself to render, and which he must know would stand in need of the unbounded mercy of God, neither the eminent services which the duke had rendered him, nor the submission which he now made, were of force enough to dispose the king to shew any mercy. The earl of SURRY was executed, to the general dissatisfaction of the people of England, and a warrant was signed for the execution of the duke his father: but the king dying in the night the lieutenant of the Tower could not act upon that warrant, and the duke's life was saved.

When HENRY found his end approaching he ordered the will that he had made, on his going to France in the year preceding, to be transcribed again, with this only difference, that GARDINER, whom he had appointed one of the executors of his will and of the council to his son, was now left out; because, he said, he knew the bishop's temper very well, and tho he could govern him, yet none of them would be able to do it, and he would give them much trouble. The most material clause in the will, is the exclusion of the line of Scotland by his eldest sister out

out of the succession, and preferring the two daughters of his younger sister by the duke of SUFFOLK. This was the effect of the power which the parliament had given the king to settle the succession; or rather to unsettle it and put the kingdom in confusion, if divine providence had not taken more care of it than his majesty did. He continued decaying gradually and insensibly for a month, without shewing any signs however of devotion or remorse. The people about him were afraid to let him know that his death was near: but at last SIR ANTH. DENNY had the honesty and the courage to acquaint him, that he had not long to live; desiring him withall to recollect the many miscarriages of his life, and to sue to GOD for his mercy thro his son JESUS CHRIST. The king thanked him for his advice, and expressed a concern for the sins he had been guilty of; but he trusted, he said, in the mercies of CHRIST which were greater than his sins. DENNY asked him then if any clergyman should be sent for; to which his majesty replied, if any, it should be the archbishop of CANTERBURY. But the archbishop having withdrawn to CROYDON, when so unjust an act was passing against the duke of NORFOLK who had been his constant enemy, before he could reach the court the king was speechless. His grace however desired, that, if his majesty was sensible, he would give some token of his dying in the faith of CHRIST: upon which the king squeezed the archbishop's hand, and in a few hours after breathed his last.

Thus died HENRY the eighth in the fifty sixth year of his age, and after a long reign of above seven and thirty. When I have said that he was a prince of good natural parts well improved by learning, that he was a lover and encourager of learned men, that he was naturally very liberal, had a good deal of personal courage, a just discernment of his interest, and of the qualifications of his ministers, with a great degree of zeal about religion, I apprehend I shall have said every thing that redounds to the honour of this monarch, both with respect to his accomplishments, or his virtues. Of these however the reader has seen many instances in the foregoing pages: and yet these very virtues and accomplishments were the occasion of a great part of that misrule and abuse of power which has likewise appeared under this prince. He was naturally impatient, boisterous, and conceited: and after WOLSEY had puffed him up with a series of flattery and servile compliance with his will in every thing, good as his parts were, he had not strength of mind enough to withstand

stand the torrent of vanity which it let in upon him; which disfigured his whole government, and made him, as bishop BURNET says, "one of the most uncounsellable men in the world." The learning which he had acquired, which was great indeed for a prince, was principally employed in theological subjects, and hence arose his mighty zeal about religion. But what contributed most to set it on fire was the book he wrote against LUTHER, applauded not only by his own subjects at home, but in the consistory at Rome, and in all the courts of Europe; for which the pope gave him the title of "defender of the faith," and for which his own bishops seemed to regard him as one inspired by the HOLY GHOST. The extravagant praises which he received for this performance, meeting with so much pride and conceitedness in his nature, made him from this time impatient of all contradiction on religious subjects, and to set himself up for the standard of truth, by which his people were to regulate their belief. It was a master stroke of policy in cardinal WOLSEY, who saw HENRY'S turn, to engage him thus deeply in religious controversy, that he himself might have the sole administration of the state without his majesty's intermeddling; and it succeeded to his wish. The king intermeddled no further than as WOLSEY had a mind he should: and under the colour only of advising and then submitting himself to be directed by his majesty, he actually governed him in every thing 'till the unlucky business of the divorce. The king however did all, in his own imagination: and the cardinal having carried the prerogative to the highest pitch it had ever arrived at, the natural haughtiness of his majesty was so much increased by it, that he would never afterwards endure the least contradiction from his ministers or his people. To the same imperious haughty temper was owing his revolt from Rome, when he could not accomplish his divorce: and when he had taken this turn against his principles, the new title which CROMWELL very dextrously procured him of "Supreme head of the church," as it made him more haughty, made him also more inflexible towards the pope, and more tyrannical over his people. Had it not been for this title, and the power which attended it, and which flattered his vanity above any thing, the submissions which the court of Rome were willing to make afterwards, would have probably brought him back again under their yoke. For he never had understanding enough to overcome the prejudices of education: and except in what regarded his own power and authority, which he would never yield upon any consideration, he was in every thing else a papist to the

the last hour of his life. There was nothing by which CRANMER and CROMWELL could work upon him towards a reformation in religion, but by shewing how much such an alteration, or such an injunction, would tend to abolish the papal power, and establish his own supremacy. Thus at the same time that he was resolved to pursue this point by the dint of force and tyranny, he was likewise resolved to purge himself of the imputation of heresy, by affecting to punish severely the encouragers of the new opinions. In this unaccountable fluctuation, between those whom he found unwilling to submit to his infallibility, and those whom he suspected were averse to his supremacy, he passed the residue of his days. But yet as no body could believe it possible that he could remain long in that situation, the reformers on one side imagined that they could not do better than to comply with him in the laws which he dictated to his parliament, that he might be brought by degrees to declare entirely for them: on the other side, the friends of the old religion perceiving the great lengths he had gone against the apostolic see, were apprehensive he would go further, and that their opposition would but make him accelerate his design. Thus each of the two parties endeavouring to win him over, their compliance gave him a power which none of his predecessors had ever known; and which in any other circumstances he durst not have usurped without a manifest danger to his crown. But both the parties were alike deceived; he continued in the same fluctuation to the last, and made them both in their turns feel the fatal effects of that power which they had both connived at his assuming, and could neither of them deprive him of. It has been said in his excuse, that he did nothing contrary to law: I believe this is not strictly true, and that the condemnation of queen ANN and her brother, without any evidence appearing against them to their face, was a violation of the law of England. But if this should be allowed to be true in every instance, it will not at all exculpate him from the charge of tyranny. He had acquired an absolute dominion over his people in the manner that I have suggested; and every bill that passed was not the bill of the parliament but of the king: he directed such laws as he pleased himself, and then he put them in execution without mercy. The reader must recollect so many instances, in the foregoing pages, of the slavish submission in which he held his parliaments, that he cannot deny this accusation of him to be just. If HENRY had been governed by the same religious principles which CRANMER laboured to inculcate on him, I would not accuse him of prophana-

tion in suppressing so many religious houses which were the strong holds of popery: but his resentment against the monks, who were exciting sedition among the people for his revolt from the see of Rome, encouraged him to tear up these foundations by the roots, at the same time that he believed firmly the doctrine of images and purgatory, upon which these houses at first were founded. But if his sentiments had not counteracted the dissolution of the abbies and chantries, yet the prodigious waste he made of the immense wealth belonging to them, and giving so many valuable tithes and impropriations from parish priests, without converting this wealth, or but in a very small degree, to the emolument of his people in church or state, is a reproach upon his government which nothing will wipe away. I acquit him however of any avarice, which most historians accuse him of, in this suppression. He was infinitely fond of pomp and magnificence, as is plain from his having sails of cloth of gold to his ship on his last going over to France; and he was led into vast profusion by his magnificence, and by his liberality to his courtiers. These foundations were a noble fund to gratify this disposition, and they went almost all in the gratification of it. It has been said by bishop BURNET, in extenuation of the severities which this monarch exercised in the latter part of his reign, that from a coincidence of many circumstances, rigour was made necessary; nor was any general of an army more concerned to deal severely with spies than he was to proceed against the pope's adherents: that upon a much less provocation than this king had given, not only several emperors and foreign princes had been dispossessed of their dominions, but two of his own ancestors had been driven to great extremities, and forced to indecent submissions by means of the pope and clergy: that they had so great an interest in the superstitious multitude, whose consciences they governed, that nothing but a stronger passion could either tame the clergy, or quiet the people: and that if there had been the least hope of impunity the latter part of his reign would have been one continued scene of rebellion. Now let this avail what it may with the reader, in excuse of the severity which his majesty shewed to the friends of the old religion. I am not at all desirous to abate the candour which is due to HENRY; he wants all that we can shew him, and all will be too little to make him pass for a wise or a good king. But if we should allow of the necessity of this rigour to those who still leaned towards the pope, which in the case of SIR THO. MORE the bishop himself affirms was the greatest reproach of all his reign, yet what danger could

the king pretend to dread from those who favoured the reformation, and where was the necessity of burning those who supported him in his supremacy, and adhered to him against the pope, and all his foreign and domestic enemies? This is only to be resolved into the haughty, imperious and cruel temper of the king, who had assumed the infallibility as well as the supremacy of the pope, and it was equally criminal to deny either. He had that proud conceit of his own abilities and learning, that he would not permit his subjects to believe any otherwise in religion than he believed himself: and yet there was not a subject he had perhaps whose belief was so absurd and inconsistent as his own. He made oaths and acts of parliament to abolish the power and authority of the popes under pain of death; and he brought those to the stake who would not believe the doctrines which he believed, tho they had no other foundation than in this very authority which he had abolished. In short his imperious arbitrary temper was to be equalled by nothing but his injustice and ingratitude; his injustice to his queens, in divorcing himself from the first without cause, and beheading the second without guilt; and his ingratitude towards his ministers who had served him, in bringing WOLSEY, FISHER, MORE, CROMWELL, and the duke of NORFOLK and his son, to the scaffold; whom if his people had demanded it was his duty to have preserved: for their almost only crime consisted in flattery and submission. But at last he was become so callous to all impressions of tenderness, of mercy, or humanity; that he stuck at nothing in order to gratify his resentment, or his pride: and his attainting men without hearing them, without any proof, and upon a general accusation, adds such a weight to the crimes which HENRY committed against his people, as all the good he did will never lessen. The poor reformers drank so deep of the bitter cup of his cruel bigotry, that it would but ill become their followers, says bishop BURNET, to endeavour to give a fair colour to those red and bloody characters with which so much of his reign is stained. Upon the whole it may be said of HENRY the eighth, that he had virtues and accomplishments, but they were either useless or pernicious to his people; that the good he did was rather accidentally than with design; and that for the last half of his reign, he was an implacable, vindictive, imperious tyrant, under the cover and affectation of a mighty zeal for religion.

But notwithstanding all his faults, and that his own design was at first only perhaps to terrify the court of Rome into a com-

compliance with his desire, which favoured of nothing less than religion, yet it pleased God to make him an instrument of letting in the truth of the gospel upon this nation, and for clearing the way to that blessed work of establishing his religion in its original plainness and simplicity. Whilst we therefore lament and condemn his wickedness, let us adore the wise and unsearchable ways of providence, in making him who was once the pride of popery become its scourge, and in directing his pride and passion to bring about a change, under the dread of his cruel and unrelenting temper, which in a milder reign might not have been accomplished at all, or without greater convulsions or more effusion of blood. Nor was it any new or unusual method of God's providence in his moral government of the world, to employ princes of signal turpitude in his service; as will appear from many instances of sacred and prophane antiquity. Should the church of Rome cast an absurd reproach on the reformation upon account of this prince's vices, the reproach may be retorted with double strength on them, because of the dissolute lives of those popes who have made the greatest advances in their jurisdiction, and who assume a far higher character of divine power and spirit than other princes pretend to: and yet compared with these our HENRY was a saint. Even compared with the popes who sat at Rome during his reign, he had no occasion to blush for his faults; for he was less wicked than the best of them. But if a lewd and licentious pope, as they say, may yet have the HOLY GHOST dwelling in him to direct him infallibly in the government of the church, can it be unreasonable in us to think, that a reformation may be good which a very worthless king hath forwarded? But in truth, the ways of God are a great deep not to be fathomed by human understanding: his power and wisdom have been often shewn in raising very unlikely, and to all appearance, insufficient instruments to accomplish great designs; not always employing the best men to very pious purposes of his providence, perhaps lest good instruments should have too much share in those praises which are due only to himself, as the supreme creator and governor of the world: and therefore he will "stain the pride of all glory, that such as glory, may glory only in the LORD."

THE

THE
ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK XII.

THE death of king HENRY having been kept private, probably to give the council time to determine what to do with the duke of NORFOLK, and to bring the prince from Hertford, at the end of three days it was made public; and EDWARD his only son, about nine years old, was proclaimed king. The council met in a body at the Tower to receive him, and to open his father's will; that they might settle the form of government during his minority, which the parliament had empowered the late king to direct. In this will it was found, that HENRY had nominated sixteen executors, who should be regents of the kingdom and governors of his son, till he should be eighteen years of age. In these sixteen, or the major part of them, the administration of all affairs was entirely vested, with a power to dispose of the two princeesses in marriage; who by marrying without the consent of the regents were to forfeit their right of succession to the crown. To the sixteen executors who were chiefly the great officers of state, the king had added in his will a privy council of two peers and ten commoners to assist them; intending that the regents, who should be equal in power, should not be deprived of their dignity till the young king's majority; and that if any of them should die, the survivors should continue to govern the kingdom, without electing others to supply the vacancies. But HENRY might intend and direct what he pleased in his will; he was now dead, his imperiousness and his power were dead with him, and his ministers were no longer

longer afraid of contradicting him. Thus no sooner was the will read, appointing sixteen regents of equal power in the administration, but it was moved, that for the more easy and speedy dispatch of business, and particularly for the audience and address of foreign ministers, one should be chosen president over the others with the title and dignity of protector, who should however do nothing without the consent of the majority of the rest. The lord chancellor opposed this motion, and he alone, for reasons obvious enough. The archbishop of CANTERBURY, who by his first place in the kingdom had the fairest pretensions to this dignity, being no statesman, and having no inclination to secular employments, the chancellor knew would not accept it: and therefore if this motion was not complied with, the greatest honour and the greatest stroke of affairs in the administration would naturally devolve upon his office; and so he pressed vehemently that they would not depart in any particular from the king's will, either by adding to it or taking from it. But finding his opposition to the motion was without effect, he acquiesced; and it was unanimously agreed, that the earl of HERTFORD, who was uncle to the king, should be declared the governor of his person and protector of the realm; on this express condition nevertheless, that he should not do any act, without the advice and consent of the other executors according to HENRY's will. The lord chancellor was then ordered to deliver up the seals to the king, and to receive them again at his hands that they might be made use of, 'till either new seals were made, or the king was crowned. His lordship was likewise ordered to renew the commissions of the judges, the justices of peace, and some other officers concerned in the execution of the laws; and with this the council broke up and adjourned to the next day.

When it was known that they had deviated thus from the will of the late king, by this advancement of the earl of HERTFORD, it was thought by most people that they had struck a very bold stroke at their first meeting, and two parties were immediately formed; the one headed by the protector, and the other by the lord chancellor. Tho' the latter had acquiesced in the step which had been taken, yet it was only because he could not help it; he thought it a departing from the king's will, which the parliament had empowered him to make, and consequently that they had assumed an authority which they had not a right to; he likewise thought, that the restriction laid upon the protector

tector was only to lessen the envy or apprehension of his dignity without being of any use; as great titles will always make way for great authority. These sentiments, which he had expressed at the council table, were adopted by his party who lifted under him. On the other side it was said, that as they had given no particular power to the protector, so the form of government established by the late king was not altered: and as the regents were empowered to administer the affairs of the kingdom as they thought proper, whatever was resolved by a majority could not be contrary to the will. But the parties were not so much formed from this incident, and from the different opinions which it created, as from their old animosities upon the subject of religion; the protector being avowedly in the interest of the reformation, and the lord chancellor taking the place of the duke of NORFOLK at the head of the papists. The regents met again the next day; and having taken the oaths for executing HENRY's will, they ordered the privy council named in it to come into the king's presence, to whom they declared the choice they had made of the earl of HERTFORD, which was unanimously assented to. The customary forms upon a new accession being then ordered, the bishops were required to take out new commissions, of the same tenour with those mentioned in the former reign, except their being subject to the orders of a vicar general to the king; which was an office never executed by any but CROMWELL in this kingdom. The reason for renewing these extraordinary commissions, which the bishops had submitted to ignominiously under HENRY, was, because the greatest part of them being still in their hearts addicted to the popish superstition, they would be kept under by holding their bishopricks only during the king's pleasure, and by exercising their jurisdiction as his delegates, in his name, and by his authority. The archbishop set an example to the rest in taking out such a commission: but the ill consequences of putting the bishops under such an arbitrary direction being foreseen, the new bishops, who were made by this king afterwards, were appointed in the usual form to hold their bishopricks during life.

Whilst all the necessary preparations were making for the funeral of the late king, and the coronation of the present, the regents were busy in executing one part of HENRY's will, in which most of them were concerned. The ancient nobility of the kingdom being much decreased by attainders, and deaths without issue, the late king it seems had intended to make a great promo-

promotion in the peerage, and to call others up to that honour. Of this he had talked much to secretary PAGET, and DENNY and HERBERT of his privy chamber: he had even caused the former to draw up a list of the honours and estates he intended to annex to them, against the names of those he resolved to advance; ordering the secretary to acquaint them with it. But the king growing incapable of any business, there was a clause in his will requiring his executors to make good all his promises of every kind. The secretary, and the other two gentlemen who waited in his bed chamber, having declared upon oath the several particulars which they knew, and which had been communicated to many before HENRY's death, the executors proceeded to fulfil the king's intentions. Thus the earl of HERTFORD was made duke of Somerset, earl marshal and lord treasurer, with above a thousand pounds a year in land and a deanry, treasureship, and four prebends in any cathedral. The lord chancellor WRIO-THESLY was made earl of Southampton, the earl of ESSEX was made marquis of Northampton, DUDLY viscount Lisle was made earl of Warwick; and there was a creation of six barons, with revenues in land to every one of them. But as England was then in danger of being engaged in war, the regents were unwilling to lessen the king's treasure or revenue, and intended to find some other way for giving themselves those rewards which the late king had promised; which was by the sale and distribution of the chantry lands remaining undisposed of. These promotions, and the revenues annexed, were not approved by all the world; because they were in favour of the regents themselves, or the privy council. Many thought they shewed too much selfishness in the dawn of their administration; and that it would have been more decent to have reserved their pretensions till the king had come of age, and they had merited something by their services in his reign. The credit of the king's will, dated the thirtieth of December, which was a month before he died, was somewhat shook by this attestation of secretary PAGET; which represents it as made upon his death bed, and the clause empowering his executors to make good his promises, inserted, because his death was just at hand. This objection however I think has no great weight, the king might always have such a clause standing in his will; and when he was pressed upon his death bed to make good these promises, his majesty might assure them that he had left a direction to his executors to fulfil them. There is a stronger objection perhaps to be made to the authority or validity of the will itself, the original of which I have seen but very lately;

lately; and which, by the statute enabling him to dispose of the succession to the crown, was to be signed with his own hand. That it was not so signed by the king is certain; the name, and mark which he always added to it, are evidently stamped, both at the top, and bottom of the will; and how far this is a legal execution of it, according to the statute in the thirty fifth year of his reign, I will not take upon me to determine.

It may seem strange to those readers who are unacquainted with the history of these times, that the earl of HERTFORD should have had a deanry and prebends in cathedrals assigned for the support of his new dignity. But it was no unusual thing then to confer ecclesiastical benefices which had no cure of souls on any favourite laymen. The lord CROMWELL had been dean of Wells, and had a prebend both at Salisbury and Lincoln whilst he was chief minister: and tho this encroachment on the church was directly contrary to Magna Charta, and the king's coronation oath, yet HENRY never regarded a strain in the constitution to effect any purpose that he had in view. Tho no cure of souls was annexed to these promotions, yet they were intended for men in orders, that they might be a standing council to the bishop in all ecclesiastical affairs; and there were several duties incumbent on them in the cathedral which were peculiar to the priestly office. But these endowments, which were owing to the munificence of our first Christian kings who generally founded our cathedrals, were perverted by some of their successors, particularly by HENRY and his father, to purposes very different from what they were first designed for. Instead of conferring them as a reward on men of letters and application, who spent their time in writing for the service of the publick, or for the support of such as were faithful and industrious in parochial cures and were but slenderly provided for, these dignities were given without any view to merit or qualifications, and as a reward for services done by some of their family to the kings in parliament. It was no wonder therefore that men who were thus promoted, and who had little of a churchman but the name and habit, should indulge a lazy voluptuous secular course of life, to the discouragement of learning and the scandal of religion. But such were the errors and abuses of former times.

As HENRY had defeated the wills of so many founders by his own arbitrary power, the reader perhaps will think that he met with no hard or undeserved measure, in having his own will de-

feated in many instances ; particularly in the masses he appointed for his soul in St. George's chapel at Windsor, and the four solemn obits every year. The greatest part of his executors differed more from him in their principles of religion, than HENRY did from the founders of all the charities he had suppressed : and believing nothing of purgatory, or of the prayers of the living for the dead, the provisions which he had made to relieve him in the other world were superseded, notwithstanding his solemn charge to the contrary. But this was not done without opposition from the lord chancellor ; who said that their late glorious king was not only the most learned prince but the most learned divine in the world, and therefore that they ought to keep all things in the condition which he had left them in, at least till EDWARD came to age : and it was not improbable, besides, that changes in religion might bring on commotions and disorders in the state, which, as faithful executors, they ought especially to avoid. To this it was answered by the archbishop, that as their late king was infinitely learned---for both parties flattered him, dead, as well as living---so he had resolved to make great alterations in religion : and it was plain he did not believe that the things now in dispute were of any great signification, by depriving the departed souls of the benefit of so many masses that were said for them in the religious houses which he had suppressed ; it was therefore carried against the chancellor, and it was ordered that the masses and obits should be omitted. About the same time an accident happened which led the way to greater changes in affairs of religion. The curate and church-warden of a church in London, were, upon a complaint of BONNER and the lord mayor, for removing the crucifix and other images, brought before the council : in answer to which they said, that when they took down the crucifix and images to repair the church they were all so rotten they fell to powder, and they could not afford to put new ones in their room : some others indeed in the chancel had been taken down, according to an order in the late reign, because they had been abused to superstition ; but if what they had done with a good intention, was done amiss, they asked pardon of the council, and submitted. The popish party, who thought that this might be a leading case in the present reign, took great pains to get them punished severely, in order to strike a terror, and prevent any further liberties. But the archbishop, who intended a greater reformation, was for removing all the images that were in the churches, and supported his opinion with arguments from scripture and antiquity. These, together with
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the strength of his party in the council, prevailed so far, that the curate and church wardens were only reprimanded, and ordered to provide a crucifix, without any notice taken of the other images.

The funeral of his late majesty being performed at Windsor with the usual ceremonies, the archbishop crowned the young king with a new form, less tedious and more agreeable to the present laws of the land, than the old one that had been in use: and the same day a general pardon was granted, with an exception only to the duke of NORFOLK, cardinal POLE, the lord COURTNEY, and three others. The first event of any consequence after the coronation, was, the fall of the lord chancellor now earl of Southampton. Having set himself at the head of the popish party, he intended to watch the motions of the protector and his friends, and to oppose with his whole power whatever innovations should be attempted in religion. That he might leave himself therefore at full leisure for this purpose, he gave a commission by his own authority to the master of the rolls and three masters in chancery, to execute his office in the court of chancery in as full a manner as tho he himself was present. A complaint having been made of this, and the judges having declared, when it was referred to them by the council, that the lord chancellor, giving such a commission, without any warrant from the council, had forfeited his place and was liable to fine and imprisonment at the king's pleasure, the seals were taken from him, and he was confined to his house 'till he had given a bond of four thousand pounds to be paid upon demand; to all which, after some high spirited language, he submitted, and owned it to be just.

The lord chancellor being thus removed, who gave no little uneasiness to the council, the protector was now resolved to enlarge his authority; and that the office which he had held hitherto, by the choice of the other regents, and under great restrictions, should be given him by letters patent. A warrant therefore being signed for it by the king and council, the lord ST. JOHN, who had the custody of the great seal till a chancellor should be appointed, set it to the commission; drawn probably by the protector's own direction, not without some fraud. By this the king and the regents yielded up their authority to the protector, till his majesty should be eighteen years of age, and they were mixed with the other counsellors whom HENRY appointed

pointed only to assist the regents when required. The protector was empowered by this commission to bring any others into the council that he pleased, and with so many of them as he should think fit to exercise the whole regal power: but the council could do nothing without the advice and consent of the protector. All this was evidently contrary to the late king's will; but as it was transacted with the consent of the majority of the executors, to whom the will had given a power to administer the kingdom during the minority as they pleased, there could be no objection to the validity of the commission, whatever there might be to the ambition of the protector in desiring this power, and of the discretion of the executors in yielding it to him. It was necessary to be thus particular, in opening the state of the court and the constitution of the government, in the beginning of this reign, that the reader might understand more clearly what is to follow. I shall now proceed to shew the state of the church, and the temper and principles of the ecclesiasticks.

The archbishop was now delivered from that awful subjection under which he was held by HENRY; to whom he certainly submitted in many things which he himself thought wrong, either out of a principle of gratitude and obedience, or from hopes of winning the king over by it to his own principles, or else from the timidity of his temper. In my own opinion his submission proceeded from neither of these motives singly; but that there was something of each of them which induced CRANMER to comply with the late king in the manner he did. But be this as it might: he was now delivered from that servitude; and the protector being united firmly to him, he was resolved to set about a further reformation. The majority of the bishops were weak and ignorant men, who understood little of religion, and valued it still less: but tho they liked the old superstition best, because it most encouraged ignorance and secured their wealth and power, yet they intended to swim with the stream. Old LATIMER was now discharged from his imprisonment, and lived at Lambeth with the archbishop; chusing rather to live private, and employ himself in preaching, than to return again to his bishoprick. One of the first things which CRANMER attempted, was to win GARDINER bishop of Winchester, if not to assist him in his design of a reformation, at least not to oppose him as he had done in the reign preceding. He was a prelate of great abilities, and of no small influence with the favourers of the old religion: and from the many compliances which he had

had shewn to HENRY, in things against his principles, the archbishop might imagine that his inward scruples were not very great. In order therefore to pave the way, he opened some of his designs in confidence to GARDINER, and asked his advice on a book of Homilies which his grace had prepared to be read in churches; to which he had added ERASMUS's paraphrase on the new testament, as the most unexceptionable composition of that kind. But the old bishop, being picqued at his not being one of the regents and executors, and imputing that disgrace perhaps to CRANMER whom he had never loved, rejected all the offers which the archbishop made him, and insisted, as no alterations could be made but in the king's name, that all should be kept quiet and no changes attempted during his minority. But however, GARDINER and TUNSTAL excepted, the archbishop had all the prelates with him, who were able, learned, and men of weight. We may place the king, young as he was, without impropriety at their head, as the sequel of this reign will make appear: For tho he was then very young, yet, having a capacity much beyond his years, he had made a great progress in the study of religion by the care of his preceptors, who were of CRANMER's sentiments, and he loved truth and probity. These were properly speaking the persons, whom our learned church historian calls the reformers.

At the head of the other party, we may reckon the princess MARY, the earl of SOUTHAMPTON late chancellor, the bishops TUNSTAL, BONNER and GARDINER, with the other bishops who were not on the side of CRANMER; but who are to be taken into the list, on account of the rank they held, rather than for any share they had of parts or learning. The clergy of that time, were for the most part such as had been bred in monasteries and religious houses, and were put into benefices by the king, and the purchasers of their lands, in order to ease themselves of the pensions which were reserved for the monks and friars till they were otherwise provided for. The greatest part of the parsonages were impropriated; and the incumbents were left by the abbots to support themselves with the small tithes, or a little donative, and the perquisites which they could raise by masses and other offices. At the suppression of the religious houses, this scandalous encroachment on parochial cures was left entirely unredressed, to the scandal of religion, and the disgrace of the king and his ministers. The greatest part of the benefices being thus made so very small, that three or four could scarce

afford a maintenance for a single clergyman, they chiefly subsisted upon masses, trentals, and other devices of superstition, which were at a very low price too then indeed; a groat for a mass being a great bounty. If therefore these perquisites were taken from them, they would be deprived of the best part of their livelihood, and so were really engaged in interest against a reformation: but as they were generally very ignorant, and could not oppose it with much argument or learning, so the same interest obliged them to comply with any thing that was established, that they might not forfeit their whole subsistence; it being better to be left with half their income than with none at all. In their hearts however they abhorred every step towards a reformation, which, the further it went, the more it would impoverish them; and they opposed it all that was in their power. I had some thoughts of stopping here, to make a reflexion on the disadvantage which the church of England has laboured under from that time to this, on account of the mean provision which is made by law for the greatest part of her ministers: but as it is a subject of great consequence, and must either be too much abridged to answer my design, or else it will too much interrupt the thread of the history, I shall reserve it for an appendix to be added to this work, if it please God I should live to finish it.

The reader will perceive, by what has been said above of the two parties, that the papists, tho as numerous, yet were far behind the reformers in learning and capacity: and as the archbishop had the perverseness of the first to deal with, so it was not very easy for him to restrain the impetuosity and indiscretions of the last. The friends of the reformation, seeing their cause supported to the king, by the protector, and the primate, thought of nothing but pressing it forward as fast as possible, and were carried by their heat into great disorders: whereas CRANMER was resolved to proceed by slow degrees, and to open the reason of every advance that he made in the reformation, in order to convince the people of the fitness of what was done, either to prevent any relapse, or to beat down any dangerous opposition which might be apprehended. The first thing which he set about, was, after the method begun by the late king, to send visitors over England with articles and injunctions. In an act of parliament which passed about the latter end of the reign of HENRY, he got a clause inserted, which I mentioned in its proper place, allowing the council of his son, whilst he was under
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age, to set out proclamations of the same authority with those which were made by the king himself. The council, therefore, availing themselves of the power given them by act of parliament, resolved to exert it in the reformation of religion. Before the general visitation with which they intended to begin the work, a letter was sent in the king's name to all the bishops, suspending their jurisdiction whilst the visitation lasted, requiring them to preach no where but in their cathedrals, and forbidding the other clergy to preach without licence except in their own parish churches. The design of this was to make a distinction, between such as preached for the reformation of abuses, and such as did not: the one were to be encouraged by licence to preach wherever they would, and the other were to be restrained to their own benefices, in order to prevent their doing any further mischief.

The greatest difficulty which CRANMER met with in his design, was the miserable condition of the parochial clergy, and the want of able men to propagate it over England: and tho many projects were thought of for remedying this great abuse of the alienation of the church revenues, yet they were all opposed so powerfully, that there was no hope of doing any thing till the king should come to age, and be able by his authority to procure a well proportioned maintenance for the clergy. Two things therefore only remained to be done at present; the one was, to draw up a book of homilies for the instruction of the people, and to provide them with helps to understand the scriptures, in order to supply the defects of the parish priests: the other was, to select the most eminent preachers they could find and send them over England with the visitors, that they might instruct the people with more authority in the principles of religion. The book of homilies, which was chiefly composed by CRANMER, was intended principally to explain the method of our salvation according to the gospel: upon which point two extremes, both of them false and both of them dangerous, had at that time divided the world. The greatest part of the meaner sort considered their priests as a sort of conjurers or magicians, who could save their souls by a trick or charm, as quacks and mountebanks pretend to cure diseases; and the people had nothing to do but to resign themselves wholly to them, and the business was done. This was the chief basis and support of all that superstition which had been so prevalent over the nation. The other extreme, was owing to some weak and corrupt enthusiasts,

thufiafts, who thought if they magnified CHRIST much, and relied on his merits and interceffion, they could not perifh, let their lives be what they would. A particular care therefore was taken in thefe homilies to rectify fuch errors; and to teach the people, that as on the one fide, there was no falvation thro the abfolution of the prieft; or thro any way but the death and fufferings of our faviour CHRIST, fo on the other fide, there was no falvation thro him, but to fuch as truly repented, and lived according to the rules which he prefcribed in his gofpel. Befides this book of homilies, and the bible, it was likewise ordered there fhould be in every church, ERASMUS's paraphrafe on the new teftament tranflated into Englifh, for the inftruction of the lefs learned part of the clergy, as well as the people.

The next thing which came under the confideration of the council, was, the articles and injunctions which the vifitors fhould be furnifhed with. The greateft part of thefe, were fuch as CROMWELL had ordered whilft he was vice-gerent, and fo need not be repeated, but which had been much neglected fince his time; the bifhops having been generally much more careful to direct an obfervance of the fix articles, than of the injunctions publifhed by this minifter. To thefe however many new ones were added, to the following purpofe. That the clergy, and no others, fhould take down fuch images as they knew to be abufed to fuperftition, and in the confefions in lent they fhould examine all the people whether they could recite the elements of religion in the Englifh tongue: That the epiftle and gofpel at high mafs, and the firft and fecond leffon on every Sunday and Holy-day, fhould be read in Englifh: That the curates fhould often vifit the fick, and comfort them with paffages out of fcripture in the Englifh tongue: That there fhould be no more proceffions about churches, in order to avoid contention for precedence; and that the litanies formerly faid in them fhould be now faid in the choir in Englifh, as the late king had ordered: That the fabbath day being intituted at firft that men fhould give themfelves wholly to God, yet that God was generally more difhonoured by it than upon the other days; the people thinking that they fufficiently honoured God, by hearing mafs and mattins, tho they underftood nothing of it to their edifying: That for the future therefore this day fhould be fpent according to God's will, in hearing and reading his holy word, in public and private prayers for the amendment of their lives, in receiving the communion, vifiting the fick, and reconciling themfelves to their
neigh-

neighbours; yet the people were to be told, that in harvest time they might labour in their fields, on the Sundays, as well as festivals: That the curates should admit none to the communion who were not reconciled to their neighbours; and that all the dignified clergymen should preach twice a year: That the people should be taught not to despise any of the ceremonies which were still retained, but to beware of the superstition of sprinkling their beds with holy water, the ringing of bells, or using of blessed candles, for driving away devils: That all monuments of idolatry should be removed out of the walls or windows of churches, and that a pulpit should be provided in every church for preaching: That the people should be exhorted to give alms to the poor, as much more profitable than what they formerly bestowed on superstitious pilgrimages, trentals, and decking of images: That all patrons, who disposed of their livings, by simoniacal bargains, should forfeit their right for that turn to the king: That the book of homilies should be read; and that the priests should be used charitably and reverently for their office sake. These were the injunctions given for the visitors to distribute throwout every parish; and which were to be observed by the clergy under the pains of excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation, as the ordinaries should answer it to the king. But besides these, there were other injunctions sent to the bishops: That they should see the former injunctions well observed, and should preach in their dioceses four times a year, unless they had a reasonable excuse for their omission: That their chaplains should be able to preach the word of God, and should be diligently employed in it: That they should give orders to none but such as were learned in the scriptures, and who would discharge their duty in preaching the doctrine set forth by the book of homilies; and if it was neglected by any of their clergy, that they should punish them, and recall their licence.

These injunctions, which shew the wisdom and the care of the good archbishop, shew likewise to what a degree of corruption and superstition the church of England was degenerated, and how much it stood in need of a reformation. It would be well for the church and for religion, if some of the corruptions here mentioned did not continue to this day to be complained of. The corruption of lay patrons in simoniacal bargains was so notorious at that time, that it was thought necessary to provide against it, tho it could not be done then without a strain upon the constitution; the clause of the act, which gave authority to the procla-

mations of the council, having expressly saved the rights and possessions of the subject. But whether the statute made against it since, and the strict and solemn oath appointed to be taken about it, have effectually delivered our church from this great abuse, I am afraid is not uncertain enough to be made a question. An ecclesiastical benefice is now put up to sale, and advertized in the public papers, very often with immediate resignations, as houses and estates are: and they are bought, if not by incumbents themselves, yet by their parents or relations for them, as a maintenance of such a value; to be come at perhaps upon easier terms than in any other way of life; and many times for those who have neither learning nor parts nor virtue enough to get their bread in any other. There are ways, I suppose, of evading the law upon these occasions, as there are upon most others: but if a patron who sells, and a parent who buys a living, would consider that there is a charge of souls annexed to it, and that they are answerable for it to God, if they put this trust into ill or improper hands upon sinister considerations, the sale of benefices, or the bestowing them on men of little merit and qualifications, would be more seriously laid to heart than we have reason to think it is. Let me add, that when men enter upon this sacred office, with no other view than to be entitled to a benefice which will support them in ease and luxury, without a serious sense of the duty which is annexed to it, the church must necessarily be disfigured, and the order must lose its influence. But there is another injunction which deserves to be taken notice of before I go on with the history; the injunction given to the bishops, about conferring orders on none who were unlearned in the scriptures. Had this injunction been well observed from that time, had holy orders been conferred on none but those who were well qualified, I do not mean in classical or mathematical learning, but in the studies peculiarly adapted to their profession, in theological subjects deduced from the word of God, in reading, and speaking on those subjects, gracefully, and in a competent knowledge of that word, our younger clergy would appear to much greater advantage in the pulpit; and the doctrines of Christianity would be better understood.

The commissioners appointed to visit the churches being thus instructed, they were sent out in August with great solemnity, at the time when the protector made a warlike expedition into Scotland with great success. The nation was divided into six circuits, and to every circuit there was appointed two gentlemen,

a civilian, a register and a divine, with a jurisdiction equal to what had been lodged with CROMWELL. The change of the times, and the inclinations of the court, which were very well understood, had a great effect upon many of the leading clergy; and the visitors met with little or no opposition to the homilies and injunctions; except from BONNER, and GARDINER. The first however received them with a protestation, that, if they were not contrary to the law of GOD and the ordinances of the church, he would observe them: and tho he afterwards withdrew this protestation and made an ample submission to the council, yet as a terror to others he was committed prisoner to the Fleet. The bishop of WINCHESTER was more scrupulous; and in a letter to one of the visitors before they came to him, wrote in a spirit becoming a Christian and a prelate, which does him more honour than any thing that I have met with of him in our history, he tells the visitor, that he intends to behave himself like a good subject, and to obey whatever is not repugnant to his duty to GOD, or to the injunctions of an act of parliament: but the present proceedings being against law, he hoped the council would not put him under the disagreeable necessity of protesting against them; which, if they forced the homilies and injunctions upon him, he could not decline without scandal and prevarication. Upon this he was sent for to the council, and examined what he intended to do when the visitors should be with him. He said that the book of homilies was not only contrary to the book set out in the late reign and confirmed by parliament, but that it was also contrary to the word of GOD, and his conscience would not permit him to receive it. He excepted particularly to one of the homilies, which excluded charity from justifying as well as faith; and he condemned the paraphrase of ERASMUS which was misrendered by the translator in many places, both out of ignorance and design. Upon the whole, he said he would further study these points, and they might be assured he would obey as far as was consistent with GOD's law and the king's: but refusing to promise absolutely to set forth the homilies and injunctions, he was committed prisoner to the Fleet. In a few days after, the archbishop, being on a visit to the dean of St. PAUL's with two or three other bishops, sent for GARDINER thither; where he explained to him the design of that passage in the homily, and apologized for the use of the paraphrase of ERASMUS, as being the best book for that use which they could find. Nay CRANMER thought it so expedient to bring over this prelate, who had great influence and abilities, that

that he made him an offer of bringing him into the privy council, if he would acquiesce in the work they were carrying on. But he was mortified so much at his being left out in HENRY's will, and he thought he had the council at such an advantage in proceeding contrary to the law, that, fearing nothing from them, he would not comply, and so was carried back to the Fleet.

When the protector returned from Scotland, the bishop wrote him a letter in his vindication. He had selected very ably some passages out of ERASMUS's paraphrase, which were not only contrary to some of the homilies, but also to the power of princes: and having made his objections to the things themselves, he then called in question the authority which set them forth against the laws that were then in being. In conclusion he complains of the ill usage he had in the Fleet, advises the duke of SOMERSET not to make himself a party in these religious quarrels, and with many sharp reflexions upon CRANMER, insisted on keeping close to the laws of God and the realm. The committing this bishop and BONNER to the Fleet, for not receiving injunctions from the king and council which were contrary to the laws then in force, was an invasion of liberty and a breach of the constitution which is not to be vindicated. Because if we should allow, that the proclamations of the council in the king's minority were to have the force of a law, yet these injunctions were not proclaimed; and by an express clause in the act, no proclamation was to overrule any law that was still in being. The old religion was established by act of parliament; and as this was not repealed by parliament, these injunctions which superseded it were not of legal force, if they had been the subject of a proclamation. In short the council began at the wrong end; and the unjustifiable severity showed to these two prelates, who were under the protection of the law, by the reformers, may convince all impartial people, that those who complain most of the oppression of arbitrary power, are very apt to exercise it themselves when they are in authority. The friends of the old religion finding their two principal champions thus silenced with an imprisonment, engaged the princess MARY to interpose. She accordingly wrote a letter to the protector, in which she complains of the changes made in religion, as not only derogatory from the respect due to the memory of her pious father, but likewise as contrary to the duty which they owed the king in his minority. In answer to this letter, the duke of SOMERSET alledges the unsettled and

imperfect state in which religion was left at the death of HENRY, who had intended to have carried the alterations made in it much further if he had lived: he assures the princess, that the council meant only to promote the glory of God, and the honour and safety of the king: and as he imputed her letter to the instigation of malicious persons rather than to any desire of her own to give them trouble, so he hoped she would consider the matter better, with an humble spirit, and by the assistance of the grace of God.

The great seal, which had been in the custody of lord St. JOHN from the fall of the earl of SOUTHAMPTON, was now given to lord RICH, a lawyer, and one of the new created barons. At the same time bishop TUNSTAL, a prelate of good parts and learning, and of invincible moderation, was dismissed from the privy council. He retained his old opinions about religion, and could not therefore acquiesce without some opposition at the council table in the designs which were carrying on for a further reformation; and it was therefore thought adviseable to remove him. In a few days after, the parliament met according to their summons; and with a disposition to comply with all that the protector should require. For tho many members of both houses were inclined to the doctrines which their late sovereign had established, yet they were not averse to any acts which would widen the breach still further between Rome and England. The affinity that was yet between them, in many points of doctrine and worship, might make a reconciliation at some time or other not impracticable; and such a reconciliation, would, in all probability, deprive them of the estates which they had got from the church. As for others, whose business it was to make, or improve their fortunes --- and many such there will be in every parliament---they came determined without doubt to close with any reformation which the court intended. But before I give an account of their proceedings in this sessions, which related to the church, it will be necessary to give an account of what was done by the convocation, which met the day after the sitting of the parliament, and which occasioned those acts which passed there.

After the usual forms at their first assembling were over, the convocation was opened by a speech from CRANMER; in which he exhorted the clergy to employ themselves in the search and study of the holy scriptures, and to consider seriously what

errors and abuses still remained in the church which wanted a reformation, that so all the popish trash and innovations might be thrown out. But the terror of the bloody statute enforcing the six articles made so great an impression, that it was impossible to expect any free debate; which occasioned the repeal of this statute, as we shall see, in a few days after by the parliament. The lower house of convocation however were not idle, in those points in which they could move with safety. They sent their prolocutor with a petition to the upper house; in which they moved, that the commission of thirty two persons for reforming the ecclesiastical laws, pursuant to an act which passed in the late reign, might be revived; that what the bishops and divines had done, by order of convocation, in reviewing and correcting the offices for divine service, might be laid before the house; that the rigour of the statute for payment of first fruits might be abated; and that according to the ancient custom of the nation and the tenour of the bishops writ to parliament from the king, the inferior clergy might be admitted again into the house of commons; or at least that no bills relating to religion, the persons, estates, or jurisdiction of the clergy, might pass without their assent.

At whatever time the commons first took their seat in parliament, it may be proved with sufficient clearness from many passages in this history, that at the same time the inferior clergy sat as members, and enjoyed the same rights and liberties. In the twenty first year of EDWARD the first, when the writ was first issued to the sheriff of each county to return a certain number of knights, citizens, and burghesses; by another writ to the bishop, called the "premunientes," the proctors of the inferior clergy were likewise summoned to parliament, for the same purposes, and sometimes in the same words. But the inferior clergy thought it a grievance, because of the cost and trouble of such attendance; and taking all excusable opportunities to decline it according to their summons, by degrees they brought all their grants to be made in convocation. The kings, whose design in summoning them to parliament was only to get aids of them, complied with their humour; never regarding whether they obeyed their writs by coming to parliament, since they met, and supplied their necessities, in convocation. Thus about the reign of HENRY the sixth, the clergy discontinuing wholly to attend in parliament, they are now by disuse absolutely excluded; tho they are still expressly mentioned in the premunitory clauses of the

the bishops writs, pursuant to ancient usage. It is no wonder therefore, that since the extreme of raising the ecclesiastical power too high, in the times of popery, had produced another extreme in the present age of depressing it too low, that the clergy should desire now to be put in the same state they were, before they were separated from the parliament; or at least, that alterations and affairs of religion should not be determined without consulting them. But this was moved without effect: and from hence may be learnt the dangerous tendency of ill precedents to supercede an original right. I must now return to the parliament.

The archbishop having represented to the council, how unsafe it was for the clergy, even in convocation, to deliver any opinions in the subject of religion whilst the law of the six articles continued in force, a bill was brought into the house of lords, which afterwards passed with the royal assent, five bishops only protesting against it, to repeal all the laws relating to treason which were not in the act of the twenty fifth of EDWARD the third; the two statutes against the Lollards; the law of the six articles, with the subsequent laws which were to explain it; all the acts in the late reign relating to felony; and all those which made the proclamations of the king of equal authority with acts of parliament. Besides the repeal of these statutes, it was likewise enacted by this bill, that all who denied the king's supremacy, or asserted the pope's in words, should forfeit their goods and chattels for the first offence and suffer imprisonment during the king's pleasure, for the second offence should suffer the pains of premunire, and for the third be attainted of high treason; but the accusation was to be within a month after the words were spoken. An endeavour to deprive the king of his estate or title, particularly of his supremacy, and to confer them on any other, by writing, printing or any overtact or deed, was declared treason; and if any of the heirs of the crown should usurp upon another, or endeavour to break the succession of the crown, they were adjudged guilty of high treason. By the repeal of the many statutes in the former part of this bill, the subjects were delivered from the greatest part of their fears, which the government in the late reign had held them in: and as HENRY had procured an act to empower his son to annul by his letters patents as tho they had never been, whatever laws had been made before he was twenty four years of age, so this was likewise altered,

tered, by giving him a power to annul them only for the future, and not to make them void from the beginning.

The next bill of a public nature concerned the sacrament; which, thro an intemperate zeal against popery, had been burlesqued with licentious merriment. It was therefore enacted, that whosoever should deprave, despise, or condemn the holy sacrament by any contemptuous words, or in any other way, was to suffer fine and imprisonment at the king's pleasure: and as it was more agreeable to the first institution of CHRIST, and the primitive practise of the church, that the sacrament should be given in both the kinds of bread and wine, and that the people should receive with the priest, than that the priest should receive alone, it was enacted likewise, that it should be commonly given in both kinds, except necessity required it otherwise; and that an exhortation should be read to the people the day before every sacrament to prepare themselves for it, and the priests were not without a lawful cause to deny it to any who humbly asked it. This was an act of great consequence, as it reformed two abuses which had crept into the church. In the first institution, it is plain that our Saviour CHRIST bid all drink of the cup; his disciples all drank of it accordingly, and St. PAUL directed every one to examine himself "that he might eat of that bread, and "drink of that cup." In this practice the church continued for many ages, till the belief of the corporal presence of CHRIST became a prevailing notion; and then the keeping and carrying about the cup in procession being found inconvenient, some began to lay it aside. The bread for a great while was given dipt in the cup to represent a bleeding Saviour, as it is in the Greek church at present: but it being believed that CHRIST was in every crumb of bread, it was thought unnecessary to give the sacrament in both kinds, and the cup was ordered to be withheld from lay communicants. The other abuse which this act redressed was that of private masses. At the first institution, the sacrament was understood as a communion of the body and blood of CHRIST, of which many were to be partakers: and whilst the fervour of devotion lasted, it was thought a scandalous thing, if any came to church, and did not stay to partake of these holy mysteries, which were then always celebrated at public worship. But this zeal did not continue longer than the fifth century: it being a custom however, during the poverty of the church, to make oblations before the sacrament, out of which the clergy were maintained, the priest had a desire the oblations should be

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continued; and so by persuading the laity to come to the sacrament and give the oblations, tho they did not communicate, in process of time they were made to believe, that the priests received in behalf of the whole people. But this was not all. The sacrament being the commemoration of CHRIST's sacrifice on the cross, and so by a figure of speech being called a sacrifice, the people were taught to imagine, that the consecration and consuming of the elements by the priest was an action expiatory of itself, and that both for the dead and living. Hence arose that infinite number of masses in the church of Rome; masses for saints, for souls, for rain, for health, for any particular blessing, and indeed for all the accidents of human life, which were distinguished only by the variation of a collect. But this whole trade of massing was now removed, and five bishops only protested against the act.

The next bill which was offered in this sessions of parliament, and which passed into a law, was to set aside the choice of bishops by *Conge d' elire*; and to direct all the processes in the spiritual courts, excepting the archbishop's, to be carried on for the future, not in the name of the bishops, but of the king, and to be sealed with his seal. It has already been observed, in the former part of this history, how bishops at first were chosen and ordained by the other bishops in the countries where they lived, and how this method came to be altered, and the princes to get the disposal of the sees. But the popes filling the world with complaints of simony, and of enslaving churchmen to court interests, it was agreed that bishops should be elected by the canons of cathedral churches, to be confirmed at Rome: in which elections, sometimes the princes, and sometimes the popes, and very seldom the chapter, had the nomination. Thus however it continued in the time of HENRY, but in a manner that made the election by the canons little more than mockery: it was now therefore thought a more ingenuous way of proceeding, for the king to nominate a bishop directly by his letters patents, rather than under the pretence of an election that was involuntary. Strange that it should have reverted, and been permitted to continue, in the old absurd channel of a *Conge d' elire*, to the present day! As to the other branch of the act, about requiring all the processes of ecclesiastical courts to be in the king's name, it was thought no invasion of the sacred function and of the episcopal jurisdiction, that all the causes relating to wills and marriages which were matters of a mixed nature, should be

tried in the king's name, and by his authority. But that excommunication, which belongs only to spiritual cognizance, and ought to have been reserved therefore to the bishop with the assistance of his clergy, was still the censure of these courts, when the jurisdiction was in lay hands under royal commissions, is unaccountable. Bishop BURNET indeed tells us, that the canonists had so confounded all the ancient rules about the government of the church, that the reformers being called away by more pressing considerations, there was not that care taken of this affair which the nature of it required. To this I shall add, that the neglect of restoring the former use of excommunication to the bishops, is not to be understood as an evidence of the sense of the reformers on this article, because a general review was going forward at that time, in order to lay down an uniform system of ecclesiastical policy; and in this system a regulation was proposed against the misuse of excommunication. But the execution of this plan was prevented by king EDWARD's death: "and these errors or oversights in the first concoction," says our learned church historian, "have by a continuance grown since into so formed a strength, that it is much easier to discover what is amiss, than to know how to rectify it."

The next act of this sessions was chiefly levelled against the monks and friars; who went about the country, and would engage in no employment. Their idleness was not only unprofitable to the state, but they every where alienated the minds of the people from the government; persuading them that the nation would never be well settled till they were restored again to their houses. Many of them came to London very frequently, on pretence of suing for their pensions; and as they were very ill paid at that time it might not be a pretence only, but a case of necessity sometimes. To prevent this however a proclamation was set forth, requiring them to stay in the places where they lived, and to send up a certificate to the court of augmentations, who should give order thereupon for their constant payment. But as this was not thought sufficient to restrain their travelling, the act above mentioned was passed in three months after, requiring that all who should loiter without work, or without offering themselves to work, for three days together, should be seized on: whosoever presented them to a justice of the peace was to have them adjudged to be his slaves for two years, and they were to be marked with the letter V. for vagabond, on the breast, with an hot iron. A law of this severity, in

in a country like England, where slavery seems inconsistent with the liberties of the people, and especially against men who had had a liberal education, who had been lately thrown out of plentiful estates, and were many of them men of learning and condition, must necessarily be much censured. On the other hand it must be said, that extreme diseases require extreme remedies: and if people will prefer idleness and loitering to an honest employment, and instead of serving the state will caball against it and foment sedition, such a punishment as this was not unnecessary. The act however was never executed with rigour, and another parliament repealed it.

The last act of this session with which this history is concerned, is the act which gave the chantries, colleges, and chapels, not possessed by the late king, with all their jewels, plate, ornaments, and moveables, and all the revenues belonging to any church, for anniversaries, obits, and lights, to his present majesty; that they may be converted to the maintenance of grammar schools, or preachers, and for the encrease of vicarages. When this bill was brought into the house of lords, it was much opposed by CRANMER, and all the popish bishops, on very different motives. The archbishop had seen with a great deal of concern, how much the clergy were impoverished by the sale of the impropriations, which at the dissolution of the abbies, ought in good sense and equity to have returned into the church: and there was no probable way remaining for their support, but to save these endowments till the king was of age. His grace was persuaded, from the pious disposition of the young prince, that he might be prevailed upon to bestow them all upon the parochial clergy, whose condition was scandalously mean and wretched: and he insisted therefore strenuously, that the dissolution of these foundations should be delayed, that the estates might not be alienated, nor the treasure arising from these endowments wasted. But the courtiers who pushed the bill were swayed by far different motives from these of CRANMER. The late king's executors had his debts to pay; and what was of much more moment to them, they wanted estates to their new titles, and had no other way of satisfying their pretensions, than by seizing the opportunity and sharing these lands amongst them, whilst the government was in their hands. The bill therefore passed; the archbishop, and seven bishops, protesting against it. After this came a general pardon, except to the prisoners then in the Tower, which brought GARDINER out of the Fleet, and from whence BONNER had been
 8 discharged

discharged before the sessions of parliament. Let us now return to the convocation.

As soon as the archbishop had procured the act for repealing the law of the six articles, he promoted a declaration on receiving the communion in both kinds among the bishops, and sent it down to the lower house, to which the prolocutor and several others set their hands; and which was afterwards agreed to unanimously when sixty four members were present. In a few days after, a proposition was offered them for annulling all laws or canons forbidding marriage, upon any vow of priesthood, chastity or widowhood, which was agreed to by a vast majority; and a committee was named to draw the form of an act for the marriage of the clergy, which had only fourteen members against it; several of whom afterwards took the advantage of the act and married, whilst many who promoted it remained single. The good archbishop went on labouring and writing in order to root up the superstition, and to remove the prejudices, of his countrymen: but he was opposed in his design by many, especially in the universities, where they adhered to the old doctrines with so much obstinacy as not to permit any public disputation upon those points. However under all this opposition, and even under personal insolence and abuse, the spirit of CRANMER breathed nothing but gentleness and persuasion, according to his example whose faith he taught: and when it was observed to him, that if his opponents were clothed with the power which he then possessed they would shew his grace no favour, he replied with the piety of a true Christian, "well, if God so provide, we must abide it."

Having given the reader a view of what was done in this session by the parliament and convocation in church affairs, and which concluded the year fifteen hundred and forty seven, I shall now lay before him the acts of the privy council, where the archbishop moved with less restraint. The king's general pardon of all who were not in the Tower, having set GARDINER at liberty, as I have said, he was brought before the council; where he was desired to declare whether he would receive the homilies and injunctions, and the doctrine to be set forth from time to time by the king and clergy of the realm. He assured them that he should conform himself as the other bishops did, and excepted only to the homily of justification, which in the end he complied with likewise. Thus he went home to his diocese; where

tho he paid such an outward submission to what was ordered, that it was not easy to take any hold of him, especially since the power of the council was so much abridged by the late repealing act, yet it was visible that in his heart he abhorred all the motions to a reformation, and that he had a particular malignity against CRANMER. But the opposition of prelate against prelate was not the greatest bar to the designs which were then in hand. There was so great a contradiction in the sermons throughout the kingdom, some contending for all the superstitious rites which yet remained, and others assailing them with the same heat and zeal, that the people, especially in and about London, were greatly distracted in their sentiments on this subject. The ceremonies of Candlemas, and the observation of Lent, with the rites used on Palm Sunday, Good Friday, and Easter day, were now approaching. On the one side, these were condemned as superstitious additions to the worship of God, invented in the dark ages, when an outward pageantry was the chief thing considered, as a means to invite the Heathens into the Christian church. On the other side, the good use of these things at present was much enlarged on; and till they were abolished by the king's authority, it was insisted that they ought to be still observed. The truth is, the common people in town and country---and it has always been the same in every age and nation---were fond of all the pomp and solemnity of processions, shews, and magnificent habits; and thought it a dull business to come to church in order only to hear sermons and say their prayers in a serious way, without any thing to affect and please their senses. But the grave and understanding men, who looked on all this glare and tinsel as of the same kind with the Pagan shews and festivities for their Gods, and judging it contrary and pernicious to the plainness and simplicity of the Christian institution, laid out all their zeal to get it abolished. It was at last so effectually remonstrated against by CRANMER to the council, that he procured an order for suppressing the use of candles, ashes, and palms on the usual days, which he sent to BONNER, as dean of the college of bishops in the province of Canterbury, to transmit to the other bishops. As BONNER had no inclination to services of this kind, and yet could not decline them without entangling himself and falling under censure, so he ventured only to demur a little to the execution of his orders: upon which the archbishop writ another letter, to remind him that it was not so much his grace's order as the order of the privy council, and that it was

not inconsistent, as the bishop it seems objected, with a proclamation that followed it in a few days.

In order to prevent so much clashing and contradiction in the several churches, as well as to check the heat and indiscretion of the vulgar who were friends to the reformation, a proclamation was issued against such as should rashly innovate or persuade the people from any of the old accustomed rites, which the archbishop did not certify in the king's name to be laid aside: and whosoever should preach, except in his own parish, without a licence from the king, or his visitors, from the archbishop of CANTERBURY, or the bishop of the diocese, were to be imprisoned till order was given for their punishment. If one party objected, that the council continued to send out their proclamations with arbitrary punishments, tho the act which gave them authority was now repealed, it was answered by the other party, that the king by his supremacy might still make new orders in what concerned the church, and inflict a punishment on those who should transgress them. This however was much questioned, and I believe, not without reason; but the proclamations were submitted to universally thro fear.

Before this order could circulate in the remoter parts of the kingdom, the council sent a letter to the archbishop, in order to make a change that was still more considerable than what had been yet attempted. The reader must remember, that there had been an injunction in the reign of HENRY, to remove all the images that had been abused to superstition. But some people were so bigotted, that this abuse was not thought a sufficient motive to part with the images out of their churches; and in other places the fact had been contested, which had occasioned many disputes, and much animosity among several people. The council having been informed of the great disturbance which this affair had occasioned, which if permitted to continue might be of dangerous consequence to the state, required the archbishop to remove them all without exception in his own diocese, with as much expedition and quietness as was possible, and to cause it to be done in the same manner by all the bishops within his province. It is most probable that the same injunction was sent to the bishop of YORK, tho the letter to CRANMER is still extant, and we have no mention made of the other province by any church historian. About the same time there were orders given, that all the rich shrines, with the plate and ornaments belonging

to them, should be brought into the king's use, and the clothes which covered them should be distributed among the poor. In this manner the churches were emptied of all the statues and pictures, which had for many ages been the object of the public worship of the ignorant and superstitious.

The latter end of this winter, a committee of eighteen bishops and six divines, were commanded by the king and council, to examine all the offices of the church, and to consider how far any of them stood in need of a reformation. They began with the sacrament of the LORD's supper, as the chief symbol of communion among Christians, and deserving their greatest care: and in this they observed the method used in the former reign, which was to break the subject into several questions, to each of which the commissioners were to give their several answers in writing. Many of these papers, in the confusions which followed under MARY, were destroyed, or lost: but there is one set remaining in which some of the committee answered all the questions, and others only a few of them; suspending their opinions probably till they had considered the matter further: and from this paper it is evident, how the bishops in general were addicted to the old superstition, and how few of them agreed in all the questions with the archbishop.

There is no part of christian worship, it is certain, that has been more abused by some, and misunderstood by others, than the sacrament of the LORD's supper. The first institution of it in the gospels is so plain and simple, that except the figurative expression, "This is my body," there is nothing which can give any colour to the corruptions and false glosses which have been obtruded into it. We are not therefore to look into the institution for the original and the progress of these corruptions: we are obliged to history for an account of these inventions of men, which have disfigured the word of GOD. Whilst the primitive Christians retained their original simplicity, they retained this institution in its original purity. But as their number increased, and they adopted many rites into their worship, in order to draw the Gentiles more easily into their own belief, so they brought into this solemnity an imitation of the Pagan mysteries; which the priests concealed with difficult and obscure words, and dressed up with pomp and shew, in order to support their own esteem with the people. These superstitious follies were afterwards much improved by those who had more artifice than truth and zeal; and

and when the emperors turned Christians, much of the wealth which they were masters of was brought into the church, and applied to these pompous fopperies. The church however was not so universally corrupted, till the Goths and Vandals and other barbarous nations broke in upon it, and divided the empire into many kingdoms; when these rude and ignorant conquerors extinguished learning universally, and, being wholly given to sensible things, introduced a gross superstition unknown to former ages. The belief of the corporal presence was built upon this ignorance; and all the dullness of the priests, and the riches of the people, were employed to magnify it with as much pomp as possible. The vessels and garments used about the eucharist were consecrated and anointed with much devotion: and the whole office was not only in an unknown language, but a great part of it was whispered privately, in order to make it appear more like an extraordinary charm. The words of consecration particularly were not to be heard, that it might be suitable to a change upon it which was not to be seen: the priest was not to approach it but after a certain number of bowings, crossings, and kissings of the altar; and all the time he went thro the office, the people were only now and then addressed with a short blessing, "The LORD be with you," and even that in a language which they did not understand. When the elements were consecrated with all this solemn farce, the bread was lifted up, and the people worshipped it, in the same manner as they would have worshipped CHRIST if he had appeared to them in the clouds. But this was not all: it was often exposed on the altar, and carried about in processions, with flambeaux borne before it by people of the first rank; the priest who carried it being covered with a rich and pompous canopy. In short it was applied to almost all other ends but the true original end of a commemoration and communion of the death of CHRIST: it was thought effectual against all the accidents of life, of a public, and private nature; and that the priests might lose no advantage that could be made, the people were taught to believe the mass was effectual for the dead. Indeed the trentalls, which was a method of delivering souls out of purgatory by saying thirty masses a year, was one of the most profitable branches of their superstition: and as it was observed that men were generally in a better humour on the anniversaries of their birth days, wedding days, or other happy accidents of their lives, and more easily disposed to confer a favour, so they seem to have taken up the same idea of the divinity. It was therefore ordered, that the

trentalls

trentalls should be performed on the chief festivities; hoping that these days would be the "mollia tempora," when God, and CHRIST, and the blessed virgin, would be of easier access, and more ready to grant their prayers. Nay what was still more absurd and unaccountable, if any thing can be more so than what has been said already, there were masses on the saints days, in which they prayed that the saint, for whose honour these oblations were solemnly offered, would by his merits procure them to be accepted, and that the sacrifice might bring to them a greater indulgence on account of his intercession. It would be tedious to relate all the pieces of ridiculous pageantry which were used on this occasion, and the several sorts of purposes to which masses were then applied. Whosoever will give himself the trouble to consult the mass book most used in England, known by the name of the "Missal after the use of Sarum," will be convinced that there is no exaggeration in this account: and from hence the reader will understand, how many things in the sacrament stood in need of a reformation.

The first step which was therefore taken by the committee of bishops and divines was to abolish these corruptions so pernicious to true religion: but in this they observed a temper, not to shock those too much who retained their prejudices; and so did not alter every thing that was necessary. The office of the mass was still left; and the exhortation, confession, absolution, and sentences out of the scripture, almost all the same as we now use, were added to make it a communion. After this, the eucharist was to be given in both kinds, to the clergy first, and then to the people with these words; "the body of our LORD JESUS CHRIST which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life; and the blood of our LORD JESUS CHRIST which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul unto everlasting life." When the whole was finished, the congregation were dismissed with a blessing. The bread was to be the same with that formerly used, and the people were to be taught, that there was no difference in the quantity they received whether small or great, but that in each of them they received the whole body of CHRIST; and there was to be no elevation throwout the whole. In the exhortation which was to be read the day before the communion, which was much like that which we now use, it was added after the advice about confession, that such as desired to make auricular confession, should not censure those who were satisfied with a general confession to God, and that those who

used only such a general confession should not be offended with those who made auricular confession to the priest, but that all should observe the rule of charity.

The office being thus finished, and approved by the privy council, was set forth with a proclamation in the name of the king; reciting, that the parliament having enacted the communion to be given in both kinds to the people, it was now ordered to be given in the form which had been drawn up; which all the subjects were required to obey with reverence and uniformity, that his majesty might be encouraged to proceed in the reformation, which he intended by the help of God to bring to effect. They were likewise enjoined to wait the public direction, and to assure themselves of the king's zeal and diligence in redressing what was necessary in due time. To make the devotions of the people uniform, a sufficient number of copies of this office were sent to all the bishops of England, with a letter from the council drawn by CRANMER, requiring them to send one to every parish in their diocese, with such diligence, as that the clergy might have time to instruct themselves for the distribution of the communion, according to the order of this book before the Easter following. The zealots of the old religion were much offended to find confession left thus indifferent in this office, and a general confession introduced: with which they apprehended, not unreasonably, that the people would be content. As secret confession and private penance had worn out the primitive practise of public censures, so to let that lie unrestored, and yet to let confession wear out, it was said, was to discharge the world of all outward restraints, and so to throw up that power of binding and loosing, which ought to take place chiefly in admitting them to the sacrament. This, by the other side, was confessed to be a great defect; and many endeavours were used to retrieve it, tho without any success. The total disuse of all public censure, but what had been corrupted by the canonists, had made the nation so unacquainted with it, that without the effectual concurrence of the civil authority they could not recover it. It was acknowledged to be a great disorder in the church; yet as they could not keep up the necessity of private confession, which was not commanded in the gospel, so the generality of the clergy, being addicted to superstition, whose chief influence with the people was by means of secret practises in confession, it was judged necessary to leave it free, and to order in the room of it a general confession and absolution in the church. Many disliked

liked a deprecatory form of absolution, praying that God would absolve; but these were told that the absolution given by the priest in his own name, was a late invention to raise their power, and signified nothing distinct from those other forms which were anciently used in the church. Others censured the words of distribution, by which the bread was appropriated to the body, and the blood of CHRIST to the soul; and they were soon after altered by the archbishop.

Notwithstanding the difference of opinions about the mass, the new office of the communion was received and submitted to all over England without any opposition. But many complaints being made of GARDINER's disaffection to the reformation he was brought again before the council; where he denied most of the facts which were alledged against him, and offered to explain himself openly in a sermon before the king. The protector pressed him not to meddle in matters not yet determined, particularly with the presence of CHRIST in the sacrament; and that he would assert the king's power tho he was under age, and the authority of his council. For the clergy began at that time generally to say, that tho they acknowledged the king's supremacy yet they would not yield it to the council, and seemed to place it in some extraordinary grace conferred on the king by the anointing in the coronation. The protector desired GARDINER therefore to declare himself in these points in order to his purification. But the bishop it seems did not take the protector for his ordinary in these affairs; and tho he inveighed in his sermon against the pope's supremacy as justly abolished, and asserted the supremacy of the king in the church of England, yet he said nothing of the council, nor of the king's power in his minority. He justified the suppression of monasteries and chantries; he thought images might have been well used, but yet they might be well taken away: he approved of the sacrament in both kinds, and of the taking away the masses satisfactory, and had no objection to the new order for the communion service: but asserting largely the real presence of our Saviour in the sacrament, a great noise was made by the hot and bigotted rabble on both sides, which was said to be a stirring up of sedition; and upon that he was sent to the Tower. Here is a second instance of the arbitrary power exercised by the council against law and justice in the imprisonment of this prelate: and as all violent courses will ever do, it rather weakened than strengthened those who were most concerned in it: but as he was generally much

disliked, they were not so much censured as they would have been, if they had fallen on a more acceptable man.

About this time was published a short instruction for children and young people, in the form of a catechism, by the archbishop, dedicated to the king. Whether it was wholly the work of CRANMER, as bishop BURNET tells us, or whether he only translated it, as STRYPE affirms, is not very material. In the title to the preface, it is said to be "overseen and corrected by the archbishop;" and there are some passages in it, which seem to lie cross to some of CRANMER's sentiments. It is herein shewn that the excuses which the papists had made for images, were no other than what the Heathens had brought for their idolatry. Besides the two sacraments, the power of reconciling sinners to God is asserted as a third. There is likewise in it a full acknowledgment of the divine institution of bishops and priests; and the people are exhorted to discover the state of their souls in confession to their pastors. But all these provisions were designed only to pave the way to a much greater work that the same committee were preparing, who had set forth the communion, which was the entire reformation of the whole liturgy; that there might be an uniformity in the worship of God all over the nation, without the several uses of York, and Sarum, Bangor, Hereford, and Lincoln, into which before it had been cantoned. The worship of God, in the primitive times, was plain and simple like the gospel; but when superstition had infected the church, these forms were thought too naked, unless they were put under more artificial rules, and dressed up with pomp and ceremony. GREGORY the great was the first who took church musick under his care, and he also put the liturgies in a more regular method than they had formerly been in: and yet he had no such fondness for his own composures, but that he left it to AUSTIN when he came into England, as we have seen in the first volume of this history, to use either the Gallic or Roman ritual, as he should find most agreeable to the people whom he was to instruct. After this, there were great variations in several dioceses; for if any prelate was canonized or held in high esteem by the people, some private collects or particular forms that he had used, were practised in his diocese, and perhaps in those adjoining to it. In every age, we find there were great additions made; and almost all the writers in the eighth and ninth centuries employed their fancies to find out mystical significations for every rite that was in use; and so as a new rite was added, it was no difficult matter

matter to add some mystery to it. This had made the offices swell out of measure, into missals, breviaries, rituals, pontificals, pies, portofises, graduals, antiphonals, psalteries, houres, and many more; besides which every religious order had their peculiar rites and services belonging to the saint's days of their order. This strange multiplicity had made it so difficult to understand how to officiate in divine service, that it required a long practise to learn it with any exactness; and therefore it was now resolved to correct and examine these. It does not appear, that it was ever brought into consideration, whether they should compose a form for all the parts of divine worship, or leave it to the sudden and extemporary heats of those who were to officiate; which some have called since that time, worshipping "by the spirit." Of this way of serving God they did not then entertain any notion; and much less that the appointment of forms of prayer was an encroaching on the kingly office of CHRIST. Whatever praying in the spirit might have been in the apostle's time---where yet every man brought his psalms, which are a sort of prayers, as well as praises, and look like some written composures, as St. PAUL expresses it---yet certainly to pray now with fervour and sincerity must be allowed to be spiritual worship: and where the same thing is to be daily asked of God, using the same expressions, once well chosen, serves to fix the devotion of the mind, which must otherwise wander after new thoughts and phrases. Nor could it indeed agree with the principles of a reformation, which was to divest churchmen of that authority which they had exercised before over the conscience, to leave them at liberty to oblige the people to pray after them as they pleased; this being as great a resignation, as the former superstition had made of the faith and consciences of the people. Tho it was resolved therefore to bring the whole divine service under a form, yet the committee laid down a general rule to themselves, as they declared afterwards, not to change any thing for the sake of novelty, and because it had been used before. They determined to retain every thing which had been practised in the primitive church, cutting off the abuses which had been grafted on them in later ages, and to continue the use of other things, indifferent in their nature, tho their original was not of early date; lest the laying them aside should alienate the people from the other changes which were necessary. In this the reformers imitated the example of CHRIST himself; who did not only comply with the rites of Judaism, but who framed the prayer he gave his disciples on the forms they had in use; and

even in his two great institutions, of baptism and the eucharist, accommodated them to the customs of the Jewish church.

In searching all the former offices, there was such an infinite deal of superstition, in the consecration of water, fire, salt, incense, bread, ashes, bells, images, altars, crosses, vessels, garments, palms, and flowers, that they looked like the rites of heathenism, and to have sprung from the same fountain. But these had all drawn the people to such a confidence in them, that they generally believed they might make themselves sure of heaven by these observances without the harder terms of virtue and a good life. It was necessary therefore that these vain devices, which had no foundation in scripture, and which served to draw men from an application to God thro CHRIST, according to the method of holiness in the gospel, should be one and all extirpated without exception. But in no part of the service was the corruption more remarkable than in the absolution of the priests to the living and to the dead. To such as confessed, the absolution run in the following words: "I absolve thee in the name of the Father the Son and the Holy-Ghost; and I grant to thee that all the indulgences, given or to be given thee, by any prelate, with the blessings of them, all the sprinklings of holy water, all the devout beatings of thy breast, the contritions of thy heart, this confession, and all thy other devout confessions, all thy fastings, abstinences, almsgivings, watchings, disciplines, prayers, and pilgrimages, and all the good thou hast done or shalt do, and all the evils thou hast suffered or shalt suffer for God, the passions of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the merits of the glorious and blessed virgin MARY, and of all other saints, and the suffrages of all the holy catholick church, turn to thee for the remission of these and all other thy sins, the increase of thy merits, and the attainment of everlasting rewards." When extreme unction was given to dying persons, and applied to the nose, lips, or ears, or other parts, it was accompanied with this prayer: "by this holy unction, and his own most tender mercy, and by the intercession of the blessed virgin, and all the saints, may God pardon thee whatever thou hast sinned, by thy smelling, speaking, or hearing," and so in other parts of the body: and when it was laid in the grave, this absolution was said over it; "The LORD JESUS CHRIST, who gave to ST. PETER and his other disciples a power to bind and loose, absolve thee from all the guilt of thy sins; and in so far as is committed to my weakness,

ness, be thou absolved before the tribunal of our LORD, and may thou have eternal life and live for evermore." These ceremonies had possessed the world with a conceit, that there was a trick or charm for saving souls, besides the plain method of holiness which CHRIST had instituted in his gospel, and that the priests had the secret of it in their hands. An abuse of this sort called aloud for a remedy from the reformers; when what the scriptures had taught could be attained only thro JESUS CHRIST, upon a firm belief in his gospel, and an uniform obedience to the precepts of it, was now ascribed to so many other causes, about which CHRIST and his gospel had been wholly silent. But this was not all which wanted correction.

The old service of the church had been all in Latin, under a pretence that it was a part of the communion of saints, that the worship of God should be every where in the same tongue. But the truth was, they had not only a mind to raise the value and authority of the priestly function, by keeping all the divine offices in a tongue not understood, but there were such prayers, hymns and lessons belonging to many of the holy-days, which contain, or relate to such ridiculous legends, as could not be red in the vulgar tongue without the scorn and scandal of the people. It was therefore determined, that all these should be expunged, and that the whole service should be translated into the English tongue. The morning and evening prayers were put almost in the same method in which we use them at this day, except that there was no confession nor absolution, and the service began with the LORD's prayer. In the office for the communion, the ten commandments were not said as they are now; and there was a commemoration of thanksgiving for the blessed virgin and all departed saints, who were commended to the mercy and the peace of God. The offertory was to be made of bread, and wine mixed with water; and crossing the elements was retained in the consecration: and tho anciently the bread was put in the people's hands, yet because some might carry it away, and apply it to the purposes of superstition, it was ordered to be put by the priest into their mouths. In all other respects, the office for the communion was much the same that is now in use. In the office of baptism, besides the forms which we still retain, there was a cross at first made on the child's forehead and breast, with an adjuration of the devil to go out of him, and to come at him no more. Then the priest was to take the child by the right hand, and to place him within the font, where he was three times

times to be dipped ; once on the right side, once on the left, and once in the breast, which was to be discreetly done : but if the child was weak, it was sufficient to sprinkle water on his face. In confirmation, those who offered themselves were to be examined in the catechism, which having a formal engagement in it to make good the baptismal vow, was all that was asked, and then the bishop, signing them with the sign of the cross, was to lay his hands upon them, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy-Ghost. The sick, who desired to be anointed, might receive the unction on the breast or forehead only ; with a prayer “ that as their body was anointed outwardly with oil, so they might receive the Holy-Ghost with health, and victory over sin and death. At funerals, the minister recommended the soul departed to God’s mercy, and prayed that his sins might be pardoned, that he might be delivered from hell, and carried to heaven, and that his body might be raised at the last day.

The church of Rome had laid such a stress on the indispensable necessity of the sacraments, that the people were taught to believe, that by the very action itself, without the inward grace and disposition of the mind, they were sufficient to justification, unless the receiver himself prevented it ; and this seems to have given rise to the homilies about justification. If the reformers who opposed this notion, and who thought that men were justified by the internal acts of the mind, had stopped at this ; the controversy would have been managed with much more advantage, which was now in a great measure lost by descending to unscriptural and minuter subtelties. In the church of Rome, pursuant to their belief of the indispensable necessity of the sacraments, they allowed women to baptize in extreme cases ; and as they believed also, that a simple attrition with the sacraments were sufficient to salvation in those who were grown up, so upon these grounds the sacraments were administered to the sick. On the other hand, the reformers judged the sacraments necessary, where they could be had, as appointments instituted by CHRIST : and tho they thought it expedient, that baptism should be administered rather in the church than in private houses, yet they apprehended it savoured too much of superstition to the walls or fountains of churches, that, where children thro infirmity, or the inclemency of the weather, could not be carried thither without danger, their baptism should be refused. As for the other sacrament, believing with the primitive church that none should be denied it in their extremities, they ordered the communion to be
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given the sick ; and before it was so given, that their consciences should be examined by the priest ; who should likewise exhort them to do all that was then in their power to testify their repentance, by forgiving injuries, and making restitution of what they had unjustly gotten. This however has not been sufficient to efface the popish superstition at this day, in the minds of many protestants, that the priests absolution, with the sacrament, and a slight sorrow for sin on the bed of death, will be a sufficient passport to secure their admittance into heaven. The whole liturgy being thus compiled, was published with a preface concerning ceremonies, the same that is still in the common prayer book written with great judgment and temper ; and the book was made ready against the next meeting of the parliament. It was long under consideration by the compilers of the liturgy, whether the surplices, copes and other vestments, appropriated to the priests officiating in churches, should be laid aside, or continued. On one side it was said, that these garments were part of the train of the mass, and had been abused superstitiously in order to set it off with the more pomp. On the other side it was replied, that as white was the colour of the priest's garments in the Mosaic dispensation, so it was a natural expression of the purity and innocence which became their order : besides, the clergy were then generally so extremely poor, that they could scarce afford themselves decent clothes for the public service of the churches, which might bring the service itself into contempt ; and it was therefore at last determined to continue them.

Notwithstanding a restraint had been put on preaching, as we have seen, without a licence from the king or the several bishops, in order to prevent the rash contentions of indiscreet and furious men, yet this had not the effect which was intended. This prudential regard to the weakness and the prejudices of the people, was, by all those of the party who had more zeal than knowledge,---which is the case of the majority in all the parties in the world---called a political patching ; and they wanted all the superstitions to be swept away at once. In answer to this, it was said by the archbishop, that if they were too forward in changing they might in their haste change for the worse ; and great care was to be taken not to provoke the people too much, lest in the infancy of the king, or some ill conjuncture of affairs, they might be disposed to raise commotions up and down the kingdom. He desired them to recollect the compliance and condescension of CHRIST and his apostles for the prejudices of the

Jews, when the Mosaic law was to be abolished: and if they, who were cloathed with a power of working miracles for the conviction of the world, condescended so far to human weakness, it was much more seasonable for them who had no such power, and who disclaimed an authority over the conscience, to persuade the people by gentleness, and by slow degrees, to forsake their error and superstition, rather than by haste, and impetuosity. But this was not considered with that calmness, which the good sense and spirit of it deserved: and the pulpits generally contending with one another about the changes that were made and to be made, the power of granting licences to preach was taken from the bishops of each diocese, and confined to the king, and the archbishop.

At the latter end of this year the parliament met; and the first bill that was gone thro was about the marriage of priests. But the bill only providing that married men might be made priests, a new bill was framed that priests might marry. This went thro the house of commons in six days, but it was six weeks before the lords; and passed at last with a protest of nine bishops, and four temporal barons. It was acknowledged in the preamble, that it were better for the clergy to live unmarried, if they could, in order to be less distracted with worldly cares. But as great filthiness of living with other inconveniences had followed on the laws and canons compelling the celibacy of the clergy, therefore they were now repealed by this act. There was no act of parliament in this reign, that met with more opposition, and more severe censure than this; and there was no law which the reformers had more considered. But as I have already made some reflexions on this subject, in the former volume, which are principally the sentiments on which the reformers went, there is no occasion to repeat them here. The debate about it was brought into the convocation, and it was taken up with so much confidence, by some divines of the first rank, who had resolved themselves never to marry, that notwithstanding an opposition in both houses, it passed at last here, as well as in parliament, by a great majority. The act however was rather a connivance, or permission of clergymen to marry, than any immediate and authoritative allowance: and therefore as the advocates of celibacy continued to reproach the married clergy, and some indecent marriages amongst them aggravated this reproach, a fuller act was made concerning it about three years afterwards, as shall be taken notice of in its proper place.

The next bill which was brought into this parliament, and which passed indeed before the other, was to confirm the new liturgy, set forth in the book of common prayer and administration of the sacraments. In a long preamble to this act, the inconveniences of the former offices are set forth, and the pains that had been taken to reform them: and as the archbishop and other learned bishops and divines, had at the king's commandment, and with the aid of the Holy Ghost, concluded on an order of divine worship with one uniform agreement, it was therefore enacted, that from the feast of Whit Sunday next all divine offices should be performed according to this book; and that such of the clergy as should refuse it, or continue to officiate in any other manner, should suffer six months imprisonment for the first offence and forfeit a year's income of their benefice, for the second should suffer imprisonment for a whole year and be deprived of all ecclesiastical preferment, and should be imprisoned for the third offence during life. If the book was ridiculed or burlesqued, or any clergyman was menaced to officiate any otherwise than was directed by this book, it was to be punished with imprisonment and fines. There was a proviso at the end to make it lawful for all men, as well in churches or chapels or oratories or other places, to use openly any psalms or prayers taken out of the bible, at a proper time, so these in the book were not omitted. This proviso was to countenance the singing psalms, which had been turned into verse, and were much sung by those who loved the reformation. But as our language and poetry has been since much improved, and this work which then might pass for a tolerable composition has not been reviewed or altered, hence it is that this part of divine worship has not preserved its due esteem. For it is not to be doubted, that the singing praises to God, is a great improvement of devotion; there being but few people of so hard a make, and so rough an ear, as not to feel their affections raised and excited by numbers and musick. For this reason it was made a part of the public service in the temple at Jerusalem; and when our Saviour instituted the supper, we are told, that he sung an hymn with his disciples. Indeed many of the psalms of DAVID, relating only to his victories, or containing passages in them not easily understood, it were better that these had been omitted, and that there had been no version of any which were not adapted to Christian worship. But to return. The preamble of the act which confirmed the liturgy, was much censured by those who did not like the book. It was thought by some, to be assuming

too much, to say that it was drawn by the aid of the HOLY GHOST ; tho it was evidently to be understood in no other sense, than as all good motions and consultations are directed or assisted by the influence of the Holy Spirit, and not as if it had been inspired by any direct illumination. Others censured it, because it was said to be concluded by an uniform agreement, tho four of the bishops employed in drawing it up had protested against it. But tho it is true that they protested against the act, yet they all concurred in composing the book, which was the fact set forth in the preamble : and whether they were afterwards dissatisfied with any part of it, or whether they disliked the severe penalties under which it was imposed which led them to protest against the act, does not appear ; but they did certainly protest against it to the surprize of every body.

The next business of this session which concerns the church, was an act against eating flesh on fasting days, and in time of lent. In the preamble it is said, that tho it is clear by the word of God, that there is no day nor kind of meat purer than another but that all are in themselves alike ; yet many out of sensuality had contemned such abstinence as had been used formerly as a means to virtue and to subdue men's bodies to their soul and spirit : and since such abstinence was also necessary to encourage the trade of fishing, and for saving flesh, therefore it was now enacted that no one without a licence from the king, or except they were sick and weak, should eat flesh on Fridays, Saturdays, Ember days, and in Lent, or on any other days which should be declared fish days, under severe penalties. Another bill was brought in for ecclesiastical jurisdiction, on a complaint of the vice and immorality which so much abounded, and which the clergy could neither restrain nor punish. But the temporal lords were so jealous from the remembrance of former times, of putting power in the hands of churchmen, especially to correct those vices of which themselves perhaps were the most guilty, that the bill was laid aside. The only act which remains of this session of parliament, with which I shall trouble the reader, was an act for the true payment of predial and personal tithes ; but the clause about the latter is in such ambiguous terms, that it has proved of little benefit ; and the clergy in market towns, where there are no predial tithes, have generally a very slender and precarious income. Having passed these bills relating to the church, with a few more which concerned the state, the parliament and convocation granted the

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king a subsidy for the war with Scotland: and after thanking him for the great quietness they enjoyed under him, and for applying all his endeavours to the advancement of true religion, they were prorogued to November following.

The first thing which was taken care of, after the rising of the parliament, was enforcing the act of uniformity, for which another visitation was ordered all over the kingdom; the archbishop having made one of his own diocese a little before. It was much complained of that the priests read the prayers in the new service, with the same tone of voice that they had used formerly in the Latin; which made it almost as unintelligible to the people. An order was therefore issued by the visitors, that in all parish churches, the service should be read in a plain and audible voice; and that the former method might remain in the cathedrals where there were great choirs who were well acquainted with it, and where it agreed better with the musick that was used in the anthems: but even there it was by many people judged improper for the litany, where the greatest gravity seemed more suitable to the devotion of those addresses. A complaint had been also made, that many of the old rites in the communion service were continued in several places; such as the priests kissing the altar, blessing their eyes, crossing their heads, lifting the book from one place to another, breathing on the bread, shewing it openly before the distribution, with some other gestures and ceremonies in the popish mass: wherefore the visitors were to enjoin the clergy a strict observance of the new office when they celebrated the communion, and that they made use of no other rites than what were there directed. The use of soul masses having been likewise continued secretly by some of the clergy, in which to avoid the penalty of the law they had somebody to communicate with them, and had several of these in one day, it was ordered that the communion should not be sold, as it had been in the trentals, and that there should be but one communion in one church in a day, except on Easter-Sunday and Christmas-day, when there might be one early in the morning, and another nearer noon. The visitors were also instructed to take care, that the praying by the beads should be totally discontinued, which had made the devotion of the vulgar little better than idolatry; and that every six weeks the curate should teach and expound the catechism. Besides these instructions, to the visitors, the council sent an order to the bishop of LONDON, that there should be no special masses in St. Paul's

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church, that it might be an example to all the rest, and that there should be only one communion at the great altar, and at the time when the high mass was wont to be celebrated before. BONNER, being determined to comply in every thing, that they might take no advantage against him, sent the order of council to the dean and chapter to see it obeyed : and indeed the book of common prayer was so universally received, that the visitors made no complaint of its being rejected in any part of the kingdom, except by the princess MARY, who continued to have mass said publicly in her house. Upon this information the council wrote to her, requiring her to conform herself to the laws, and not to cast a reproach on the king's government by her disobedience : at the same time they desired she would send her chaplain and comptroller to them, by whom she should be more fully informed of the king's and council's pleasure. In answer to this letter, she told them plainly that she could not obey the laws they had made, neither did she esteem them of any force ; since they were made when the king was not of age, and contrary to those of her father, which they were all bound by oath to maintain. She excused sending her chaplain because of his ill health ; and her comptroller could not be spared. The council, we may imagine, were not very well pleased with this contemptuous answer ; and they sent a peremptory order for the chaplain and comptroller to attend upon them immediately. The princess resenting this incivility from the council, sent them another letter ; in which she says, she was subject to none of them, nor would obey any laws they made, but she would pay a ready obedience and subjection to the king. Her officers however thought fit to appear according to their summons : and they were ordered by the council to inform the princess, that tho the king was in his minority yet his authority was the same as it ever would be ; and that tho they as individuals were all inferior to her grace---which was then her title---yet when they met in council, they acted in the name of the king, and had the same authority as the king himself : they had indeed sworn to obey the laws of his late majesty whilst they were in force, but as these were now repealed in parliament, they were no longer laws ; other laws having passed instead of these, which all the subjects without exception were obliged to obey. But this affair was for some time laid asleep : the princess desired the emperor to interpose, and he got a promise from the English ministers at his court, that she should be allowed the exercise of her religion, which the council in England had political reasons at that time for consenting to.

The reformation of the principal errors in divine worship being thus established, it was the archbishop's care in the next place to settle a form of doctrine according to the scriptures. The chief point which was yet untouched, was the real presence of CHRIST in the sacrament: and it is difficult to determine whether this was more ignorantly contended for by the clergy, or more blindly believed by the people. The clergy had always looked upon this, as their strong hold, and it was now the only support of their falling power: the people imagining they received the very flesh of CHRIST, esteemed it the greatest privilege which a Christian could enjoy; and thus it was magnified by the one, and insisted upon by the other, with equal zeal. It was therefore thought necessary, that this point should be fully opened and considered, before any change should be made in the doctrine of the church about it. To this purpose disputations were held publicly on this subject in both the universities. At Oxford, the popish party taking advantage of the lenity of the government, and of the archbishop's gentleness in particular, behaved with great insolence, and disturbed the divinity professor in his lecture. The professor, who was PETER MARTYR, a German invited over by CRANMER, complained of this behaviour; and being convened before the vice-chancellor together with those who had made the tumult, he offered to defend the doctrine he had read in the divinity chair, in scripture terms, but not in the terms of schoolmen. But in this lay the chief strength of the popish doctors; who had little other learning but a dexterity of playing an argument from hand to hand, in a kind of gibberish of their own which had something sublime in the sound, but stripped of this language had nothing in it. By constant practice they were become very nimble at this sort of legerdemain; of which ERASMUS, and SIR THO. MORE, and other learned men of that age, had made such sport, that it was by this time become ridiculous. The protestants, taking advantage of these authorities, laid aside this metaphysical jargon; and introduced a way of disputation from the original texts of scripture with criticism and common sense.

The privy council being informed of this tumult at Oxford, appointed some delegates to hear and preside in the disputation which the professor had undertaken: and accordingly he maintained against three opponents, that in the sacrament of thanksgiving there is no transubstantiation of bread and wine in the
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body and blood of CHRIST; that his body or blood is not carnally or corporally in the bread and wine, nor under them; but that his body and blood are united to the bread and wine sacramentally. But this had the common fate of all public disputes, and each side declared that it had got the better. At the same time RIDLEY was sent to Cambridge with some other delegates, where a disputation was held for three days together, in order to prove, that transubstantiation was not to be found in the plain and manifest words of scripture, nor could necessarily be collected from it, nor confirmed by the consent of the ancient fathers; and that there is no other sacrifice and oblation in the LORD's supper, than of a remembrance of CHRIST's death, and of thanksgiving. The debate was summed up with a great deal of temper and learning by bishop RIDLEY, in a strong determination against the corporal presence. The truth is, he was then master of that subject more than any man of the age; for having met with a book of BERTRAM's wrote in the ninth century, in which he who was much esteemed had confuted this notion of the presence of CHRIST's real flesh and blood in the sacrament, the bishop concluded that it was not the ancient doctrine of the church, but had been introduced with other errors and superstitions in the later centuries. He communicated this discovery to the archbishop, and they set themselves to examine it with more than common care; making great collections out of the fathers and other ancient writers to prove the novelty and the absurdity of the opinion. They shewed that all the high expressions which were to be found in CHRYSOSTOM, and other ancient writers on this subject, were only strains and figures of eloquence, in order to raise the devotion of the people in this holy ceremony; tho the following ages had built their opinion on these expressions, and were disposed to believe every thing the more readily as it appeared void of all belief. But this opinion of the real presence having been then so generally received in England above three hundred years, they proceeded gradually in discussing it, that the people might be better disposed to receive what they intended afterwards to establish.

About this time there were several anabaptists from Germany, whom the commotions in that country had obliged to change their residence. Of these there were two sorts; the one who thought that baptism ought to be given to none who were not capable of being instructed, and did not desire it; our Saviour having joined teaching with the order to his apostles to baptize:

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the others denied almost all the principles of the Christian doctrine, and were men of fierce and savage tempers; but being joined in the general name with the former, as denying infant baptism, brought all the anabaptists under an ill character. A complaint being brought to the council that they were disseminating their errors and making proselytes all over the kingdom, a commission was given to the primate, six other bishops, the secretaries of state, and some divines, to search after and examine all these and other hereticks, who were contemners of the common prayer. In the execution of this commission, they were authorized, if they could reclaim the hereticks, to enjoin them penance and absolve them; but if they were obstinate, to excommunicate, imprison, and deliver them over to the secular power. Many of these were brought before them, and persuaded to abjure their former errors. But there was an ignorant conceited woman, called JOAN of Kent, who having taken it into her head, that "CHRIST was not incarnate of the virgin, " whose flesh being sinful he could take none of it, but the word " by the consent of the inward man in the virgin took flesh of " her," there was no dispossessing her of this opinion, and she rejected with scorn all the instruction which CRANMER and others gave her. Upon this the poor woman was adjudged an heretick, and instead of being sent to Bedlam as one disordered in her senses, or pitied as an illiterate ignorant creature not deserving any other notice, was delivered over to the secular power to be burnt. I wish for the honour of the reformation and of the archbishop particularly, that my impartiality as an historian would permit me to conceal a fact of so much just reproach. A report of this obstinate offender being made to the council, the good young king was moved to sign a warrant for burning her as an heretick: but young as he was, he had more understanding in this particular, more humanity, and more of the spirit of CHRIST's religion than all his privy council; and they could not prevail upon him to do it. He thought it a piece of cruelty, like that which the reformers had condemned in papists, to take away the lives of CHRISTIANS for their belief; especially when it seemed to flow from ignorance, or a disordered mind. Upon this the archbishop, who had a great influence over him, was employed to persuade him to sign the warrant. His grace argued from the law of MOSES by which blasphemers were to be stoned, and said a great difference was to be made between errors in doctrine upon other points, and those which immediately contradicted the apostles creed; that the latter were impieties against

God, which a prince as God's deputy ought to punish, in the same manner as the king's council ought to punish offences against his person. Strange, that a man of CRANMER's understanding and good temper, could impose upon himself by such sophistry, in a case of this importance, and so directly contrary to the spirit of CHRIST's religion! Stranger still, that he could employ the engines of authority to burn a hair brained illiterate woman, whom his good sense, his charity, nay his humanity, were called upon to screen from such treatment, if it had proceeded from other people. His arguments rather silenced than satisfied the king, who with tears in his eyes signed the warrant; telling CRANMER, that as he resigned up himself to his grace's judgment in that matter, so if the burning the woman for her opinions was a sin, the sin should lie at his grace's door, and he should answer for it to God. This excellent reply from so young a man, who shewed so much more sense of religion, both with respect to knowledge and temper, than the archbishop himself had in this particular instance, struck CRANMER, as well it might, with a great deal of horror. He took a great deal of pains with her after that being very unwilling to have the sentence executed; and both he and RIDLEY took her into their houses to see if they could persuade her to retract her error. But she continued her insolence, and shewed by the whole tenour of her behaviour, that she was fitter for a mad house than an execution; which in the end brought her to the stake. Sometime after, a Dutchman was condemned, and burnt, in the same manner, for denying CHRIST's divinity, and for saying the Father only was God. These executions, so contrary to the clemency of the gospel, brought a great reproach, and very justly, on the reformers; who, it was plain, were only against burning when they were in fear of it themselves, and who now confessed by this that men of harmless lives might be put to death for heresy. Whatever were the archbishop's motives for this antichristian violence, it is certain it was not owing to any cruelty of temper in him; for no man alive was further from that black disposition of mind, which made it more extraordinary: but it is likewise as certain, that it cast a greater blemish upon his character than any other action of his life; and when he, and RIDLEY, were brought to the stake in the following reign for their opinions, it was considered by many people as a just retaliation on them from providence for the burning of these hereticks. They had however less reason to complain of this severity, since it was a measure which they had dealt out themselves to others; and it was in truth the great blot

blot of the reformation, which there is no excusing. Besides the anabaptists, there was another sort of men of whom great complaint was made in that age with too much reason, and who from dealing much in the scriptures had the name of gospellers, but whose lives were a scandal generally to the doctrine they professed. The opinion of predestination had been much embraced by the reformers on some mistaken passages in the new testament; from which the people had drawn inferences of a strange absurdity not intended by their teachers, but which followed naturally from it. If the moral state of every man in this world and his final condition in the other, was decreed from the beginning, and the decrees of God could not be frustrated, men had nothing to do but to leave themselves to be carried by these decrees; and this conclusion drew some of them into great impiety, and others into despair. This natural effect of the doctrine, monstrous as it was, was not sufficient however to convince them, as it had done the Lutherans, that they had mistaken the parts of scripture on which they founded it; and our reformers still maintained, with CALVIN, the doctrine of these decrees, and contented themselves with admonishing the people not to enter too much into these curiosities, since they were the secrets of God which men could not penetrate; but they did not shew how this consequence did not flow from such an opinion.

It does not belong to this history to give an account of the commotions which broke out at this time in many counties of England, on account of the inclosures which the nobility and gentry were every where making of their lands, to the great distress of the labouring people. The civil historian must be consulted for these transactions. It will be only necessary for me to say, that in Devonshire, besides these grievances the rebels added the grievance of the new religion, which they required with great insolence should be redressed immediately, according to the articles which they sent the council. The archbishop drew a particular answer to these by the order of council, and it was drawn with great spirit. Upon this they relaxed a little of their demand, and confined it to eight articles, about the celibacy of the clergy, the bloody statute, the mass, and other things in the old service. An answer to this was published in the name of the king, in which their rising in arms against him, to which they had been incited by some seditious priests, was alledged to be contrary to the laws of God; that the changes which had been made were not without long and great consultations of
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bishops and learned men; who had reformed the worship of the church, as near to what CHRIST and his apostles had taught and done, as could be; and that all things had been agreed and confirmed in parliament. But nothing prevailed on this enraged multitude till an army was sent against them, by which above four thousand of them were killed or taken; and then that commotion, as well as the others, was at an end.

About this time a visitation of the university of Cambridge was appointed by the duke of SOMERSET, and RIDLEY was one of the chief visitors. But when he came there, as he thought, to remove only some superstitious practices and make some statutes, and found there was a design to suppress some colleges under a pretence of uniting them to others, and to convert some fellowships then appropriated to divinity, to the study of the civil law, he refused to concur with the other visitors, and particularly opposed the suppression of Clare-hall which they begun with. He told them that he could not go along with them in that business with a good conscience; that the church was already so stripped and plundered, that it seemed to him a design was laid to drive religion, learning and politeness out of the land, and therefore he would not concur in it, but should desire leave to be gone. The other visitors complained of him to the protector; the protector sent him a chiding letter; and RIDLEY wrote him an answer, not like a courtier, but like a bishop who would put every thing to hazard rather than act against his conscience.

The council having been informed, that upon the late commotions many people in London withdrew from the service and communion and frequented masses, this was laid to the charge of the bishop, as being negligent in the execution of the king's injunctions. Wherefore they wrote a letter to him to see to the correcting of these things for the future, and that he should give a good example himself. He executed every order that was sent him, as readily as tho he concurred with them in his heart in every thing, and so he sent about a charge to execute the order in this letter; but still it was observed, that whatsoever obedience he gave it was against the grain, and that he cherished all who were of the old religion. He was therefore called soon after before the council, where a writing was delivered to him complaining of his remissness, and particularly that he seldom or never officiated on the high festivals, as he used to do, since the new service was set out; that adultery was openly practised in his diocese,

diocese, which he took no care to restrain or punish; and therefore he was required to officiate and give the communion at every high festival, to be present always at the sermons at Paul's cross, to reside at his house in London, to punish adultery, to proceed against those who did not frequent the common prayer, and receive the communion at least once a year, and to preach at Paul's cross in three weeks time against rebellion; setting forth the difference between true religion and external ceremonies, and that the king was no less a king, nor less to be obeyed by the people, in his minority, than when he was of full age. He preached on the day appointed, and touched on all the points but the last, of which he said not a single word. The council being informed of this, a commission was issued to CRANMER, RIDLEY, the secretaries of state, and some others, to suspend, imprison, or deprive him, as they should see cause. His behaviour on his trial, was more like a madman than a bishop, both towards his judges, and the witnesses. His chief defence against the main article objected against him, was, that tho he had forgot to speak of the king's power under age yet he had said that which had inferred it; for he had condemned the late rebels for rising against their lawful king, which clearly implied that the king's power was then entire. There was a great deal of formality, and many days were spent in this trial; during which, many endeavours were used to persuade him to submit, and to behave better for the future, with a promise to him of gentler usage: but he would yield to nothing. At length therefore, sentence was given against him; that since he had not declared in his sermon the king's power in his minority as he was commanded by the council, they deprived him therefore of his bishoprick, and imprisoned him till the king's pleasure should be further known. If the commissioners who were to judge him were persuaded that he had not omitted to declare the power of the king in his minority, thro a defect of memory, as he pretended in his defence, but purely on design, they ought to have put him on a new trial, and given him another day to speak upon that point. But to deprive a man of his bishoprick, and then to put him in prison, for omitting to assert the king's power in his minority in a sermon, which he averred too was out of forgetfulness, and which, how much soever they might suspect, they could not prove to be false, was such a stretch of the laws and liberties, if not a contradiction to them, as no partiality to the reformation can excuse. It is true that BONNER, as well as the other bishops, had taken out a commission to hold his bishoprick during the

king's pleasure; and a deprivation therefore by the king's authority might be no illegal act: but then it would have been better to have deprived him on the king's pleasure merely, than to have carried on the farce of a trial, in which all that could be proved against him, and on which they grounded his deprivation, was, that he had forgotten to touch upon one subject out of many that he was ordered to discourse upon. But if we allow that the council had an authority to prescribe the matter, and almost the words, of a sermon to him, which is much to be questioned, and that his disobedience to their order, upon forgetfulness, was a sufficient ground for the king's displeasure who could legally deprive him for it, yet by what law had he incurred imprisonment? The truth of the matter is, BONNER was a man neither beloved nor esteemed by those of his own party, and gave the reformers a good deal of trouble by his secret practises against them: wherefore being resolved to lay him aside, and to put it out of his power to give them any more disturbance, since they could not convict him of any breach of the law, they deprived him by an exertion of the king's authority, and broke the law themselves in order to imprison him.

The public affairs abroad being in much confusion, and the king's treasure being exhausted, a great distraction followed in the council at home; which ended in the fall and imprisonment of the protector. The great advancement he had raised himself to, since the death of HENRY, had by a natural consequence encreased his own pride, and provoked the envy of others. The privy councillors complained that he was become so arbitrary, that he paid little regard to the opposition made to his designs, tho by the majority of the council. The nobility and gentry were disgusted at his siding with the common people against them in the business of the inclosures. The main body of the clergy were much displeased with the changes which he had promoted in religion, as well as at his getting many of the richest manors of the church into his hands: and his building such a magnificent palace in the Strand, called still by the name of Somerset house, on the ruins of several churches and bishops houses, and with the materials of other churches destroyed on purpose, and this in a time of war and of a plague, had much disgusted the people. All these circumstances concurred to beget him many enemies; and tho they proceeded against him on different motives, yet they all agreed in his destruction. The particulars of his accusation, and his fall, which are not pertinent to this

this history, the reader will find in the state historian of those times. I must content myself with observing, that being committed prisoner to the tower and stripped of all his offices, six lords were appointed governors of the king's person; and the earl of WARWICK, without any particular title or designation, assumed by acquiescence, and not by any appointment, the chief direction of all affairs. As the friends of the reformation looked on the fall of the duke of SOMERSET as a public loss to that whole interest, so the popish party on the other hand were much elated at it. The earl of SOUTHAMPTON who had owed the duke a grudge for turning him out of his office, had contributed his share to turn his grace out, and it was now hoped that his lordship would have a great stroke in affairs. If the earl of WARWICK had not given some secret assurances to the heads of that party that he would favour the old religion, in order to procure their assistance to ruin the duke of SOMERSET, yet it was very certain that he sat loose to all religion whatever, and had properly no other principle than his interest. It was therefore the concern of the papists, and they made it their business, to pay great court to the earl of WARWICK; who by some means or other, one does not very well know how, assumed the reins of the government and directed every thing as arbitrarily, as the protector had done by an authority devolved upon him in a formal manner by letters patents. The bishop of WINCHESTER congratulated the earl upon his advancement, and hoped that some regard might be had to him in his imprisonment, when his lordship had leisure from his great affairs. The bishop of LONDON petitioned that his appeal to the king might be received, and the process against him might be reviewed. Many people, taking advantage of this change in the administration, deserted the English service and the communion, and flattered themselves that all that had been done by the protector relating to religion, would be undone by their new governour. But the earl of WARWICK, perceiving the young king so much determined to carry on the reformation, that he could not recommend himself to his majesty, nay that he could not preserve any interest with him at all, without endeavouring to promote it all that was in his power, made a short turn on his friends the papists, and seemed as zealous as the king, or the archbishop himself, in forwarding all attempts to establish the new religion. Bishop GARDINER was obliged to continue still a prisoner; and tho four civilians and four common lawyers were appointed to review the process against BONNER, yet they reported that it had been legally carried on,

on, that the sentence was justly given, and that the appeal was without reason. The earl of SOUTHAMPTON, finding how affairs were conducted, and that he was quite neglected in this change, began to lay a train against lord WARWICK: but his contrivance being discovered, he left the court in the night, and retiring to his house, either poisoned himself, as some say, or, as others say, died of vexation and discontent.

In November this year the parliament met according to its prorogation; in which the first thing that was done relating to the church, was passing an act for appointing thirty two commissioners to compile a body of ecclesiastical laws, in three years, which, not being contrary to the common and statute laws of the land, should be published by the king's warrant under the great seal, and have the force of laws in the ecclesiastical courts. This had been a point attempted twice in the late reign, but it being turned over to an uncertain period had no effect. The present act had remedied this defect, and the fruits of it shall be taken notice of in the proper place. There being one part of the divine offices not yet reformed, which was that for the ordination of priests and deacons, an act therefore passed, appointing that such forms of ordaining ministers as should be set forth by the advice of six bishops and six divines, to be named by the king, and authorized by a warrant under the great seal, should after April next be used, and no other. A report having been spread by the popish party, that the new service being only the act of the duke of SOMERSET, the mass book would now be again set up, the council sent a letter to all the bishops of England in order to silence those expectations; requiring all clergymen to deliver, to such as the king should nominate for that purpose, all the missals, breviaries and other offices of divine service of every kind for public or private use, to observe the uniform order in the common prayer set forth by consent of the whole realm, and to take care particularly that bread and wine was provided for the communion on Sunday in every church. But this not being judged a sufficient declaration of the zeal and resolution of the reformers, an act passed in this parliament, requiring not only all these books to be destroyed by the bishop or other ordinary of every diocese, but also that every image of a saint belonging to any church or chapel should be defaced, and in all the primmers set out by the late king the prayers to the saints should be blotted out. The hopes of the popish party were not only blasted by this vigorous measure, but they were greatly disappointed in seeing the duke
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of SOMERSET enlarged and pardoned; the parliament having only laid a fine upon him which was remitted by the king.

The parliament being prorogued, the commissioners appointed to prepare the forms of ordination undertook the work. They found that in the scriptures, and in the apostolical constitutions, nothing more was used than imposition of hands, and prayer; and that the anointing of priests, giving them consecrated vestments, and delivering them the vessels for consecrating the eucharist, with a power to offer sacrifice to God for the dead and living, were additions of a late invention, particularly the last, and set up to support the belief of transubstantiation, without any ground in scripture, or the practise of antiquity. They agreed therefore on a form of ordaining bishops, priests and deacons, which, except the variation of a few words, is the same that is now in use. Thus all those superadded rites were cut off which the later ages had brought in, in order to dress up these performances with the more pomp. All the commissioners agreed in the form that was drawn up, except HEATH bishop of Worcester, who would not consent to the reformatations which were proposed. The council called him before them, and required him to agree to the alterations: but the bishop persisting in his incomppliance they committed him to the Fleet; which was another severity contrary to the liberties, if not the laws, of England. He was a man of a gentle temper, and great prudence; but he had hitherto opposed every step in parliament that tended to a reformation; and it was determined at this time, to put all those out of the way who submitted out of fear or interest to save their preferments, and were ready upon every favourable opportunity to return again to the old superstition.

Bishop BONNER having been deprived in the manner that has been related, it was resolved at the beginning of the next year to fill the see of London: and RIDLEY bishop of Rochester, being not only the most learned, but the most zealous bishop for the reformation of any upon the bench, was promoted to it. The see of Westminster being also vacant at this time by the translation of its bishop to the see of Norwich, and it being thought unnecessary to have two bishopricks so near one another, some of the courtiers, who thirsted after the lands of both, procured Westminster to be united to London; and RIDLEY had a thousand pounds a year allowed out of the rents, and a licence to hold a prebend of Canterbury and Westminster in commendam.

The council were now endeavouring to negotiate a treaty of marriage, between the princess MARY and the prince of PORTUGAL, and an ambassadour was sent to prosecute that matter at the emperor's court. Whether this flowed from the ambitious designs of the earl of WARWICK, which made it necessary to send her out of the way, or from the uneasiness she gave the council by persisting in the old religion, is not certain; but it is evident that they had a desire to get rid of her. The ambassadour was also to represent to the emperor, that the council had hitherto connived at her having mass, in hopes that she would conform herself to the laws of the realm, which were very strict upon that head; but that she had abused his majesty's favour, and kept an open church, as it were, for saying mass in her house. But the emperor was so far from paying any regard to this remonstrance against his cousin, that he soon after forbid the ambassadour to have the English service in his house. Upon information of this in England, the council forbid the emperor's minister here having the mass said in his house. The emperor complained of this as a violation of the dignity of that character, without reflecting that he set the example: but the council stood firm and would not recall their order 'till the emperor had first recalled his own.

The imprisonment of the bishop of WINCHESTER almost two years in the Tower, without any proceedings against him, had raised a great clamour, and alarmed the whole party both at home and abroad. Some of the lords of the council were therefore sent to him with a paper for him to sign, acknowledging his faults for which he had been justly punished, and containing many articles relating to the king's supremacy, the common prayer book, and other alterations which they had made in religion. He set his hand to the articles, but would not sign the preface acknowledging that he had been guilty of any fault. In a few days RIDLEY was sent to him with a more general acknowledgment, and some other articles; but he would trouble himself, he said, with no more articles whilst he remained in prison, since he desired not to be delivered out of his troubles in the way of mercy but of justice. Upon this he was brought before the council, where he desired to have a trial for the grounds of his imprisonment, and then he would answer them in all other things. But they requiring him to subscribe all the articles they had sent him, and he refusing, his see was put under sequestration, he was required to obey within three months under pain of deprivation, and

and he was confined to his chamber in the Tower. This was most certainly very contrary to the liberties of Englishmen, and the form of all legal proceedings: and if it did not favour too much of a court of inquisition, it was a tyrannical way of treating a prelate and a peer of the realm, which did but too much pave the way for the illegal severities in the following reign, which some of the reformers themselves smarted under. There were some things it seems gathered from the canon law, and the way of proceeding "ex officio," which, as the king by his supremacy stood then in the room of the pope, were pleaded in defence of this arbitrary measure: but it was surely rather an excuse, than a justification.

The see of Gloucester becoming vacant at this time, the earl of WARWICK recommended HOOPER, a very popular preacher and a zealous protestant; but who, having resided in Switzerland and imbibed some odd notions there, was the means of introducing those disputes about things indifferent, which have had since that time such a fatal consequence in the church. Tho he accepted the king's nomination to the bishoprick, yet he refused to be consecrated in the episcopal habit, and CRANMER would not consecrate him without it. The most sensible men are not without their weaknesses and whims. HOOPER was a man of learning, and a man of parts; but he had taken it into his head, that as these sacerdotal vestments were mere human inventions, brought into the church by custom or tradition, and invented chiefly for celebrating the mass, and consecrated for that use, so they were therefore among the ceremonies condemned by St. PAUL as beggarly elements. In answer to this it was told him by the archbishop, and RIDLEY, that tho tradition in matters of faith was justly to be rejected, yet in rites and ceremonies which were indifferent, custom alone was a good argument for the continuance of that which had been long used. As to what St. PAUL had said of the Jewish ceremonies, it was said because they were contended for as necessary; which imported that the Moisaical law was not abrogated, nor the MESSIAH come: but when the mere observation of them, without any opinion of such necessity, was a likely method to win the Jews, the apostles used circumcision, and purified themselves in the temple: and if they who had such an authority condescended thus to the weaknesses and prejudices of men, it was certainly becoming subjects to submit to the laws in things indifferent. If superstitious consecrations was a good reason for laying aside the sacerdotal habits,

bits, it was likewise a good reason for demolishing all the bells and churches in the kingdom, which had been baptized and consecrated with many ceremonies of superstition. The archbishop therefore required HOOPER to conform himself to the law; and in the mean time, his grace, having joined to his other excellent qualities a singular modesty and distrust of himself, wrote to BUCER, a German divine whom he had brought over hither and settled at Cambridge, for his opinion in the point in dispute. The earl of WARWICK, being informed of HOOPER's scruples about the oath of supremacy, as well as about the episcopal habit, wrote a letter to the archbishop, desiring him not to insist upon these ceremonies, and assured him it was the king's request as well as his own. But the archbishop, who had neither power nor inclination to gratify such singularities, not only refused to comply, but suspended HOOPER from preaching till he would conform himself to the laws. The king was then moved by my lord WARWICK to write to CRANMER, and to discharge him from all penalties, and forfeitures, which his grace might otherwise be liable to, in dispensing with these usual rites, to which HOOPER had an objection. But as the archbishop could not comply with the king's request without violating the laws and incurring a premunire, so it was pushed no further by his majesty, till HOOPER had satisfied himself by consulting with BUCER, and PET. MARTYR. The latter wrote him a letter in answer to all his objections; which, being fuller than BUCER's letter to the archbishop, but exactly conformable to the sentiments expressed in it, I shall give in substance to the reader. He tells him, that in the business of religious rites he was for keeping as close as possible to the holy Scriptures, and the most uncorrupted ages of the church: but however, that he could not go so far as to believe, that the substance of religion was affected by the clothes we wear; and that he thought things of this nature, altogether indifferent, and left to our liberty by the word of God. He commends HOOPER for his pains in preaching, but advises him not to exert his zeal upon points that are indefensible, and things of little moment; lest the people should from thence be led to call in question the judgment of the reformed preachers, and give no credit to what they delivered in the most important articles. He reminds him, that an abstinence from things strangled and from blood was a part of the Jewish institution; and yet that the council at Jerusalem commanded the Gentiles to observe it, in order to avoid giving offence. In answer to one objection of HOOPER's, "that we
" ought to have an express warrant from scripture, for every
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“ thing belonging to religion,” MARTYR tells him, that if the general rules of order were observed, the governours of the church had a discretionary latitude in little matters. Thus for instance, our receiving the communion in a church, in a forenoon, not in a declining posture and in a congregation of men only, stands upon no other than ecclesiastical, that is, human authority; to which, he presumes, that HOOPER has always submitted without any scruple. He tells him further, that it would be difficult to produce any warrant from the new testament for singing psalms in public worship; and that the Christian church from the beginning had in many particulars had a regard to the Jewish polity, particularly in the great festivals of Easter, and Whit-Sunday. Supposing, what he could not grant, that the episcopal habit and vestments were introduced into the church by the see of Rome, yet he did not think the contagion of popery so very malignant as to carry infection to every thing which it touched; that to govern by such narrow maxims as these would lay an inconvenient restraint upon the church of God; and that our ancestors moved much more freely, who made no difficulty of turning Heathen temples into Christian churches, and of translating the revenues sacred to idolatry, to pious uses, and the maintenance of the clergy. This is an abstract of the answer which MARTYR gives upon this dispute; which is not only sufficient to let us see the strength of HOOPER’s prepossession and the small extent of his judgment, but sufficient also to silence the cavils of those who have taken up his prejudices, and grounded their dissent from the church upon them. Whilst this correspondence was carrying on, HOOPER, being denied the liberty of the pulpit and confined to his house by the council, published a confession of his faith, in which he complained of the privy council; and, as MARTYR tells BUCER in one of his letters, his business was now at that pass, that the best and most pious disapproved of it, and many were much provoked. Upon this he was committed to the custody of the archbishop, who used all his endeavours to bring HOOPER off from his singularities, but without effect. The archbishop shortly after informing the council in a letter, that his prisoner was not content with his nonconformity but had offered to prescribe rules on this head to the public, the council ordered his grace to send him to the Fleet; where at present we must leave him, and turn to other affairs.

In this year POLIDORE VIRGIL, who had been near forty years
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in England, desired leave to go nearer the sun on account of his old age; and in consideration of the public service he was thought to have done the nation by his history, he was permitted to hold his prebend, and archdeaconry of Wells, notwithstanding his absence out of the kingdom. At the same time, bishop VESEY pretending to be extremely aged and infirm, COVERDALE was appointed coadjutor to him in the see of Exeter. How this laudable practise, which seems so necessary, came to be discontinued in the church, I cannot discover: but I apprehend that the episcopal office and character has been much dishonoured, by many of our bishops continuing till their deaths in the full possession of their revenues, without a coadjutor, notwithstanding their inability to discharge the duties of their function for many years, through age, and other infirmities. For since men of other professions retire from public employment, when they are not in a condition to acquit themselves of it properly, I have been often asked in conversation, whether the office of a bishop was insignificant, or whether they were more avaritious than other men, by paying a greater attention to heap up riches for their families, when they were become useless and unserviceable, than to the care of religion and the interest of the church. This is a question which has been put to me very often by men of rank, and of a grave and serious character; not out of petulance, I believe, or envy, but out of real regard to the public good. I can answer however for the purity of my own intention, in taking this occasion to express my wishes, that the ancient practise of appointing a coadjutor, with a proper share of the revenues of the see, when a bishop is incapable to discharge all his duty, was revived in the church of England. We live in an age, it is very certain, when all the returns of this kind to primitive discipline that can be made, are absolutely necessary: and if they began, where an example is so prevalent and conspicuous, there is good ground to hope, that the consequence to religion and the church would be very great. Let my zeal however for the sacred order, to which I have the honour to belong, be my apology for this digression; which I hope will not be thought impertinent or assuming. I shall now go on with the history.

About the latter end of this year, a review of the common prayer book was set on foot; in which many things had been prudentially continued, in condescension to the prejudices of many of the bishops as well as the people, and about which the archbishop had consulted BUCER. In this year the king began
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to write a journal of his reign, having for three years before made short memorandums of important passages; the whole of which is transcribed by bishop BURNET, and shews a great probability of mind as well as a surprizing genius. The new bishop of LONDON visited his diocese this summer; in which, besides the common articles of enquiry, into the labours, doctrines, lives, and charities of the clergy, he asked whether they spoke in favour of the bishop of Rome, or against the use of the scripture, and the common prayer book; whether they stirred up sedition, or sold trentalls or the communion, and used private masses; whether any anabaptists or others held private conventicles, with opinions and forms that were not established; and whether any observed the holy-days that were abrogated, or the rites that were extirpated. To these he added some injunctions, relating to the popish superstition, which many of the clergy were still much inclined to, and for which they had been but gently, if at all, reproved by BONNER. But the chief business of his injunctions, was changing the altar to a communion table, in order to turn the people from the superstition of the popish mass, and to the right use of the eucharist. The thought of this was first suggested by HOOPER, sometime before, in a sermon he preached at court; in which he said, that as long as the altars continued, both ignorant people, and ignorant priests, would always dream of sacrifice. It is certain there are many passages in ancient writers, which shew that the communion tables were of wood, and made in the form of tables; for those who fled into the churches for sanctuary hid themselves under them. But the eucharist being accounted a sacrifice of praise, as well as a commemorative sacrifice of the oblation which CHRIST made upon the cross, the communion table was called an altar, and the form of it was also changed. However as this contributed to support the belief of an expiatory sacrifice in the mass and the doctrine of transubstantiation, and yet the name of it was always figurative, it was now therefore determined to change the form and place of them in the church. In consequence of this resolution, bishop RIDLEY enjoined the curates and churchwardens to provide a table decently covered; and placing it in such part of the choir and chancel as should be most convenient, should put down all Bye-altars. In a few months after, a letter was sent to the bishop from the council, importing, that tho altars had been taken down in many places on good considerations, yet they still continued in others, to the breach of the peace and harmony of the church; and commanding him therefore to remove
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all the altars in his diocese, and to set up tables in their room. With this letter several reasons were sent to justify the alteration; which the bishop was to send some discreet preachers to declare, in such places as he thought convenient, that weak people might not be shocked at this new appearance. The reasons were to this effect; that as an altar was for sacrifice, so a table, which was for eating, was more proper for the sacrament of the LORD'S supper; that in the book of common prayer, the terms altar and table were used promiscuously, without prescribing any thing about the form of them, so that this change would not occasion any change in the liturgy; and that altars were erected for sacrifices under the law, which being abrogated by the MESSIAH, who had instituted the eucharist not at an altar but at a table, it was fit that the altars should be abolished also. These were the reasons for ordering the alteration, and it was executed this year, not only in RIDLEY'S diocese but throwout the kingdom.

It has already been taken notice of that the distractions raised all over the nation, by the contradictory sermons of those who were for the old and new religion, gave occasion to a proclamation prohibiting all preaching, except with the licence of the king, or the archbishop of CANTERBURY: but this being much exclaimed against, as encouraging ignorance and licentiousness, the bishops were ordered to appoint their chaplains, or others, at their discretion, to preach in their dioceses notwithstanding the proclamation. The bishop of WORCESTER was now called again before the council, and required to subscribe the office for ordaining bishops and priests, with an assurance of being restored again to the king's favour if he did not refuse. He acknowledged they had used him very gently, but he still said the same he had said before; that he would comply with the office, but he could not sign it. Several of the council argued with him, and offered him more time to consider; to whom he replied, that he knew he could never be of another mind, nor could he consent to some other things, such as the taking down altars and putting up tables in their room. They returned him therefore again to prison, with a charge to subscribe the office of ordination under pain of being deprived. At this time also, DAY bishop of Chichester was summoned before the council, for not obeying their orders in removing altars and setting up communion tables. He said he could not obey the order, and the only reason he could give for his refusal, was, the passage in the epistle to the Hebrews, "we have an altar." It was shewed him by
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some of the council that CHRIST was intended by that altar, and that ORIGEN has told us the Christians in his time had no altars; but all that they could say was of no effect, and the bishop assured them that he would lose all he had rather than obey the order. He was therefore likewise sent to the Fleet; and that I may finish the account relating to him, and HEATH, about the end of the next year, they were both deprived by a commission, and delivered to the bishops of ELY and LONDON to be maintained. There was at this time a very scandalous practise of selling offices and employments; and notwithstanding all the wealth that had been seized on, no schools nor hospitals were yet founded. Nay what is much more extraordinary than all this, there was an order from council to forbear collating GRINDAL to a prebend at St. Paul's, because the king would keep it for his stable. A very warm letter was wrote from RIDLEY to one of the king's preceptors on this order; in which he was very earnest that Mr. CHEER should speak himself, or shew his lordship's letter and let that speak to the council. A great complaint having been made about this time against HÖLGATE archbishop of York, for keeping the wife of another man, the council sent him an order not to come to parliament, and commanded the matter to be examined into. What became of it we are not told, but he was a covetous wretch, and a reproach to the reformation: and it was probably on such accounts, that the young king said of the bishops of his time, as it is reported, "that some for sloth, some for ignorance, some for luxury, and some for popery, are unfit for discipline and government."

The bishop of WINCHESTER having heard in the tower of HOOPER's popularity, sent him a challenge to dispute publicly on the doctrine of the sacrament, and promised to submit to all the laws about religion, if he did not clearly get the better in the dispute. HOOPER accepted the challenge, and the day was fixed; but when the time drew near, GARDINER said he must first be set at liberty, and so it came to nothing. The council soon after had a mind to see whether he would regain his liberty, by complying with what had been required of him; and a commission was directed to the archbishop, several bishops, lawyers, and civilians, empowering them to try him, and to proceed to a deprivation in case he continued obstinate. When he was brought before his judges, he behaved irreverently to the king, and slanderously to the council; excepting against the legality of the commission, and calling his judges hereticks. We have already

seen the particulars alledged against him, which were now said to have been aggravated by his refusing to set forth the king's authority whilst he was under age; as the setting it forth might have prevented the rebellions, and effusion of blood, which happened afterwards, on that pretence. But he appealed from the delegates to the king in person, and they deprived him of his bishoprick for his disobedience and contempt. The next day the council came to the following resolution, that since this prelate had misbehaved himself with regard to the king, and had treated his judges with contumely and contempt, he should be removed to a worse apartment in the Tower, and have but one attendant who should be appointed by the lieutenant; nor should he be allowed any company, nor to send, or receive, any messages or letters. The same censures, and the same justifications, belong to this treatment and that of BONNER; and so I shall not repeat what I said upon that occasion. In eight days after GARDINER's deprivation, POINET was translated from Rochester to his see; and had two thousand marks a year in land out of that wealthy bishoprick assigned him for his subsistence. STORY was made bishop of Rochester in the room of POINET, and VESEY after reserving near five hundred a year for himself during life, and alienating the greatest part of the rest of the bishoprick of Exeter, resigned it to COVERDALE his coadjutor. The bishops of SALISBURY, LANDAFF, and LICHFIELD, tho they complied with the orders for a reformation, yet did it with so ill a grace it seems as discovered their disaffection; and lying exposed to the displeasure of the court, they were forced to compound at high rates to preserve their station. Thus the church of Lichfield was stripped of a great part of its patrimony, to raise a baron's estate for SIR WILL. PAGET. The bishop of SALISBURY bought his peace by making long leases of the best of his farms and manors to some of the great men who thirsted after them: and the bishop of LANDAFF conveyed away almost all the lands of that see, which was then very rich, and let the rest for a low rent upon a long term of years. About this time the council book mentions the king's sending a letter for the purging of his library at Westminster; "to cull out all superstitious books, as masses, legends and such like, and to deliver the garniture of the books, being either gold or silver, to SIR ANTH. AUCHER." These books were many of them richly plated and curiously embossed; which was probably the chief superstition that occasioned this courtier to desire he might have the handling of them. The public library, and the collection of many colleges, in the university

university of Oxford, underwent much the same fate at this time with the king's at Westminster. The books marked with red were generally condemned for popery at a venture; and where circles, and other mathematical figures appeared, they were looked upon as compositions of magick, and either torn, or burnt. This was a monstrous inquisition upon sense and learning; and looks as tho the earl of WARWICK, and some of the visitors, had a further project, and intended to seize the foundations as superstitious.

The affair of HOOPER, which had slept from August to March whilst he remained in the Fleet, was now resumed; and he was brought before the council to explain himself on the difficulties which he had started. The objection which he made to the oath of supremacy, was, the "swearing by God, the saints, and the "holy Gospels," when none but God himself ought to be appealed to in an oath. Upon this the king taking a pen struck out these words with his own hand, and allowed that no creature ought to be sworn by. In this manner the difficulty about the oath was at an end: and the king and council, except RIDLEY and the bishop of ELY, were for yielding the point to him about the vestments. These prelates said, that since the things were by all allowed to be indifferent, they could not consent to so bad a precedent as giving a bishop a dispensation to break the laws, for the sake of his frivolous and peculiar whims. But at length the matter was compromised on these conditions: he was to wear the episcopal habit which was prescribed, when he was consecrated, and when he preached before the king, or in his cathedral, and in any public place; and on other occasions he was dispensed with. On these terms he was consecrated in the usual form; by which he lost much of the popularity he had gained with his declamation and invective against the established rites. He might be a very pious, zealous, and learned man, as bishop BURNET calls him; but his judgment and understanding must be of a very moderate size. If he believed the episcopal habit to be sinful, he could not reconcile himself to the wearing it at all with a good conscience: and if he did not believe it sinful, why all these scruples about wearing it on any, and on every, fit occasion? Why all this affectation of singularity and preciseness against the established usages of the church; and why so much disturbance to the king and council in favour of this singularity? It was the means of introducing a contention into England, which has been more pernicious to the interests of religion and

the church, than I doubt all his labours, if he had lived to this time, would have been sufficient to compensate.

The majority of the bishops being now attached zealously to the reformation, it was resolved to prepare a set of articles which should contain the faith and doctrine of the church of England. Many thought that the reformers should have began first with these; but CRANMER thought otherwise, and he was in the right. The most material corruptions were those in the public worship; and whilst they remained untouched, the addresses to God were so defiled that a compliance with them was indefensible. These therefore required a speedy reformation. But as to speculative points, in which the errors of men were not of such ill consequence, the necessity of correcting them was not so pressing. Besides, it seemed prudential to make the subjects a little familiar in books and public disputations, that they might be well considered before they were determined, it not being so decent to make alterations after; nor would the clergy be brought on a sudden to change their old opinions. For these reasons, and till the bishops were brought to such a model that the greater part of them would agree to it, the confession of faith was not attempted: but it was taken in hand at this time, and made ready for the convocation in the following winter. In what method they proceeded in compiling these articles we cannot tell: it is most probable they were framed by CRANMER and RIDLEY, and sent to others to correct, or add to them, as they thought fit. Except a few alterations made in the reign of queen ELIZABETH they are the same which are now in use; and being in every body's hands they need not be here enlarged on. I have said that the articles were made ready for the convocation; and they appeared full with a title as if they had been agreed on in the synod of London; but it is certain that they were never offered to the convocation, at least to the lower house, and they were published only by the king's authority. The archbishop's reason probably for not bringing them into the convocation, was, as bishop BURNET says, because, his grace had observed many ready to obey orders when they were made, who would not concur at all in making them.

The next thing in which the reformers were this year employed was reviewing the common prayer book, and making such additions and alterations as were found expedient. In the daily service they added a general confession of sins, in a grave and
simple

simple form; intending that those who made this confession, should not content themselves with a bare recital of the words, but should join to them, in their hearts a particular confession of their private sins. This was followed by a general absolution, or pronouncing in the name of God a pardon of sin to those who repented of it truly, and believed the gospel. It was thought that this would have a much better effect, at least that it was much further removed from popery, than that unqualified absolution which the priest was wont to give in confession, saying "I absolve thee;" and which had begat in the undiscerning vulgar an opinion that the priests had an authority to pardon sin. A very powerful engine to destroy religion, and to secure the honour and interest of the priesthood! In order to awaken the consciences of the people, who were observed to come to the sacrament without a serious sense of it, the ten commandments were introduced into the communion office, which were to be solemnly pronounced, the congregation being on their knees as if they were hearing that law promulged anew; and at the end of every commandment, a stop was to be made, for the people to implore the mercy of God for their past offences against it, and his grace that they might observe it for the time to come. In short, the use of oil in confirmation and extreme unction, the prayers in the communion and burial service for souls departed, and the passages in consecrating the eucharist which seemed to favour the belief of the corporal presence, with the use of the cross in that and in confirmation, being all rejected, they brought the whole liturgy to the same form in which we have it at this day; except a few inconsiderable variations which have been made in order to clear some ambiguities. Thus did the great and good archbishop go on unweariedly in his labours for the interest of religion and the church of England; and having completed the reformation of doctrine and worship in it, it remained only now to prepare the laws for its government and discipline, and to make a provision for the clergy. How he acquitted himself in these respects will be seen as we go along; but at present I must lead the reader to other affairs.

The king and council being less afraid of the emperor's displeasure than they were before, the business of the princess MARY's having mass was taken up at this time with more earnest zeal. The promise which had been made the emperor of an indulgence, being only temporary and by word of mouth, the council thought they were not bound to connive any longer at such a

notorious breach of the laws, which might have fatal consequences to the reformation: she was therefore required to conform herself to the new religion that was established, which she refused; and the reasons she gave were, because she would follow the ancient and universal way of worship, and not a new invention that lay within the four seas, and that she would continue in that religion in which her father had instructed her. The king sent her word in answer, that she was a part of the church and nation, and so must conform herself to the laws of it; that the way of worship, now set up was no other than what was consonant to the pure word of God; and that it would but ill become her to argue upon his minority lest she might seem to agree with the late rebels. She was sent for to court after this, and a great deal of pains was taken by CRANMER and RIDLEY to instruct her better: but she refused to hear any thing against her old superstition, or to enter into any reasonings on the late alterations in religion, and obstinately persisted in hearing mass as she had done before. When she found this would not be allowed her, there was a design concerted between her and the emperor's minister to convey her into Flanders; which, absurd as it was in them, was still more absurd in the council to prevent. Had she been out of the kingdom at the time of the king's death, she would have had, I believe, but little or no chance for the crown: and whether there was any thoughts at that time of putting her by the succession or not, her absence was the thing the council should have wished for, as being the only way to extricate them from the perplexity which her obstinacy had thrown them into. They had soon too much reason to perceive their folly, but it was then too late. The emperor's ambassadour solicited violently for an indulgence in her own religion; and protested, if it was not granted, it would be a breach of promise to his master which he would resent in the highest manner. The council having no mind to draw a new war on their heads from such a powerful prince, at a time too when they had many considerable effects in his sea ports, nor provoke too much the next heir in the succession, advised the king to proceed no further, and to leave the princess to her own discretion. But the king, believing the mass to be impious and idolatrous, would not consent to her continuing it any longer. The archbishop, RIDLEY, and POINET, were therefore ordered to talk with him, and to endeavour to get his majesty's consent to this measure. They told him, that tho it was sinful in a prince to permit any sin, yet he was not always obliged to punish it, since a lesser evil connived at might

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sometimes prevent a greater. Whether the king was overcome most by their arguments or importunity, is not certain: he yielded to them however; and, bursting out into tears, lamented his sister's obstinacy, and his own circumstances which obliged him to comply with such impiety. An ambassadour was sent to the emperor to clear up the affair of the promise which he had insisted on; and in the mean time a peace was made with France, which put the council in less apprehensions of his resentment. In a short time after one of her chaplains was sent to the Tower, for saying mass in one of her houses when the princess was not there; and many letters and messages past between her and the council about the liberty which she required, which it is scarcely worth while to relate. The result of them all was this. The lord chancellor and two of the council were sent to her with a letter from the king, and to tell her that she must not be permitted to have private mass any longer, or a form of religion different from what the law established. She received the king's letter on her knees; and when she had read it and heard their message, she answered, "that she was the king's most obedient subject and servant, whom she would obey in every thing where her conscience did not restrain her, and would even die to do him service: but she would lay her head on a block, rather than use any other form of worship than what had been used at her father's death: When the king came to be of age that he could order these things himself she would obey his commands in religion; but tho the good sweet king had more knowledge than any of his years, yet he was not a fit judge in these matters." She took a ring from her finger, and gave it to the chancellor on her knees, desiring him to present it to the king, as a token from her, with her humble commendations and professions of duty to him; but this, says she, will never be told him. In the end she continued to have her priests about her and to hear mass, but so secretly as to give no ground of any public complaint; nor is there any more mention made of her during the remainder of this reign.

The duke of SOMERSET being observed to have his usual access to the king, and to have regained his majesty's wonted favour, the earl of WARWICK wanted to get rid of him; lest he should baffle all his lordship's projects, and in the end perhaps destroy him. To this end he procured a great creation of new honours for himself and all his friends. The lord RUSSEL had been made earl of Bedford, and SIR THO. DARCY lord Darcy the

the year before; and now GRAY marquis of Dorchester was made duke of Suffolk, the earl of WARWICK duke of Northumberland, POWLET marquis of Winchester, and SIR WIL. HERBERT earl of Pembroke. It was necessary to take notice of these promotions, tho no way relating to the history of the church, that the reader might know these peers when mentioned under their new titles in the sequel. The duke of NORTHUMBERLAND not being able to bear such a rival in his greatness as the duke of SOMERSET, and having formed vast projects to himself of getting the crown into his family, contrived to remove him out of the way. It is not the business of a church historian to give a particular account of this transaction. I shall therefore only take notice that the duke of SOMERSET having been accused, on the deposition of some witnesses who were not brought face to face, of intending to seize on the king's person and the administration of public affairs, of imprisoning the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, and of raising an insurrection in the city of London, was tried by twenty seven of the house of lords, condemned for felony, and beheaded. In all probability the young king had been imposed upon by the management of the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND; for his majesty was induced to believe, that his uncle had intended to assassinate that duke, the marquis of NORTHAMPTON, and the earl of PEMBROKE, and that he had even confessed it in the Tower; tho no such design is laid against him in the inditement. As soon as the duke of SOMERSET had received his sentence, great pains were taken to entertain the king with pleasing sights, that he might not reflect upon this strange condemnation. The people were generally much affected with his execution, and many threw handkerchiefs into his blood to preserve it in remembrance of him. Thus fell the duke of SOMERSET; who had as many virtues, and as few faults, says bishop BURNET, as most great men ever had, who are advanced to such dignity so unexpectedly; whilst others looked upon him as a very wicked man who was capable of committing the most heinous crimes. This however is very certain, that as he was condemned only for intending to commit an offence against a private person, so the faults for which he was pardoned, after his first condemnation, were much greater than that for which he suffered death.

The day after his execution, a session of parliament was opened which passed an act to confirm the late alterations in the common prayer, and the new ordination office; requiring the
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new service book to be every where received by the feast of All-hallows next, and that every one should come to common prayers on every Sunday and holy-day, under pain of the censures of the church. It was set forth in the act, that the king, the lords temporal, and the commons, did in God's name require all archbishops and bishops and other ordinaries to endeavour the due execution of it, as they would answer before God for such evils and plagues with which he might justly punish them for neglecting that good and wholesome law. The next act of this parliament relating to the church, was, for regulating the number of holy-days to be observed by dedicating them to the service of God. As the scripture had made no determination of these days, and they were left to the liberty of the church, it was therefore enacted by this bill, that every Sunday with the days marked in the calendar and liturgy, and no others, should be kept as holy-days; and the bishops were to proceed by the censures of the church against the disobedient; provided that labourers or fishermen, if necessity so required, might work on those days either in or out of harvest. But in this, as in all such acts, the people were ready enough to lay hold on the relaxation whilst the stricter parts of it, were little minded; and thus the liberty which was allowed in cases of necessity was turned into licentiousness. The act which I mentioned before about the marriage of the clergy was now passed, without one bishop protesting against it; in which it is set forth, that as occasion had been taken from the wording of the former act, to say that the marriage of the clergy was only permitted for avoiding greater evils; and to slander such marriages to the high dishonour of the king and parliament and learned clergy of this realm, so it was now enacted, that such marriages made according to the rules prescribed in the common prayer book should be esteemed good and valid. The suppression of the see of Westminster, which had been re-united to the bishoprick of London by the council, was now confirmed by parliament; and the collegiate church with its exempted jurisdiction was still continued.

A few days before the meeting of the parliament, TUNSTAL bishop of Durham, was, upon some complaint brought against him of misprision of treason, committed to the Tower. What the particulars of his accusation were, except a letter under his hand, and that he consented to the conspiracy in the north, we are not told; but the secret reason for attainting him, it was very evident, was, that the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, who

intended to erect a great principality for his family in the North, might add to it the jurisdiction of the county palatine of Durham. The bishop had given obedience to every law, and to all the injunctions that had been sent, tho in parliament he had protested against all innovations in religion; thinking he might obey the laws with a good conscience, tho they related to points which he could not consent to till they were made the laws of the realm. He was a man of great candour, great humanity, great learning, and of invincible moderation; which, as they agreed so well with CRANMER's own temper of mind, had occasioned a friendliness between them notwithstanding their different sentiments, but yet did TUNSTAL no good with the bigots of his own religion. When the bill therefore for attainting him of misprision of treason was brought into the house of lords, the peers of his own party sat quiet; but the archbishop took it up, and spoke against it with that warmth and freedom, which became an honest man and a good bishop in support of innocence, but which lost him the friendship of the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND ever after. When his grace's arguments could not prevail against the interest of this duke, and the bill against TUNSTAL passed the house, CRANMER, seconded only by the lord STOURTON, protested against it; and was not even joined in this by the popish lords and bishops who had yet protested against every other act that had passed the house of lords in this parliament. But when the bill was carried down to the commons with the same evidence which had been given in the other house, which were only some depositions that had been taken, the commons moved that his accusers might be had face to face, which had been denied the duke of SOMERSET, and that not being done they dropped the bill. Upon this a commission was issued to the lord chief justice, and some others, to determine the bishop's case: his lordship being brought before them desired council and time to make his answer, which were both denied him. His judges turned accusers and charged him as a conspirator against the king and realm. He protested against every step of their proceedings, and at last appealed to the king. They deprived him however of his bishoprick, but did not attain him of misprision of treason, and he was sent back to the Tower. But this opposition in the case of TUNSTAL was not the only mortification which the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND met with from this house of commons. In passing a new act relating to treasons, besides many severe speeches against those who now bore the sway, they added a proviso, that none should be attainted on this act,

unless two witnesses should come and to their face aver the fact for which they were to be tried, except on their own confession: And in a bill for repealing the act of settlement of the duke of SOMERSET's estate, a clause being inserted when it passed the lords confirming the attainder of the duke and his accomplices, the commons, tho they passed the repeal, yet threw out the clause. The duke of NORTHUMBERLAND perceiving by these measures, how little interest he had in the house of commons, thought it necessary to procure a new one: and accordingly this parliament which was called by the duke of SOMERSET, and had sate above five years, was now dissolved.

Whilst the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND and his friends were busying themselves this summer in procuring a parliament to their satisfaction, the committee appointed to prepare a body of ecclesiastical laws for the government of the church and the exercise of the several functions in it, were making all the haste they could in this work, which alone was wanting to compleat the reformation. Eight commissioners were appointed to prepare it for the inspection of the thirty two empowered by parliament, that being in fewer hands it might be compiled more easily. But so assiduous was the archbishop, as well as so much versed in the canon law above all other men then in England, that he drew up the whole work almost himself: when the eight had considered and corrected it, it was given to the thirty two to revise and perfect, and so to present it to the king. In this manner the work was carried on and finished; but before it received the royal confirmation the king died, and with him this scheme of discipline fell to the ground. For since that time, it has never been taken up and prosecuted with half that care and application which a thing of that importance to the publick should be. The other branch of this scheme, to make a decent and suitable provision for the clergy, was likewise taken into consideration; and a book dedicated to the bishop of ELY, now lord chancellor, was published, in order to shew, that the patrimony of the church had been so scandalously wrested from it, that many clergymen were obliged to subsist themselves upon mean and mechanic employments, and apply themselves to business dishonourable to their function: that such wretched poverty had occasioned ignorance, corruption and inability, which was a reproach to the kingdom, and brought some discredit to the reformation. But tho many expedients were proposed by the archbishop for redressing this calamity, yet some were too timid and others

others were too selfish to give him any assistance; and he had no hopes of procuring such laws as might again recover a competent maintenance for the clergy, till the king should be of age and should promote them by his authority. The bishoprick of Gloucester was this year suppressed and converted into an archdeaconry, and HOOPER was made bishop of Worcester, to which the other see was annexed. In all the vacancies of the sees there were a great many of their best lands taken from them; and the sees that had been before enriched profusely were now brought into so low a condition that it was scarce possible for the bishops to subsist with decency. However if what had been taken from them had been converted to good uses, to make a better maintenance for all the inferior clergy particularly, it had been some mitigation of this public robbery. But the lands were snatched up by every hungry courtier who found this the easiest way to be satisfied in their pretensions: and the world had been so possessed with an opinion of the excessive wealth of the bishopricks, that it was thought they never could be made poor enough. We must now turn to the new parliament, and to the last and fatal year of this young king's life and reign.

The second parliament of EDWARD was opened on the first of March fifteen hundred and fifty three; at which time the king was so ill of a consumptive cough that he was in no condition to go to Westminster, and ordered the two houses to attend him at White-hall. In a few days after the opening of the session, the commons, considering the great debt the king was left in by his father, the loss he put himself to in reforming the coin, and perceiving his majesty to be wholly set on the good of his subjects, granted him a subsidy for two years; in which they were followed by a grant from the clergy in convocation of six shillings in the pound of all their benefices. The duke of NORTHUMBRLAND knowing his interest in this parliament, and having got TUNSTAL deprived in the manner above related, procured an act in this short sessions of a month for suppressing the bishoprick of Durham, that his grace might possess himself of the greatest part of the temporalities. The pretence indeed was the extensiveness of the see, which made the duty too great for one diocesan; and therefore that there should be two instead of one, the one at Durham, and the other at Newcastle. But if this had been any thing more than a pretence for extinguishing that bishoprick, why was two thousand marks only reserved out of the rents for the new see at Durham, and a thousand for that

at Newcastle? Why were not all the rents of the old bishoprick divided and appropriated to the two new ones? and, why were the rest of the temporalities turned into a county palatine, and given to the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND? This parliament seems to have been called for no other purpose than to give the subsidies to the king, and to enable that duke to make this sacrilegious attempt on these temporalities; for after these acts a general pardon was passed, the parliament, which had sate only from the first to the last of March, was that day dissolved. In the preamble to the act of subsidy, there was a severe accusation of the proceedings of the late duke of SOMERSET whilst he was protector; which the friends of the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND had got inserted, that the king, who had already reflected on the execution of his uncle with some concern, might see how well pleased the nation was with his fall. This censure however was opposed so long and so warmly in the house of commons, as to give uneasiness to the minister who directed it, and to make him see that it was not enough devoted to his interest, to be entrusted with the management of the scheme which he had in his head.

In a few days after the dissolution of this parliament, a complaint having been made, that notwithstanding the great accessions of wealth in this reign the exchequer was still very low, a visitation was appointed to examine into the state of the jewels, plate and furniture of every cathedral and church throwout the kingdom, and to compare the account with the inventories that had been taken in former visitations; in order to see not only how much of it had been embezzled, in order to a restitution, but how much might now be spared for the king's use. The remainder of the linnen, after a decent distribution for communion tables and surplices, was to be sold indeed for the use of the poor: but the copes, the altar clothes, the jewels, and all the plate, besides one or two chalices for ever cathedral church and chapel, were to be delivered to his majesty's treasurer of his household. It is impossible to say how much wealth was brought into the king's coffers by this devastating of all the churches of their gold and jewels, their silver crosses and candlesticks, their chalices, and copes of gold and silver tissue: and in this age it is hardly possible that we should have an idea of the wealth which these goods and ornaments amounted to. In the abbey church of Westminster alone, the plate and religious habits and decorations, which the piety of former ages, the solemnities of coronations, the funerals of noblemen and princes had enriched

it with, were of immense value. The young king has been blamed by some historians for setting his hand to a commission for rifling the churches in this manner, as tho his principles were not good. But this is no proof of any ill disposition in that prince. He was, at the time of signing this commission, in such extreme bad health, that it is probable he signed every thing which his ministers brought without examining very nicely what it might import: and it was represented to him as an inoffensive expedient for replenishing his exchequer, by calling in only the superfluous plate, and other furniture, which lay in churches more for pomp than use. At the same time that the earl of SHREWSBURY had these instructions sent him, as president of the North, he was likewise ordered to persuade the people to be obedient chiefly to the laws about religion, and especially concerning the service in their own mother tongue: the abuses of the bishop of Rome were to be inculcated with zeal and earnestness, that the people might apprehend them, and be satisfied about the abrogation of the holy-days appointed by the popes; the observance of which, by leading men into idleness, gave occasion to many vices and inconveniences.

About this time a catechism was published, compiled, as it is believed, by POINET bishop of Winchester, and authorized by the king's letters patents. The book of articles which I have mentioned, and which were never offered to the convocation, were now published, with this catechism before them, by the king's authority. The archbishop apprehending that they would procure a concord in religion which was not to be expected in any other method in so short a time, moved the king and council that the bishops might have authority to make all their clergy subscribe these articles: upon which his majesty issued a mandate to that purpose. When the mandate came to CRANMER, he called the clergy of his peculiar jurisdiction in the city of London, and exhorted them to subscribe the articles, but compelled none; as he affirmed afterwards himself. The mandate to the bishop of NORWICH is still extant, in which it is set forth, "that in order to have an uniform doctrine, and to avoid dangerous errors and opinions, the king had sent him these articles, gathered by learned bishops and fundry of the clergy, which he required him to sign and observe and to cause them to be subscribed by others; giving an account to his majesty of such as shall refuse and preach contrary to them, and admitting none to any benefice or cure without subscribing them, after first in-

structing the clergy if they were ignorant and allowing them six weeks to examine the articles by the scriptures. Then follows an order to receive the catechism, and to take care that it is taught by all school masters, reporting to the archbishop of the province how these directions are obeyed." There was a mandate likewise sent to the university of Cambridge from their visitors, which is still extant; setting forth "with what pains and judgment of good and learned men these articles were compiled; and being now promulgated by the king's authority, that they by their visitatorial power did enjoin, that all doctors and bachelors in divinity, and all doctors of law and masters of arts, should before their creation swear to them and subscribe them, and be denied their degrees on their refusal. By the archbishop's way of proceeding in the business of these articles without the convocation, as well as by a chapter in his reformation of the ecclesiastical laws, it looks as tho he had some design of putting the government of the church out of the common way, into provincial synods of bishops only, to be called by the archbishop with the king's licence: for he saw that the convocations now in use, formed of deans, archdeacons and chapters, and a small proportion of the inferior clergy, had no foundation in scripture or in the practise of the earliest ages of Christianity: it arose from the second model of the church set out by CHARLES the great, and was built on the feudal law; which vests a right of giving subsidies in all those who hold such tenures as qualify them to support the state.

The king had been now for some months under a visible decay from an obstinate and consumptive cough; and all the medicines which were used rather encreased than lessened it. Hence arose a suspicion, which was spread over all the world, that some slow poison had been given him; but there was no other ground ever discovered for this suspicion but common fame and some circumstances which seemed to favour it. Towards the latter end of his sickness, bishop RIDLEY preached before him; and enlarging much in his sermon on the good effects of charity, and the obligation which lay on men of high condition to be eminent in good works, the king was so moved with what he said, that immediately after sermon he sent for the bishop to come to him. After the king had commanded him to sit down and be covered, his majesty resumed the heads of the discourse, and told RIDLEY that he looked upon himself as chiefly concerned in the exhortation: but that his lordship must now give some directions which should

should be more particular, as to the method in which his majesty might acquit himself of his duty. The bishop, astonished at so much tenderness and sensibility in so young a prince, burst forth into tears; and expressing his joy to see such pious inclinations in his majesty, desired time to consider of the particular channel in which his charity should be directed, and the king would give him leave to consult with the lord mayor and aldermen about it. His majesty accordingly wrote them a letter by the bishop, desiring that they would be speedy in their determinations and acquaint him with them. After a little time, the bishop brought the king a scheme of three foundations; one for the sick and wounded, another for such as were willfully idle or were mad, and a third for orphans; and his majesty endowed St. Bartholomew's hospital for the first, Bridewell, which was his own house, for the second, and the Grey friars church near Newgate for the third; enlarging likewise the grant which he had made before for ST. THOMAS'S hospital in Southwark. He gave orders to make all the haste that was possible with the statutes and warrants for these foundations; and when they were brought him to sign, he blessed God that he had prolonged his life till all that was necessary was finished. Thus was king EDWARD the first founder of those houses; which, by many great additions since, and the good government of the magistracy of the city of London, are so well endowed and conducted, that they may not untruly be reckoned among the noblest of the kind in Europe.

The king bore his indisposition with great patience and submission to the will of God; and seemed concerned about nothing but the danger which religion and the church would be brought in at his death, when his sister MARY should come to the crown. He therefore drew up a scheme for the succession with his own hand, and probably without consulting any body upon it, in which all females were excluded, and in failure of his own issue male, assigning it to the issue male of his female issue, then to the issue male of the lady FRANCES, or of her three daughters. The heir male was to enter upon the government at eighteen, but all matters of importance were to be opened to him at fifteen; and in case there was no heir male, the females were only to be governesses regent till an heir male should be born. But this was thought to be so great a change of the constitution, when it was shewn his council, that the king was prevailed on to strike it out, and to make many other alterations in his plan. How his majesty was prevailed on to set aside

aside his sister ELIZABETH who had been always much in his favour, it is impossible for us to say. The duke of NORTHUMBERLAND had now married one of his sons to the eldest daughter of the lady FRANCES, lady JANE GREY, on purpose without doubt to get the crown into his family; and taking advantage of the king's fears about religion from the succession of his sister MARY, the duke persuaded him to settle it by his letters patents on the eldest daughter of the duchess of SUFFOLK, who was next in HENRY's will after his own children and their issue, and who was then alive. Some of the judges, and the king's attorney and solicitor general, were sent for to the council; where his majesty told them, that apprehending the danger to religion and the laws by the succession of his sister MARY to the crown, he had drawn up some articles to transmit the crown to posterity in another line, which he ordered to be read. The judges objected, that the act of succession was an act of parliament, and could not be annihilated by any such device: but the king required them to take the articles, and to draw an instrument according to them in the common form of law. When they had withdrawn, and examined the statute concerning treasons in the first year of this reign, they found it was treason to alter the succession, not only after his majesty's death, but even in his life; and therefore tho they were pressed by one of the secretaries of state to make dispatch, yet they did nothing in it; assuring the council upon their return, that it could not be done with safety, and that all the lords of the council would be guilty of treason if they persisted in this change. The fury of the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND on this refusal could not be restrained; he called the chief justice a traitor, threatened all the judges, and it was expected he would have beat them. But the judges stood to their opinion notwithstanding all his menaces; and they could not be prevailed upon by good words nor bad to meddle in it. The king growing every day worse and worse, they were again brought before him; when he asked them somewhat sharply, why they had not prepared the instrument of the succession as he had ordered them? MOUNTAGUE chief justice spoke in the name of the rest, and told his majesty, that whatever they did would be of no force without a parliament: but the king said he would have it done first, and then ratified in parliament, and therefore required them on their allegiance to set about it; some of the council adding they were traitors if they disobeyed him. The judges were thrown into great perplexity; but the old chief justice thinking a pardon under the great seal would secure them, con-

sent to set about it, if they might have a commission requiring them to put the entail of the crown in form of law according to the scheme the king had given them, and a pardon when it was done. The other judges with him agreeing to concur upon these terms, the conditions were granted, and they brought the instrument signed by the king in six places, to the lord chancellor to set the seal to it. The chancellor required, that all the judges should set their hands to it, which they all did but Hales; who, tho a steady protestant, and a zealous man for the reformation, could not be persuaded nor frightened into it. The chancellor then desired for his security, that all the council might set their hands to it, which was complied with by three and thirty. There was another paper subscribed by four and twenty counsellors and judges, in which they obliged themselves by their hands and seals and oaths of honour to observe every article in that writing, and whatever the king should declare by his last will relating to the limitation of the crown, to defend and maintain it to the utmost of their power, and to prosecute and punish any that should depart from it. The archbishop came but seldom to the council after the fall of the duke of SOMERSET; and his grace and the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND were upon ill terms with one another. When this instrument therefore was to be signed by the privy council the archbishop was absent; and when he was pressed to set his hand as the rest had done, he opposed the whole transaction with great vehemence: he argued with the king and council against it, pleading the legitimacy of the king's sisters, and said he could not subscribe an instrument to set them aside without perjury, as he had sworn to observe the will of HENRY in which they were named next after the king. Many consultations were held to persuade CRANMER; and the judges and lawyers told him, that the king being in possession might dispose of the crown as he pleased: but the archbishop had too much understanding to be deluded with that argument, and nothing could move him to consent to the disinheriting of the daughters of his late sovereign, till the dying king himself besought him, from the danger that religion, which he had taken so much pains about, would otherwise be in, to set his hand to his will. His grace had a great love for the king, and with great reason; and when his majesty, with the marks of death upon him, told his grace, that he hoped he would not resist him more than all the rest of his council, we must not wonder, that the archbishop's love for the king should at length bring him to yield, and that he signed the will. In a very few days

days after, the strength and spirits of the king were so dissipated that he found his end was just at hand ; and he prepared himself for it with great devotion. His last hours were spent in short prayers and ejaculations for himself and his subjects ; and a few moments before he died, he prayed that God would save his chosen people of England, defend the realm from popery, and maintain his true religion among them. The pangs of death then coming upon him, he said to SIR HEN. SYDNEY who was holding him, " I am faint, LORD have mercy on me and receive my spirit," and so breathed out his innocent soul.

Thus died EDWARD the sixth, in the sixteenth year of his age, after a reign of six years and a half, and being accounted the wonder of the world, for knowledge, learning, and religion. He was buried in HENRY the seventh's chapel in Westminster abbey near his grandfather, in about a month after his death ; the archbishop of CANTERBURY performing the burial service with a sorrowful heart, according to the form in the common prayer book. It is said of his body, that it was beautiful in shape and mien, that there was a great sweetness in his aspect, particularly in his eyes, which seemed to have a starry liveliness and lustre : but there is no saying too much of his mind and heart. He was not only learned in the languages, and the liberal sciences, but he knew the state of his dominions, and his alliances with foreign princes. He kept a book in which he writ the characters of the chief men of the nation, all the judges, lord lieutenants, and justices of the peace all over England ; in which he had marked down their way of living, and their zeal or negligence about religion. He had studied the business of the mint, with the exchange and value of money ; and, as it appears by his journal, had studied them with success. He understood fortifications, and could draw and design prettily. He knew all the ports and harbours, both of his own dominions, and of France, and Scotland ; how much water they could command, and the way in which they were to be entered. He had acquired so much knowledge of foreign affairs, and talked with the several ambassadors about them with so much propriety, that they filled all the world with his character and accomplishments ; and his praises are founded in all the histories of that age. He had great quickness of apprehension ; but being distrustful of his memory, took notes of every thing almost he heard in greek characters, that those about him might not understand them, and writ them out afterwards in his journal. He had a copy brought

brought him of every thing that passed in council, which he put in a chest, of which he always kept the key himself. It would be an injustice to the memory of this excellent young prince, not to give the reader a character of him drawn by CARDAN an Italian, the great philosopher of that age, after EDWARD's death, when nothing was to be got by flattery. He passed thro England the summer before the king died, and observing the extraordinary parts and virtues of his majesty, whilst he was sometime at his court, he writes of him afterwards in this manner. "All the graces were in him: He was master of many languages when he was yet but a child; together with the English, which was his natural tongue, he had both Latin and French, nor was he ignorant, as I hear, of the Greek, Italian and Spanish, and perhaps some more. But for the English, French, and Latin, he was perfect in them, and apt indeed to learn every thing. He had made a proficiency in logick, natural philosophy, and musick. The sweetness of his temper was such as became a mortal; his gravity was suitable to the majesty of a king, and his disposition was conformable to his high degree. In short that child was so bred, had such excellent parts, and was of such expectation, that he looked like a miracle of his kind. He was in the fifteenth year of his age when I was with him, when he spoke Latin as readily, and as politely, as I did myself. He asked me what was the subject of my book, "de rerum varietate," which I had dedicated to him;"---and then the philosopher reciting a conversation which shewed the king's skill in astronomy, continues his panegyrick. "His unusual ingenuity and the sweetness of his temper endeared him to every body that had either sense or virtue. He began to love the liberal arts before he was acquainted with them, and he was acquainted with them in theory before he was of age to reduce them into practise. He gave such promising intimations of carrying human nature to the highest perfection it could arrive at, that not England only but the rest of the world have reason to lament that he lived no longer. When the gravity and solemnity of a king was necessary, he behaved like one advanced in years, and yet he was always affable and gentle as became his age. He played on the lute; he meddled in affairs of state; and for bounty and magnificence he emulated his father, tho his father had not always the best views in his liberality. There was no ground however of suspecting any sinister designs in the son, whose mind was cultivated by the study of philosophy. What I have said of this prince are no strains of panegyrick, no rhetorical flourishes; my description

tion rather falls short of matters of fact, than exceeds the measure of truth." This is the testimony of a foreigner, at a time when the king was laid in his grave and could not be flattered: and yet wonderful as the natural and acquired perfections of the mind of EDWARD are represented, his piety and his virtues were more extraordinary. Every page almost of his history is filled with his zeal for the reformed religion; and accordingly the measures which he took of almost every man was from thence. The duke of NORTHUMBERLAND saw this, and made his use of it with great artifice; nor could any thing recommend a man so much to the favour of this young prince as pushing on the reformation with vigour and dispatch. It was his great regard to religion which made him so intent on bringing over his sister MARY to his own opinions, that when he was pressed by some of the bishops to consent to her having mass, he said he would not only hazard the loss of the emperor's friendship, but of his own crown and life and all he had in the world, rather than permit in the princess what he knew to be a sin. He was good natured, compassionate, and just, in the highest degree possible. His particular care of the petitions of the poor, which were sent him, and to relieve their necessities by the provisions made for them in his sickness, are a sufficient proof of the former; and his strict observance of his word, and exactness in paying his debts, as appears by his journal, confirm the latter; to say nothing of his giving up his uncle, the duke of SOMERSET, whom he tenderly loved, when they had persuaded him that his uncle intended to murder some of the privy council. In short, the natural and acquired abilities, the temper of mind, and the goodness of heart, in this young prince were so extraordinary, that as all the high things which could be devised were said of him by the people to express their love, so when he died it was concluded, that the sins of the nation must be very great that could provoke God to take him from them; and long after his death, in letters and printed books he was commonly called "their JOSIAH," and by many, "EDWARD the saint."

The death of so good a prince in such a very early season of his youth, was interpreted by several as a just judgment of God for the many enormities of the land: and some such judgment all the good men of that time expressed their apprehensions of, in their letters to one another, as well as in their public sermons, before any symptoms appeared of the king's disorder. The bishop of LONDON published a discourse under the title of the

“lamentation of England;” in which he says, that luxury, a desire of riches, oppression, a scorn and hatred of religion, were generally spread among all people, especially those of the higher rank; who gave a countenance to the reformation that they might have an opportunity to devour the church revenues: and indeed the gross scrambling for the wealth that had been dedicated with a good design, tho to superstitious uses, without applying any part of it to the relief of the poor, the instruction of youth, or any other public purpose, had in a great measure taken away the prejudices of the people against popery, and gave them kinder thoughts of it. Both the archbishop, and RIDLEY, had delivered their consciences very freely on this outrageous spoil of the goods of the church without law or order, which was the chief thing which warmed the zeal of the courtiers for a reformation; and old LATIMER, and some others, preached against it openly with great severity; but they were not able to stem the torrent of licentiousness and corruption, which had deluged the land in such a manner, as if irreligion had been the consequence of forsaking confession, penance, and the ceremonies which had been practised. The bishops and clergy, generally speaking, did not a little contribute to this degeneracy; several among the former, and the greatest part of the latter, being still papists in their hearts; and complying only externally with the reformation to preserve their benefices, not only neglected the pastoral care, but set the people against it in its present model, and were rather well pleased that there was so much and such great disorder.

Upon the death of king EDWARD, the crown devolved, according to HENRY's will, and the act of parliament which had authorized him to limit the succession, on the princess MARY. But the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, as we have seen, had prevailed on the young king to break thro these settlements and to transfer the crown upon his daughter in law, the lady JANE of the house of SUFFOLK. His business, if he had been as politick as he was ambitious, was to have secured the two princesses thus excluded from the throne, immediately after the king had signed the instrument of conveyance. But he contented himself with getting a letter from the king and council to them, desiring them to come to court in order to keep their brother company in his illness. The princess MARY, who had began her journey in obedience to this command, was very near falling into his snare; being within half a day's journey of London, when she had private

vate intelligence from the earl of ARUNDEL of the death of the king, the design upon her person, and the assignment of the succession. Upon this information she stopped short, and retired speedily into Norfolk; where she knew the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND was much hated, and where of course she should be most secure. From thence she wrote a letter to the council, expressing her concern at her brother's death, and her surprize that they had not advertized her of it; who they all knew stood next in succession to the crown by her father's will and the act of parliament. She was well informed, she said, of their consultations, and the engagements they had entered into, against her right, and their own duty; but she was willing to overlook all, and to pardon such as would accept her clemency: in the mean time she required them to proclaim her title to the crown. As soon as this letter was dispatched, she retreated near the sea coast in Suffolk to wait the issue of it; and, in case her affairs did not succeed, that she might have an opportunity of escaping to the emperor who was then in Flanders. Here she took upon her the state and title of queen; and being proclaimed at Norwich, she sent a circular letter to all the nobility, requiring them to come to her, and defend her right. Let us now see what passed at London.

The duke of NORTHUMBERLAND had ordered that the king's death should be kept a secret, that he might retrieve his fatal error, and get the princesses into his power: but when the council perceived by this letter from MARY, that the death of the king could be concealed no longer, they drew up an answer to her immediately, in which they acknowledged his majesty's death, and avowed the design of placing the lady JANE GREY upon the throne, according to the disposition made of the crown by the late king in his letters patents under the broad seal, signed by the council, and the judges. They remind the princess of the defects in her mother's marriage, of the divorce which ensued, and of her own illegitimacy by act of parliament: they advise her therefore to drop her claim and to behave herself like a good subject; promising her that if she shewed herself obedient, she should find all of them ready to do her any service which was consistent with their duty. This letter was signed by three and twenty of the privy council; and the dukes of SUFFOLK and NORTHUMBERLAND were sent to give notice to the lady JANE of her accession to the crown, on the death of EDWARD. She received the news of his death with great and real sorrow; which

was not lessened, but encreased, by the other part of their message, of which before she had no intimation. She told them that she knew, by the laws of the kingdom, and by natural right, the crown was to go to the king's sisters; and she was not willing to bring a burden upon her life and conscience, by assuming a character which did not belong to her, and to enrich herself by the spoils of others. To this she added reflexions on the instability of human affairs, and the danger of such a post of eminence and dignity; and therefore desired to be allowed the liberty of a private station. These reflexions should have been a check to the unbounded ambition of her father in law the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND: but they had no weight in a mind that was quite enslaved with it, and which knew no other joy than in wealth and power. To remove her scruples they told her, that the whole transaction was according to law, and agreed to by the majority of the privy council, and the judges: and this assurance, seconded by their persuasions, and the importunities of her husband, who had more of his father's temper than her philosophy in him, prevailed at length with her to submit. The next day she was proclaimed in London with the usual solemnities; and tho' great multitudes were gathered, as is usual on such occasions, in the several places where the proclamations were read, yet there were very few that shouted with the ordinary acclamations, and most of the people were running to the princess MARY. The setting aside the two princesses by the letters patents of a minor king in express contradiction to an act of parliament, and in favour of a queen they had never dreamt of, was a thing of hard digestion, and which few were willing to acquiesce in. But the justice of her title was not the only thing which gave friends to MARY; especially as her title was not clear of all objections. Many other causes concurred to bring about her success. The duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, who had brought unjustly the duke of SOMERSET to the block, who had usurped a power and pre-eminence over all the rest of the council without any authority or commission for it, who behaved with most insufferable pride and haughtiness to every body, and who was not free from being suspected of having occasioned the king's untimely death; the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, I say, who had done all this, had enraged the nobility, the gentry, and the commons so much against him, that without considering what they might suffer under MARY, they were generally inclined to set her up, rather than come again under his tyranny. It may easily be guessed that all those who were still for the old religion in their hearts,

desired

desired passionately that the princess MARY might ascend the throne, who was not only thought to be devoted to the pope, but to be also inclined to the most extravagant things in the Romish religion; whereas the lady JANE, on the other hand, was known to be a protestant and to be zealous in the reformation. The Roman catholicks therefore to a man were for the princess, and ready to lend their assistance to set her on the throne. They would not however have been able to have effected this, for it is certain she was not beloved, if an hatred to the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, and the dread of falling again under his government, had not inclined the protestants to look on lady JANE's accession to the crown, as a misfortune to them, and the kingdom. Besides, among the great numbers which were looked upon as protestants there were many who were so only in name; and having no other regard than to their temporal interests had embraced the reformation only to secure what they had, or to make their fortunes. There were a few indeed, and they were but a few, who, being convinced of the truth of the new religion, were ready to sacrifice every thing for its sake; and none but these could be said to be the real friends of JANE. Some others there were who wished well to the reformation, and who considered the accession of the princess MARY as a calamity, but who were not willing to hazard their lives and fortunes to prevent it. They were more confirmed in this mind, by having flattered themselves, that content with the private exercise of her own religion, she would leave the public religion in the same state she found it, or at most that she would be satisfied with giving her party liberty of conscience; and this she herself, and her friends, took care to insinuate every where. What I have said of the disposition of the people in general, is equally true of the members of the privy council; and therefore the cause of the lady JANE was from the beginning likely to be but ill supported. The counties of Norfolk, and Suffolk, having got a promise from the princess MARY to leave religion in the same state she found it, and to content herself with the liberty of professing it in her own way, declared for her immediately, raised forces for her, and proclaimed her in several places. In short her army increased so much in a few days, and she was joined by so many lords and gentlemen, that the council thought it necessary to send all the forces they had in readiness to oppose her. This was a crisis which gave the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND much perplexity. He was afraid to trust the command of the army on such an important occasion on which all depended to any other

person, even to the duke of SUFFOLK the lady JANE's father, neither would she consent to have him exposed to so much danger. On the other hand he was afraid to leave her in the hands of the council, whom he could not confide in, because he knew that they sided with him purely out of fear; especially as the duke of SUFFOLK was no great politician. However, as some thing must be done, immediately to stop the progress of MARY's forces, and as the council were shut up in the Tower, he set out for New-market, in order to head the troops that were in the service of the crown. In the mean time, bishop RIDLEY was appointed to set forth the lady JANE's title, in a sermon at St. Paul's cross, and to animate the people against the princess on account of her attachment to the old religion; which the good bishop obeyed with rather more zeal than prudence. But the council, receiving intelligence from all parts of the kingdom how high the tide run in favour of the princess MARY, began to consider how they might redeem their offence against her, and recommend themselves to her favour. Secretary CECIL had refused to do the business of his office from the beginning; and the judges desired to be excused doing any thing till the government was settled. The point was how the council should get out of the Tower, where they were in a manner prisoners. Luckily enough for this purpose, the French and Spanish ambassadors had desired an audience in some place in the city; and it was therefore proposed, that it should be given in the earl of PEMBROKE's house, whose son had married a sister of the lady JANE, and who could not easily be suspected by the duke of SUFFOLK. His grace agreed to this motion; but as soon as they were got to the earl of PEMBROKE's, lord ARUNDEL opened the design which he had concerted with two or three of the council, and pressed them earnestly to declare for the princess MARY. He expatiated on the cruelty, the injustice, and the misconduct of the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND; under whose tyranny they must resolve to be enslaved for ever, if they would not attempt at this conjuncture to throw it off. This being vigorously seconded by the earl of PEMBROKE, and the rest of the council that were there concurring, the lord mayor and aldermen were sent for; who went with the peers into Cheapside and proclaimed queen MARY, just in the same manner they had proclaimed the lady JANE ten days before; from whence they went to St. Paul's and sung the Te Deum for the queen's accession. An order was then sent to the duke of SUFFOLK to join the council, to deliver up the Tower, and to require his daughter

ter to lay aside the state and title of queen. This she readily complied with, as she had assumed it against her will in pure obedience to him and her husband; the duke came to the council and subscribed a recognition of queen MARY with the rest. Another order was sent to the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, to disband his forces, and to behave himself as an obedient subject to the queen; but before he received this order, hearing at Cambridge of the sudden turn of affairs in his absence from the court, he had dismissed the troops, and proclaimed the queen in the market place; flinging his own hat up for joy, and crying out "God save queen MARY." But the next day, his enemy the earl of ARUNDEL, who had been sent by the council to the queen to inform her of what they had done, arrested him by her order; when the duke fell at his feet to beg his favour with much abjectness and pusillanimity. The reader must not wonder at this, because nothing is more common than for the same men, who are insolent out of measure with power and success, to be miserably sunk and fawning under misfortunes. Three of his sons, and many of his friends, among whom was SIR THO. PALMER the wicked instrument of the duke of SOMERSET's ruin, were apprehended at the same time and sent to the Tower with him. This was no sooner done than all opposition to queen MARY ceased; and those who had abetted or engaged in it went in crowds to make their submission, whom she received very graciously. The duke of SUFFOLK was ordered to be set at liberty in a few days; because as he was known to have been driven on entirely by the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, and to have done nothing of himself against her, so his weakness gave them no apprehensions of any danger from him; and therefore the queen being willing to shew an act of clemency on her first mounting the throne, it was judged expedient to make his grace the object of it. It was necessary to be thus particular in opening this revolution, that the reader might understand more clearly many passages in the following reign.

On the third of August, the queen made her entry into London with much solemn pomp, accompanied by the princess ELIZABETH, who had raised a thousand horse for her service during the contest about the crown. When she came to the Tower, she released the duchess of SOMERSET, the duke of NORFOLK, TUNSTAL, GARDINER, BONNER, and the lord COURTNEY son to the marquis of EXETER, who had been a prisoner there from the time of his father's attainder in the reign of HENRY. She then
sent

sent for the lord mayor and aldermen, and told them, "that tho she was fixed herself in her religion, yet she would not compell others." But these soft words were soon forgotten, as appears from the severities which followed; of which there is an authentic account in the original council book of this reign, to the end of the year fifteen hundred and fifty seven. It is very probable that the reestablishing of religion on the same foot it had been before her father's divorce, and perhaps being revenged of some of her enemies, were the chief things which the queen intended when she first ascended the throne. At least we shall see that no other project was attended to by her thro the whole course of her reign.

But in the establishment of her own religion, which had now been so long disused throwout the nation, her thoughts were much divided upon two schemes which her friends had offered her. On the one hand she was advised, now she had got the power, to keep no measures, but to force the nation to return immediately to the "union of the catholic church;" and to this she was disposed of her own inclination, having already determined to send for cardinal POLE as legate to reconcile England to the pope. On the other hand, bishop GARDINER, who was looked upon as a man of great experience, and was most indubitably the ablest man of his party, knowing the reformation must be pulled down in the same way it was set up, proposed only to bring religion back at first to the state it was in at the death of HENRY, and to raise it afterwards by degrees to what it had been before his breach with Rome. But this advice, which was more politic as well as more agreeable to the bishop's own interest than the other, was not so much relished by the queen, whose bigotry was not so well appeased by it, and who thought the papal authority was necessary to remove her illegitimation. The bishop answered this objection, by assuring her, that all the acts and sentences which had passed against her might be annulled in parliament, without any assistance from the pope. But finding his counsel was not of weight enough with the queen, and dreading POLE's arrival who was not his friend, and who would certainly take the lead in affairs out of his hand if not ruin him with her majesty, the crafty bishop sent a messenger to the emperor, assuring him if he would persuade the queen to make his lordship chancellor and first minister, he would bring every thing about in time that she desired: but that if POLE was to come to England as soon as the queen had desired, his eminence's zeal for the

the see of Rome would undo all ; because the English were yet averse to submit again to the papacy, not only from the dread they had of its power, which had been for five and twenty years represented to them as the most cruel tyranny, but also because they had purchased the church lands from the crown at very easy terms, which they were not disposed to part with. It was therefore necessary, he said, to give them time to wear out their prejudices ; and by precipitating matters of this importance, it would not only put the success of them to hazard, but in all probability it would bring on the ruin of the whole cause, if not of the queen herself. To this advice, which was certainly the best that could be given, the bishop did not forget to add an assurance of promoting the particular interests of the emperor, if his lordship was entrusted by the queen with the chief direction of all affairs : and it is not improbable that he might then suggest the project of a marriage between the emperor's son PHILIP and the queen. But be this as it might, the emperor saw the advice which the bishop gave was good, and he closed with it immediately : he wrote several letters with his own hand to the queen, persuading her to moderate her zeal about religion, not to make too much haste to return back to Rome, nor to be too much led by Italian counsels. The queen held the emperor in great esteem ; and tho she looked on GARDINER as a crafty temporizing man, yet to shew her deference for the emperor, she accepted the bishop's scheme, and on the thirteenth of August gave him the great seal, and the chief direction of all affairs.

The first thing that was done, was, to issue writs for the parliament, and convocation, to meet in October following, and to take such measures all over the kingdom as should make a majority of the elections turn in favour of the new government. The next thing, was, to bring the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND to his trial, for which the old duke of NORFOLK was made high steward ; the queen being willing to put the first mark of honour upon his grace, who had suffered so much and so many years for being the head of the popish party. When the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, with the marquiss of NORTHAMPTON, and the earl of WARWICK son of the former, were brought to their trial, his grace desired the opinion of the judges, whether acting by the authority of the great seal, and the order of privy council, they could thereby become guilty of treason ; and whether those who had been equally guilty with them, and by whose direction and commands they had acted, could sit upon them as judges ?

To these questions it was answered, that the great seal of one that was not lawful sovereign could give no authority nor indemnity to those who acted from such warrant; and that any peer, who was not, by an attainder upon record, convicted of such accession to their crimes, might sit as their judge. These points of law being thus determined, they all three confessed themselves guilty, and submitted to the mercy of the queen. How conformable to the law of England this determination of the judges might be I cannot tell, but the first part of it is extremely dangerous to the subject, and the last is shocking to common sense. If an usurper was placed upon the throne of England, in what a perilous situation must the adherents to the rightful sovereign be, from the usurper if they did not obey him, and from the rightful sovereign when he was restored, if they did! As to the privilege of the peers not to be challenged in a trial on suggestion only, it can never surely be reasonable to admit, that the accomplices of a crime should sit in judgment on another, who acted along with them in the commission of that crime, when it is notoriously certain that they had a share in it as well as himself. But I shall not insist on these things any further. The next day judgment was given by a jury of commoners against four friends of the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND; but of the seven thus condemned three only were destined to execution, the duke, and SIR JOHN CATES, and SIR THO. PALMER. HEATH the deprived bishop of Worcester was sent with the message of death to his grace, and to instruct him to prepare for it. Whether he had been always in his heart what he then professed, or whether he only pretended it, hoping it might procure him the queen's pardon, is variously reported; but it is certain, that he confessed himself to the bishop, and declared that he had been always in his heart a Roman catholick. He made the same confession on the scaffold; but it is pretended, that, to engage him to make this public declaration, he had been flattered with the hopes of pardon, even with his head lying on the block. According to the maxims of this reign I believe the last is true, and according to the course of his grace's life, there seems to be no reason to doubt the first; that as far as he had any principles of religion they were those of a papist, tho to preserve his power, which was his God, he appeared a zealous protestant. When he was under sentence, he sent for bishop GARDINER, to whom he likewise made this confession in the strongest terms, and begged his life that he might do penance all the rest of it, if it were in a mouse-hole; to such a degree of fear and abjectness had his

guilt and his disappointment thrown him into. The bishop was so much touched with his remorse that he had almost persuaded the queen to spare his life: but the duke was known to be a man of that temper, so given to revenge and dissimulation, that his enemies saw it was necessary to put him out of the way; lest if he had lived he might have insinuated himself into the queen's favour, and then turned the danger upon themselves. Besides, the emperor, who was then designing the marriage, and foresaw the struggle there might be against it, and what mischief such a man as the duke might do, wrote to the queen and advised her positively to take his head. Thus fell the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND by his ambition, as his father had done by his avarice, and like his father he fell unlamented by every mortal. I have put this account together for the sake of perspicuity, but we must now look a little back.

The funeral of king EDWARD was solemnized at Westminster on the twelfth of August: and tho the new ministers directed that the office which had been abolished should be made use of on this occasion, yet the archbishop, supported by acts yet in force, opposed it with so much vigour, that they permitted him to perform it according to the new liturgy; to which he joined the solemnity of a communion. Nevertheless the queen had a solemn service in her own chapel at the Tower, performed with all the ceremonies of the church of Rome: and the same day she declared in council, "that tho her own conscience was stayed
 " in matters of religion, yet she was resolved not to compell or
 " strain others, otherwise than as God should put into their
 " hearts a persuation of that truth which she believed; and this
 " she hoped would be done by opening his word to them by
 " godly, virtuous and learned preachers." Great care was taken to disperse this declaration, and to magnify it every where as a great instance of the queen's goodness and generosity. But the protestants who saw what a difference there was between this declaration, and the promise she had made to the people of SUFFOLK, that she would leave religion in the same state in which she found it, saw she began already to fall off her word, and that they had but little clemency to expect from her. If they were willing however to flatter themselves that she would still keep her promise, she put out a proclamation in five days after which was but too capable to remove their error; in which it was said, "that considering the great danger which had come to the realm by the differences in religion, she declared for herself that
 she

she was of that religion that she had professed from her infancy, and that she would maintain it during her time, and should be glad that all her subjects would charitably receive it: yet she did not intend to compell any, till public order should be taken in it by common assent. In the mean time, she required all her subjects, not to move sedition or unquietness till such order should be settled, and not to use the names of papist or heretick, straitly charging that none should preach or expound scripture, or print any books or plays without her special licence." It was impossible not to see from this proclamation, which was the first thing published in her name since she came to the crown, that she intended to restore popery, the religion of her infancy, as soon as a parliament could be procured that would concur with her in it. The restraint of preaching without licence, was pretended to be taken from a precedent in the reign of EDWARD: but then every one was at liberty to preach in his own church, at least for a great while, and the power of licensing was lodged at first in the bishop of every diocese, and always with the archbishop of CANTERBURY, as well as with the king. Whereas now all the pulpits in England, that were in the hands of protestants, were at one stroke laid under an interdict; for they were sure to obtain no licence. To put the matter however out of doubt, if any doubt could still remain of the spirit with which the queen intended to rule, some of the protestants in Suffolk, presuming on their merit in first assisting her majesty to ascend the throne, and on her express promise to them, took a little more liberty than their neighbours notwithstanding this proclamation, and even came to court to put the queen in mind of the promise which she had made. One of them, who spoke of it with more confidence than the rest, was ordered to stand three days in the pillory for having said that which tended to the defamation of the queen; and the others were told by her, "that they being members thought to rule her that was their head, but they should learn that the members ought to obey, and not to think to bear rule over the head." A man must have been wilfully blind indeed not to see from hence the severity with which she intended to govern; when the claiming of former promises made by her majesty to the people was to be deemed a crime. But this was not all, a special letter was sent to the vicar general of the diocese of Norwich, the bishop being at Brussels, to see to the execution of the queen's injunctions against any that should presume to preach without a licence.

About

About this time a commission was granted to some civilians to examine the appeals of the deprived bishops, who had petitioned the queen to that purpose: the commissioners without any hesitation reported the sentence void, and the appeals good, and thus all of them were restored. But because the bishoprick of Durham had been dissolved by act of parliament, and the temporalities of it which had been given to the duke of NORTHUMBRLAND were forfeited to the crown by his attainder, therefore the queen gave TUNSTAL letters patents erecting the bishoprick again anew; and taking notice that some wicked men to enrich themselves by it had procured it to be dissolved. In a few days after a commission was granted to GARDINER, to empower him to grant licences under the great seal, to such grave, discreet and learned persons as he should think meet and able to preach the word of God, in consequence of what she had ordered before in her proclamation. The clergy, who had a legal authority to preach in their own respective parishes, could not be silenced legally unless they had been guilty of some offence, or suspended by their ordinary: and therefore if they had continued to preach in their own parishes only, and taken no notice of the proclamation, they could not have been punished legally. There was no breach of duty in preaching in their churches prior to the proclamation, and there could therefore be none after it. This proclamation was not authorized by act of parliament, as those of the first year of EDWARD were: and a sovereign by his proclamation cannot create any offence which was not an offence before; for then he may alter the law of the land by his proclamation in very important cases. The council however being informed that many of the clergy continued preaching without a licence, ordered HOOPER and COVERDALE who had given them countenance, to attend; the former was committed prisoner to the Fleet, the other was confined to his house, and the clergy were sent to prison. Thus the same illegal exercise of power, which the reformers had been guilty of to put the popish bishops out of their way, was now began to be returned upon their own heads with interest. The same impatience also, which was shewn by the common people on the side of the reformation in the reign of EDWARD, in making changes in religion before they were warranted by the laws, appeared now in the popish party; so that in many places they set up images, and the Latin service, with the old rites again by their own authority.

The queen was prodigiously pleased with this forwardness, and encouraged it all she could: but as it was plainly contrary to the laws then in force, HALEs, one of the judges, made it a part of his charge on the circuit to the justices, that they should diligently put the acts of parliament relating to religion in execution; for which he was sent to the Marshalsea, then removed to the Counter, and thence to the Fleet. The queen in this instance not only shewed she had lost all sense of justice, in punishing a judge thus illegally thro a wantonness of power for doing his duty, but also that she was without tenderness or gratitude, when they came into competition with zeal for popery. The reader must remember, what her majesty could not have forgot, that HALEs was the only judge upon the bench who would not sign the instrument of succession to exclude the queen. One would have thought, if he had really been guilty of some offence, that this circumstance alone should have attoned for it with her majesty; and much more that she would have refrained from any illegal acts of violence to punish him for an offence which in the eye of the law was not real. But she was a woman without bowels, or any ties of justice or of honour, where her religion was concerned. The terms may be strong, but the fact is true; as will appear with too much evidence in the progress of her reign. The poor old judge was so terrified, with being removed from prison to prison, and with the cruelties which were threatened to all that would not change their religion, that he cut his throat: and tho the wound was not mortal, and he was afterwards enlarged upon his submission, yet he never got rid of the first impression which his sufferings gave him till he put an end to his life. With the same sort of rigour and ingratitude did the queen requite the services of the lord chief justice MOUNTAGUE; who, tho he stood out as long as he could with any safety against altering the succession, and sent one of his sons with twenty men to declare for the queen after EDWARD's death, yet being zealous for the reformation, was confined six weeks in prison, turned out of his employment, and, notwithstanding his merit and a large family of sixteen children, was fined a thousand pound, and part of his estate: whilst BROMLEY who had concurred without any reluctance in the queen's exclusion, but was known to be in his heart a papist, was made chief justice in his room. But these effects of the queen's furious and unrelenting bigotry, are trifling, when compared with those which we shall see hereafter.

Not to mention the commitment of a great many private persons, as seditious preachers, at the head of whom was the good old LATIMER, whose zeal for the reformation never slackened, the archbishop was sent for to the council; and being severely reprimanded for signing king EDWARD's will, tho he had opposed it more than many who were then at the board, they confined him to his house. Here he kept himself quiet for some time, contriving how he should give some public testimonies to the doctrines he had professed, and been the chief promoter of in this church. But this behaviour was misinterpreted by his enemies; they reported at least, that he was very submissive, and resolved to comply with every thing which the queen directed. There is a letter of BONNER's, to this purpose, extant, in which he calls the archbishop MR. CANTERBURY by way of derision, wrote in a very unbecoming strain throwout, and which was intended to propagate this falshood. The queen had already given too many evident proofs of her intention towards the favourers of the reformation for CRANMER to expect the least clemency from her; and his friends who saw this advised him to withdraw in time, and to consult his safety by escaping out of the kingdom, as many others had done. But his grace replied to this advice, with a greatness of mind worthy of him, and becoming his high station, that tho he would not dissuade others from avoiding a persecution which they saw was coming upon them, yet considering the post he held, and the principal hand he had in all the changes relating to religion, he thought it an indecent thing for him to flie abroad; and no entreaties could prevail upon him to go. That he might refute, if not silence, the calumnies which BONNER and others had spread about his intended submission, he drew up a paper, importing, "that as the devil had always set on his instruments to defame the servants of God with falshoods, so he was more than ordinarily busy at this time: for whereas the abuses of the mass had been corrected in the two last reigns, and the Lord's supper had been celebrated here in England according to its first institution, the devil, intending to restore the mass here again which was his own invention, had moved some to spread a report that it had been set up in Canterbury by his grace's order, who had engaged to say mass before the queen at St. Paul's and in other places: that tho he had despised all the vain and false reports which had been propagated of him for above twenty years, yet he thought not fit at this time to lie under a reproach so pernicious to truth and the reformed

reformed religion. He protested therefore to all the world, that the mass was not set up at Canterbury by his order, but by a fawning hypocritical monk, without his knowledge; and the other part of the accusation could be refuted by the queen herself, who knew it was false. He offered, with her majesty's leave, to defend the common prayer book, and the whole order and doctrine of religion set forth by the late king, as more pure and more agreeable to the word of God, than any sort of religion that had been in England for above a thousand years; provided all things should be judged of and determined by the scriptures, and that the reasonings on both sides should be faithfully written down."

This paper was yet in a rude imperfect draught, when SCORY, who had been bishop of Chichester on the deprivation of DAY, and was turned out at his restoration, coming to the archbishop to lament their common calamity, was shewn it by his grace; who bid him take it home, and consider of it. SCORY being extremely pleased with the magnanimity which the archbishop shewed in it, and apprehending it would cheer the drooping spirits of their party, gave several copies of the paper without his grace's leave. One of these was publicly read in Cheapside; and in a few days after the archbishop was summoned into the Star-chamber, where he was asked if he was the author of that seditious bill that was given out in his name, and if he was sorry for it. His grace readily owned the paper to be drawn up by him, but his concern, he said, was, that it had gone from him in that manner and in so imperfect a condition; because he had intended to have enlarged it in many particulars, and to cause it to be affixed with his hand and seal to it, at the doors of St. Paul's, and the other churches in London. He had no favour to expect, and he certainly meant to court none, by such an answer as this: but as the queen's pleasure was not known, and such an answer was unlooked for, he was sent back again to his house, without any further molestation, to the surprize of every body. Neither his grace however, nor his friends, were left long in this surprize: the queen was much incensed at the paper, and the council were not pleased with his resolute and high spirited answer; but they could not suddenly determine what they should do with him. The bishop of WINCHESTER had for many reasons a personal dislike to CRANMER, which he never took any pains to conceal; and if he favoured him upon this occasion it was merely because he saw that the queen intended the primacy for POLE. The mo-

derate men in the council, perhaps out of regard to the archbishop, or apprehending the ill consequences of coming to extremities with him, as he was universally beloved for the sweetness of his temper, were for having him only deprived, and to be allowed a little pension, on condition that he confined himself from meddling with religion. But others of warmer tempers and more fiery zeal, or who thought perhaps to make their court by it to the queen, objected to this clemency: they said that CRANMER had been the author of all the heresy that was in the kingdom, and if he was used with such tenderness it would encourage others to be more obstinate. It was therefore determined, a few days after, “that as well for his treason against the queen, as for
“spreading seditious bills, he should be committed to the Tower
“to be dealt with according to her majesty’s pleasure.” Here therefore we are to leave the good archbishop for the present under imprisonment, in order to turn to other affairs.

The foreigners who had come over on the public faith were permitted to go abroad again: and many English people, to the number of a thousand, apprehending the extreme persecution that was intended, took this opportunity of withdrawing out of the kingdom. But the council, being informed of this embarkation, sent an order to all the ports, that none should be permitted to leave England as strangers for the future, but those who had a certificate from the ambassador of the princes to whom they belonged. Many eminent divines were however already gone, who had either no cures, or had been driven from them by the council and the people; and who, when they were in safety, vindicated the measures relating to religion in the late reign, which were now so much vilified by the popish party. The queen, having struck so great a terror into her subjects who were not very well affected to her, took care to confer rewards on the nobility who had assisted her to get the crown. On the first of October, the ceremony of her coronation was performed by GARDINER, with ten other bishops assisting, all in their mitres, copes, and croziers, according to the ancient form: and besides a general pardon with an exception to all who had been committed to prison before the month of September, which made it almost no pardon at all, a proclamation was issued the same day, setting forth, “that tho the queen found the exchequer exhausted
“and had many debts of her father’s and brother’s to discharge,
“yet having a special regard to the welfare of her subjects, and
“esteeming their loving hearts and prosperity her chiefest trea-

“ fure next to the grace of God, ſhe of her great clemency did
 “ fully pardon and diſcharge the ſubſidies given in the laſt par-
 “ liament to her brother, now due to her; truſting her good
 “ ſubjects will have loving conſideration thereof for their parts,
 “ whom ſhe requires to bend themſelves wholly to God to ſerve
 “ him ſincerely, and with continual prayer for the honour and
 “ advancement of the queen and the common wealth.” This
 was a largels of a very extraordinary and unuſual nature, intended
 to conciliate the minds of the people, which began to be
 alienated by the premature and illegal ſeverities already ex-
 erciſed.

About ten days after her majeſty's coronation, the parliament
 met; and the ſeſſion was opened with a ſolemn maſs according to
 the old cuſtom, tho that cuſtom had been abrogated by act of
 parliament. But notwithstanding this prepoſterous haſte, made
 by the queen and her miniſtry, to overthrow all that had been
 eſtabliſhed in the former reign, yet the popiſh party went ſtill
 faſter: they broke into the churches where the proteſtants were
 met, in order to prepare themſelves by prayers and the ſacra-
 ment for what they ſaw was coming upon them, and not only
 diſturbed their devotion by inſulting their miniſters and ridiculing
 their worſhip, but in many places they ſet up their altars and the
 maſs by force. Almoſt all the reformed biſhops, who were not
 deprived, were ſhut up in priſon: but TAYLOR and HARLEY,
 who were biſhops of LINCOLN and Hereford, being yet at liberty,
 went to parliament; with a reſolution to juſtify the doctrine of
 the reformers and the changes which had been made. When they
 ſaw the maſs celebrated, inſtead of the ſervice eſtabliſhed in the
 reign of EDWARD, they either withdrew out of a ſcruple of con-
 ſcience, or were violently thruſt out of the houſe; for it is re-
 ported both ways. The biſhop of LINCOLN died in a few days
 after, and the biſhop of HEREFORD was excluded on the ſcore
 of his being married. To make the catholic cauſe ſtill ſtronger
 in the upper houſe, the queen ordered VESEY, who had re-
 ſigned the ſee of Exeter on a pretence of age and infirmities,
 to be reſtored: and by imprifoning the reformed biſhops, and
 cajolling and threatening the temporal lords into her intereſts, ſhe
 found no oppoſition from the upper houſe. The reader no
 doubt will be ſurprized, and very juſtly, that the lords, who
 but a few months before, ſeven or eight excepted, were all pro-
 teſtants, and had promoted the reformation under the reign of
 EDWARD, ſhould now almoſt to a man turn zealous catholic's
 in

in the reign of MARY. It may be difficult to determine, in which reign they dissembled their principles of religion; but it is easy to discover, that both in the one and the other they were guilty of a scandalous prevarication. Let us see how it was in the house of commons. The number of protestants in the kingdom was vastly greater than that of the Roman catholicks; and of course a free election could be little favourable to the queen's designs of restoring popery; which must yet be done by aid of parliament. Besides the ordinary ways therefore made use of by all princes to get a parliament on their side, every artifice, and fraud, and even violence, was put in practise, to carry this election in favour of the court; and the success was answerable. Thus the first parliament which met in the reign of MARY, was a parliament made up of an house of commons filled with the creatures of the court, and of an house of lords, a few excepted, who thro ambition, avarice, or fear, dissembled their sentiments; or who were indifferent to all, and thought all religions alike. On the second day of the session, it was moved in the house of commons, by some of the members who were in haste to shew their devotion for the queen, that the laws of EDWARD might be reviewed; but after arguing the point a little while, and finding the house was not prepared yet for such a motion, it was laid aside. The only public bill which passed in this session, was a repeal of all the statutes of treason since the time of EDWARD the third, and of felonies since HENRY the eighth; but which had already been repealed in effect in the beginning of the late reign, without such a severe exception which was now added, of all who had been in prison before the last of September; which was now but a fortnight past, and so cut off many from the favour intended by it. The parliament was then prorogued for three days, that this might be a session of acts of mercy only: and before I proceed to give an account of the second session, I shall take some notice of the posture of affairs in the two universities.

On the queen's accession to the throne, the Roman catholicks at Oxford, without waiting for any directions from the court, drove PET. MARTYR from the divinity chair, and brought the old service into the churches with all the train of ceremonies formerly used. But when her majesty's disposition was further known, the heads of colleges thought proper to send up an address of congratulation; which being full of respect, tho drawn by JEWEL a protestant, and in general terms, was well received

by the queen. When this address was penned, the university had great hopes that her majesty would not have gone so far as she did in the alterations of religion : and several of the nobility, when she was proclaimed at Oxford, gave them this assurance. Three of the colleges were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of WINCHESTER, and he delegated some visitors to model them to his mind ; who set up the mass, punished many for not complying with it, and turned out several fellows. At Cambridge, where he was chancellor, he removed all the heads of houses, except two ; so generally had the reformation spread, and established itself, at that university. But if the integrity of its heads is to be for ever held in esteem, upon which neither the favour nor the frowns of their chancellor had any influence, who was at that time also prime minister and had the power of the great seal, so that all the crown preferments were in him, in what light must GARDINER himself be looked upon, who had, to save his power and preferment, renounced popery with HENRY, and to recover them, when they were lost, restored it under MARY ! But I must turn again to the parliament.

On the second day of their meeting after the prorogation, a bill was sent down from the lords, and passed in two days more by the commons, to repeal the divorce of the queen's mother, and to declare the marriage lawful. In the preamble it is said, " that a few malicious persons had studied to possess king HENRY with a scruple of conscience about his marriage, and causing the seals of some universities to be procured by corruption, as well as those of this kingdom by sinistrous ways and secret threatenings, THO. CRANMER did most ungodlily and against law judge the divorce, which was afterwards confirmed in two acts of parliament declaring her majesty's illegitimacy. But they considering the lawfulness of that marriage which could not so be broken, together with the many miseries fallen on the kingdom since that time, which they esteemed plagues sent from God for it, did declare the sentence given by CRANMER to be unlawful, and did also repeal the acts of parliament which had confirmed it." Thus was this divorce repealed in fewer days, than HENRY and his ministry had employed years to bring it about. It is certain that GARDINER performed his promise to the queen of getting her illegitimation taken off, without any relation to the pope's authority, by this act : but it is not possible that he could have any sense of shame remaining in his breast, when he procured the repeal of a sentence, and upon allegations so notoriously false, which

which he himself had been the chief promoter of in the most servile manner before CRANMER was known at court; nay which he himself had approved, advised to, and assisted CRANMER as a judge in when it was pronounced. In a few days after, another bill was sent to the house of commons, to repeal all the laws of king EDWARD about religion; which was debated for six days, and then passed without a division. It was enacted by this bill, that from the twentieth of December next there should be no other form of divine service than what had been in use at the latter end of the reign of HENRY the eighth; leaving every body at their liberty till that day, to use either the old or the new service at their pleasure. In this manner was religion, which the young king had so much at heart, and which CRANMER had laboured about with so much zeal and assiduity, brought back, by an act of parliament, into the same state of error and superstition which the old king had left it in; and which was properly, as I have said, the religion of no body but himself. In return for this act, the commons sent up another to the lords which also passed both houses; making it penal to disturb or molest any preacher in his sermons or in any part of the divine offices established by king HENRY, or to be set forth by the queen: and enacting three months imprisonment to such as should abuse the host, or break down altars, crucifixes, or images, in churches, chapels and church yards: provided that this act should no way derogate from the authority of the ecclesiastical laws and courts, who might likewise proceed upon such offences. The commons were now so heated with zeal for the ancient superstition, that they sent up another bill against those who did not come to the church and to the sacrament when the mass should be again set up; leaving the punishment in these cases to the ecclesiastical courts entirely. But this bill was dropped in the house of lords; not so much from any opposition that was made to it, as thro a fear of alarming the nation too much by so many severe laws at once in the dawn of the queen's reign. This however did not prevent them from passing another act, declaring that if any, to the number of twelve, should meet to alter any thing in religion that was established by law, or for any riotous purpose, and upon proclamation made by authority from the queen should not disperse themselves, they, and all who assisted them, should be guilty of felony; and if more than two met for any of these purposes, they should lie a year in prison. When this was made known, the favour of the former act of repeal appeared to be but a mockery; since in so few days after it a law was passed, by which disorders

which might arise upon sudden heats, such as breaking hedges, or parks, were declared felony.

On the third of November, the parliament then sitting, the archbishop of CANTERBURY, the lord GUILFORD DUDLEY and the lady JANE his wife, with two other sons of the late duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, were brought to their trials; and confessing their indictments, received sentence of death as traytors. The archbishop appealed to those who judged him, who knew how unwillingly he had consented to the queen's exclusion, that he had not signed the instrument, till those whose profession it was to know the law had signed it first; upon which he submitted himself to the queen's mercy. They were all attainted of high treason, for levying war against the queen, and for conspiring to set up another in her room; and the attainders were now confirmed in parliament. The sentence against CRANMER had rendered him incapable of any benefice; and therefore the see of Canterbury was now void in law, as well as his grace's life was at the mercy of the queen. But there were three reasons which induced her to dispense with the usual terms, and to leave CRANMER for the present, tho' under sentence of condemnation, in possession of his dignity and life. The first was owing to her design of restoring the ecclesiastical privileges and exemptions to their ancient state; which made it necessary that he should still retain the character of an archbishop, till he was solemnly degraded according to the canon law; but which could not be done till the statutes passed under HENRY, relating to these privileges, were repealed by parliament. The second was owing to the queen's pretended conquest of her own resentments against him, and that she might seem to acquit herself of all obligations to his grace for saving her life, when her father had determined to take it. If he was proceeded against hereafter as an heretick, when the laws should be revived, which she was resolved he should be, the world could impute it to nothing else but a pure zeal for religion, and not to any revenge upon her own account. The third reason was, that under this mask of mercy in forgiving his treason, which could have only brought him to the scaffold as a prisoner against the state, he might be persecuted and tortured with the more hellish cruelty. The sequel of his story will explain what I mean by the third reason, and vindicate my assertion.

Having given this account of the public transaction of parlia-

mentary affairs, we must now see what was done in convocation; in the writs to which, as well as in those to parliament, the queen retained the title of supreme head of the church of England. WESTON, dean of Westminster, being elected prolocutor, with the approbation of BONNER who presided in it, as the first bishop of the province, acquainted the lower house, that it was the queen's pleasure they should enter upon the discussion of some controversial points, and form their resolution into canons, which should afterwards be ratified with the royal assent. Great care had been taken in the election of proctors for the clergy, that none should be returned who were not disposed to comply with the queen's measures; and therefore, tho the ministry could not exclude the deans and archdeacons, who sat in convocation in right of their office, yet they were sure of a majority to carry every thing. Upon this presumption it was moved by the prolocutor, that as there was a very abominable book of common prayer set out, and a catechism full of heresies---meaning the forty two articles at the end of it---printed in the last year of king EDWARD in the name of that synod, tho without its consent, so it would be proper to begin with condemning these books, particularly the articles in them which contradicted the sacrament of the altar: and he gave them these questions to be discussed after an adjournment of two days; "whether, when
 " the bread and wine was consecrated in the sacrament all their
 " substance did not vanish, being changed into the body and
 " blood of CHRIST; and whether his natural body was not pre-
 " sent in the eucharist, either by the transubstantiation of the
 " elements into his body and blood, or by the conjunction of
 " concomitance, as some expressed it?" Among the deans and archdeacons who attended the convocation, there were six who abetted the reformation with great zeal, and who during the adjournment had prepared themselves for the dispute. But instead of proposing the questions for this purpose at their next meeting, the prolocutor exhibited two bills for the members to subscribe before any debate; one asserting the corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar, and the other denying the catechism to have been set forth by assent of the convocation. A vigorous opposition was made to this, especially by PHILPOT archdeacon of Winchester, one of the six I mentioned; who said, that as the convocation had authorized a select committee to prepare a body of ecclesiastical laws, to whom they had committed their synodical power, so this committee might set out the articles to which the catechism was prefixed, without impropriety, in the name of
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the convocation. As to the other bill proposed by the prolocutor for the members to subscribe, it was contrary to all order to subscribe opinions before they had been debated publicly in the house; and since there was such a learned and so numerous an appearance on one side of the question, and so very few on the other, he desired the upper house might be moved for leave to bring RIDLEY, and some other divines, to assist them in the conference. This motion was so reasonable, and the popish party were so sure of a majority to bear down the others, that it was proposed accordingly to the bishops: but their lordships said, that as the persons nominated were prisoners the request could not be granted by them, tho they would move the council about it. But as the demand of a public debate had been unforeseen, and the prolocutor was apprehensive of the disadvantageous comparison that would be made, between the candour used in settling king EDWARD'S articles by the synod of London in the former year, and the laying an absolute restraint now on the liberty of debate, a disputation was ordered on the Monday following; and in the mean time the whole house, except the six, subscribed the two bills proposed by the prolocutor.

Some of the great lords had sent a message to the convocation, that they intended to be present at the dispute; and accordingly when the day came, there was a great appearance of nobility and people of fashion, to hear the debate on the corporal presence. The prolocutor opened it with a protestation, that they did not intend to determine the truth of the question by this dispute, to which the house had already almost all subscribed, but only to satisfy the objections of those few of their members who had refused to concur: and it being a dispute in the lower house of convocation only, the council had refused to send any prisoners, or others, who were not members, to assist in it. Upon this, one of the six quitted the house, and two more declined to enter upon the controversy, since they could not have the assistance which had been asked, and found there was an intention to run them down by numbers. The other three undertook it; and in the course of the debate were assisted by their friends who had at first determined against it. PHILPOT assumed the management of the greatest part of the dispute; and being often commanded by the prolocutor to be silent, when the popish party were at a loss to answer him, he was so nettled, that at last he fell on his knees and desired the lords and privy counsellors who were present, that he might have leave to speak his mind; which they

granted him. He then said, if he did not prove before the queen and her council, that their sacrifice of the mass was no sacrament and that CHRIST was no way present in it, against any six who should maintain the contrary, he would be willing to be burned before the palace gates. This was too bold a challenge to pass without a censure of madness, and the prolocutor threatened to send him to prison. PHILPOT claimed the privilege of the house for freedom of debate, and went on with his arguments, till WESTON told him he had disputed enough: he had many arguments, he said, to produce, and they were enjoining him silence before he had gone thro the first. But, "hold your peace, or I will commit you to prison," was all that the unlearned insolent prolocutor had to offer. To this he was answered with great spirit by the archdeacon, that this was far from the promise that had been made of hearing them fully, or from what was said in the sermon last Sunday at Paul's, "that all objections should be answered in this dispute:" but that they were a company of men, who had heretofore dissembled with God and the world, and were now met in order to suppress the truth, and to set forth false devices which they were not able to maintain. Much altercation and indecent language passed after this, not worth repeating; and which the prolocutor put an end to, by saying, "you have the word but we have the sword;" in which he pointed out very rightly wherein the strength of both causes lay. The queen, having been informed that the popish corruptions she was so fond of were not likely to gain any strength or reputation in a free debate in synod, and that so long as it was to put on the face of a consultation on matters of religion, the freedom of debate could not be restrained with any decency, dissolved the convocation before they had come to any conclusions. But the reformers made no scruple to lay before the world the disorderly behaviour of the prolocutor, and several others, in the course of this dispute; in which account they put the candour of protestants into the scale, against the violent and tumultuary practices of the popish clergy. For in this very article there had been disputes in the universities above a year together before there was any determination; whereas the question was now first subscribed, and then disputed before the privy council, who gave all possible encouragement on the side of the determination.

From the time that the queen had filled the throne, she seemed to have been wholly taken up with the public affairs which I have laid before the reader: but she was all along employed pri-

vately in carrying on a design which lay next her heart, and which, taking air at this time, occasioned the sudden dissolution of the parliament. The news of EDWARD's death, and the queen's accession to the crown, were no sooner known abroad, than the pope's legate at Brussels sent an agent to England, in order to speak with the queen in private, and to persuade her to reconcile herself and her subjects to the apostolic see. The management of this affair was left entirely to the agent, who was not to trust the secret with GARDINER, or any one else; and who, by his dexterity in this important negotiation, for which he was afterwards made a cardinal, was able enough, it is evident, to conduct it without assistance. The name of this man was COMMENDONE; and tho he was so much a stranger in England, that he did not know to whom he should address himself, yet he found means to procure a private audience of the queen; in which she freely owned her resolution to reconcile her kingdom to the see of Rome, and to bring every thing which concerned religion back again to the state in which it had been before her father's revolt: but she thought it absolutely necessary to carry on the design with the utmost secrecy, lest in the confusion of affairs then, the discovery of it might disturb her government, and for ever obstruct the design itself. She wrote a letter to the pope, another to cardinal POLE, which she confided to the care of COMMENDONE; whom she ordered to move his holiness that POLE might be sent as legate: and from her asking him whether the pope could not dispense with the cardinal to marry, since he was only in deacon's orders, it has been generally taken for granted that the queen had some inclinations to him for an husband. There are many proofs of her having a great kindness for cardinal POLE to the end of her days; and when her majesty had just mounted the throne, on which she saw she should want all the assistance that could be got to execute her designs, she might probably have a thought of marrying POLE, who was a native, and of the blood royal of England; as not then knowing where to fix so well for an husband. It is certain, however, that neither her inclinations, nor her design, went any further: for as soon as the emperor proposed his son, the queen entertained the motion; being assured of POLE's advice without taking him for a partner with her on the throne, and finding, in an alliance with the emperor, the resource of a foreign aid to enable her to compel her subjects to submit to the Roman yoke.

As soon as COMMENDONE arrived at Rome with his letters,
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there was a public rejoicing for three days, in which the pope said mass himself, and distributed the ordinary largesse of his indulgences; so much pleasure did it give them to think, that a kingdom from which they had drawn such immense wealth in former times was now to become tributary to them again. The agent however having owned nothing before the consistory of his being sent thither by the queen, and saying only that he had heard from very good hands, that her majesty was well disposed to the holy see, and desired a legate might be sent to England with full powers, many of the stiffer cardinals thought it below the papal dignity, to take any notice of this intelligence, or to send a legate till it was desired by an express embassy, or message at least, from the queen herself. To those whom the pope could confide in most the true secret was whispered, that COMMENDONE had said nothing but by her majesty's own order confirmed by letters from her, but that her condition at present was so unsettled, that till she held a session of parliament her appearing openly in this matter might ruin all. To the others it was said, that they were to remember how England had been formerly lost by too much stiffness, and that it became the pope to imitate the shepherd in the parable, who left his ninety nine sheep to look after that which was gone astray. Therefore ample powers were prepared for POLE, as his holiness's legate to the court of England, and the cardinal set forward on his journey thither. But this transaction could not be conducted with so much secrecy as not to come to GARDINER's knowledge. As soon as he was acquainted with it, he dispatched a messenger to the emperor, to assure him that the restoring the papal power, and the marriage with the prince of Spain, were things of such uneasy digestion in this kingdom, that it was not safe to venture on both at once; that tho all affairs were then in a fair train, and when the queen was strengthened with so great an alliance as the marriage with his son, the papal authority would be less resisted, yet if POLE came and pressed the point of religion, as he certainly would do, the government would be unhinged; and, to touch the emperor in a tender part, he dropped a hint of the queen's inclinations for the cardinal. The emperor, being of the same opinion with the bishop, sent express orders to POLE to proceed no further; and then wrote to the queen to prevent his coming into England till he had fresh instructions.

The queen, who was then determined on her marriage, and would not therefore disoblige the emperor, sent a messenger to
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the cardinal, with the two acts that had passed about her mother's marriage, and the restoring religion to the state it was in at her father's death; that he might see she was going forward with the design on which he was coming over. But she wrote him word, that the commons, in passing those two acts, had expressed a great aversion towards parting with the supremacy in order to restore the papal power, and were much alarmed to hear that he was coming over as legate. She told him, that the divulging her secret message by COMMENDONE had been a great prejudice to her affairs, and that she must desire he would proceed no further till she sent for him. To let him see however the regard she had for his council, she desired he would advise her how she was to conduct herself, in case the parliament would not consent to repeal the late acts of supremacy: and in another letter some time after, she sent him an account of her intention to fill the vacant sees, and desired he would send her a list of such divines as he would have promoted to them. The cardinal wrote a tedious and verbose reply, with which I shall not trouble the reader. It will be sufficient to inform him, that POLE objected to both the acts that had been passed; to the first, because the pope's bulls were not mentioned, which alone could make the marriage of her mother lawful; and to the other, because the worship of God, and the sacraments, were to be in the condition in which they were at her father's death, when the people were yet in a state of schism and had no right to the sacraments. The cardinal was much offended at being stopped; and apprehended the displeasure of the pope and cardinals, to the prejudice of the queen, and the English nation. He advises her majesty not to be governed too much by carnal policy, but putting on a spirit of wisdom and courage, to go herself to the parliament, to inform them, that she was touched in conscience for the schism which she and her people were in from the catholic church and the holy see, and had therefore desired cardinal POLE might be sent as legate to treat about it; in which she hoped they would concur, and take off the attainder from him, that he might be capable of that commission. Before this dispatch was brought to England, GARDINER, having convinced the queen, with the emperor's assistance, that the marriage must precede all attempts about restoring the pope's authority, found it no difficult matter to persuade her, that this advice which was now given by POLE, who, tho a good and learned man, understood not the genius of the English nation, was impracticable; and so it was laid aside.

Tho the house of commons had shewn a great devotion to the queen, in being so ready to repeal her mother's divorce and the laws of her predecessor about religion, yet when this design of the marriage with Spain, and of a reconciliation with Rome came to be known, the parliament was so enflamed, that the commons sent their speaker and twenty members, with an humble address to the queen that she would not marry a stranger; giving her majesty to understand, that unless they were satisfied upon that article there was nothing more to be expected from them. But as the queen had no such intention, they were dismissed somewhat abruptly, and the parliament was dissolved immediately. This was a fine opportunity for GARDINER to obtain conditions of the emperor which he could not otherwise expect; nor indeed, I think, have the assurance to propose; and he did not miss it. He represented to his majesty, that the people were so averse to the intended marriage, that unless such conditions were assented to as should be plainly to the advantage of the crown of England, and such a sum of money remitted, as would be sufficient to silence the chief nobility, and to carry the elections for the ensuing parliament, the queen must lay aside all thoughts of the marriage with his son; which, if it was consummated in the state in which things were at present, would occasion a rebellion over the nation. The emperor had his reasons for desiring this match with MARY for his son: and it was resolved therefore to grant whatever conditions the English should demand; imagining, that when PHILIP had once the crown upon his head, it would be no difficult matter, with the assistance of his other dominions, to annihilate or alter the conditions as he thought fit. The money was an affair adjusted with less ease; and the emperor was obliged to have recourse to a loan from some of the free towns in Germany, to make up the sum to be sent to England, which his son bound himself to repay when he had married MARY. The emperor made a secret of this so little, that when he was pressed a year after by the towns to discharge his debt, his answer was, that he had lent his son four hundred thousand pounds to marry the queen of England, and had yet only received a quarter part of it, but had good security for the rest; and therefore he desired a little longer time. This is the first instance to be met with in the English history of corrupting parliaments; but the precedent set by this crafty and designing prelate, for an English parliament to be bought and sold with their own money, has been so well followed ever since, that if ever this nation

should lose its liberties and be enslaved and ruined, it will be by the means of parliaments corrupted with bribes and places. But GARDINER did not content himself with his distributing this money: he made use of his power also as chancellor, by denying any favour, or even justice in his court, to all who opposed the measures which were then on foot.

In the beginning of the following year, a great embassy came from the emperor, with count EGMONT at the head, to settle the conditions of the marriage between his son and the queen. The negotiating this treaty, on her majesty's part, was confided principally to GARDINER; who took care to make such terms as he thought the parliament would not revolt at, and as would exclude the Spaniards from any share in the government, which he intended to keep in his own hands. It is not to the purpose of this history to lay the articles of this treaty before the reader; the prince had only the empty title of king of England while MARY lived, and was to have no share in the government after her death. He was much disgusted at these conditions, and desired to marry one more suitable to his age, the queen being ten years older. But the emperor was resolved to grant every thing that was asked; and yet the nation was dissatisfied. The severity of the Spanish government in all the provinces united to that crown, and the monstrous cruelties exercised in the West-Indies, were much talked of. The protestants particularly apprehended a Spanish inquisition would be erected in England; and few could persuade themselves to believe, that PHILIP would be restrained by parchment obligations. In short the greatest part of the nation concluded that England would become a province to Spain: and under those fears a conspiracy was formed by the duke of SUFFOLK, and some others, against the government: which being discovered very early was soon defeated. I shall not enter into particulars: but if their measures had been better taken, the queen and her ministers would have been greatly distressed in such a conjuncture, when the government, weak as it was and in its infancy, had already created a great number of enemies. But the ill success of this enterprize was as lucky to the administration as tho they had themselves contrived it: for in a feeble government to which the people are ill affected, half formed rebellions not only give as much strength and firmness to the sovereign as they take from the faction against him, but they also afford a colour for those proceedings, for which otherwise it would be difficult to find a just excuse.

Tho religion had no share at all in this conspiracy, and the queen in her proclamation relating to it laid nothing to the charge of the protestants, yet her majesty having assumed her power from the ill success of this undertaking, she turned it entirely to the ruin of the reformation, and the reformed. The duke of SUFFOLK being engaged in the conspiracy, the court saw that his design must be to replace his daughter, the lady JANE, upon the throne; and this determined the queen to sacrifice this innocent and illustrious person to her own safety. Accordingly, a message was sent to her, and her husband, to prepare themselves for death: but when DR. FECKENHAM who brought it, and who had orders to exhort her ladyship to change her religion, conversed with her, he was astonished, he said, to hear so young a person of her sex and quality look on death so near her with so little disorder, and talk of faith, and holiness, the scriptures, sacrament, and authority of the church, so sensibly. She was much moved at first when she saw her husband led out to his execution, but she soon recovered herself, and rejoiced at her own approaching end. She was executed on a scaffold set up within the Tower, in order to prevent too many people from being present at a scene which would probably raise compassion. She testified to the last moment great constancy in her sufferings, extraordinary piety, and a firm adherence to the reformation; acknowledging however it was a sin in accepting a crown which belonged not to her, tho she had neither procured, nor desired it. In ten days after, the duke of SUFFOLK her father was tried and executed; who would have met with more compassion for his weakness than he did, if his practices had not brought the lady JANE to such a fatal and untimely end. Next came the turn of SIR THO. WYAT, the other principal leader in the rebellion: and tho to save his life, which he begged in the most abject manner, he accused the earl of DEVONSHIRE and the princess ELIZABETH as accomplices in his conspiracy, yet it only gained him a respite of two months: but this had a different effect from what the court expected. For at his second examination, he fully cleared the princess and the earl; and lest his testimony should be suppressed, he renewed it at the place of execution.

It is certain that GARDINER had a great desire to get rid of the princess at all events; and the queen was now so alienated from her, that there is a great probability her majesty would have

have been pleased with it, if she could have supported her rigour with any colour of justice. The queen had looked upon the earl of DEVONSHIRE, when she first came to the crown, with more than a common tenderness; and an invitation was given him to make his addresses to her. But the earl, either having an aversion to the person, temper, or principles of the queen, or else having a real passion for the princess, who, of that moderate share of beauty that was between them, had much the better of her majesty, and was nineteen years younger, declined the offer from the queen and made his addresses with great assiduity to her sister. This was a crime, we may well imagine, that her majesty would never forgive, when she saw herself neglected with a crown too upon her head, and the princess preferred before her. Tho no other proof therefore, was pretended against them but WYAT's accusation, of which he himself acquitted them in the article of death, yet they were both sent to the Tower. MR. COLLIER tells us, that he had seen a letter in the paper office, under the hand of the princess ELIZABETH, in which she purges herself of this accusation with the strongest imprecations that can be imagined. But the princess was believed to be in her heart so much for the reformation, that GARDINER, who certainly knew it would be pleasing to the queen, had procured a warrant to be signed by some of the privy council for her execution. The lieutenant of the Tower being greatly surprized at a warrant of this sort, not signed by the queen, when he knew the princess had had no trial, nor a legal accusation, applied to her majesty to know her pleasure before he would make use of it; and the queen denying any knowledge of the warrant, the life of the princess was preserved. Had her majesty immediately turned out GARDINER from his post with marks of indignation, she might have been thought innocent of so diabolical a contrivance. But the trust and power in which she permitted him to continue till his death, makes it suspicious, if not evident, that she would not have been displeased at an obedience to the warrant; which, as it wanted her hand, she could have denied her knowledge of, and, if she had sacrificed the counsellors concerned in it, might perhaps have been believed.

The disturbances occasioned by the conspiracy being entirely quieted, and the government having no apprehension of any further mutiny or opposition, the queen resumed her first design of extinguishing the reformation. The reformation however was
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established by parliament in the usual course: and tho nothing could therefore legally set it aside but the same authority of parliament, yet the queen availed herself of the supremacy of the crown, an authority which she herself detested, and was contrary to her principles, in order to carry on this favourite project, which was opposite to the laws and liberties of the kingdom. To this end, a set of articles drawn up by GARDINER was sent into every diocese, with an injunction to the bishops to see carefully to their execution. After a long and invidious preamble about the disorders introduced into the church in the former reign, it was required of every bishop, and other ordinary having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, “to put the canons and laws in execution, which had been in force in the time of HENRY the eighth; that no more proceedings in the spiritual courts should be in the queen’s name, nor the oath of supremacy be imposed any more on the clergy; that none suspected of heresy should be admitted into orders, and all endeavours to suppress heresy, and other scandalous crimes, in the clergy especially, should be exerted by the bishops and officers of the church; that they should proceed summarily, and with all possible dispatch, deprive, and remove all married clergymen; but those who renounced their wives before the bishops after penance, might be restored again to their function on another cure, and have a pension allowed them out of their benefice at the bishop’s discretion; that more lenity might be used towards those priests whose wives were dead; but those who had formerly professed chastity in any religious order, and were married, were not only to be deprived of their benefices, but to be divorced, and otherwise punished for their offence; that where priests were wanting, the inhabitants of the parish should repair to another church, till further provision could be made, and one curate should officiate alternately in several parishes; that all processions of the church, all holy-days, and fasting days, and all the honest and laudable ceremonies which were wont to be used should be hereafter used, frequented, and observed, as they were in the late reign of king HENRY; that all children should be christened by the priest, and confirmed by the bishop, as heretofore hath been accustomed; that all such as had been admitted to orders by the new ordination office considering they were not ordained in very deed, if the bishop found them otherwise of sufficient ability, might be admitted to minister, after that thing was supplied which was wanted in them before; that an uniform doctrine be set forth by homilies, or otherwise, for the good instruction and teaching of all

people; that the parishioners be compelled by the ordinaries to come to their several churches, to hear divine service, as in reason they ought; and finally, that they should examine all school-masters, remove those who were suspected, and place catholic men in their room, who should instruct the children that they might be able to answer the priest and help him at mass as hath been accustomed."

The reader will observe, that in most of these articles the pious queen assumed a power above the laws, in the very same instrument in which it was ordered, that the clergy for the future should not be obliged to acknowledge such a power; and that by her own authority only, she took upon her to punish men for offences, which had formally been allowed by the whole legislature of England. Because, tho the act which repealed all the laws of EDWARD about religion had annulled the law allowing the marriage of the clergy, yet it had annulled it only for the future, but did not void it from the beginning; so that however she might have been justified in her severities towards them for the time to come, if they married, or continued to cohabit with their wives, yet she could not be warranted in punishing them for what was past. But she did not stop at the inferior clergy. In a few days after these articles were published, she signed two commissions to GARDINER and five other bishops, or any three of them, to call before them the archbishop of YORK, and the bishops of BRISTOL, CHESTER, and ST. DAVID'S, who, she had heard with great grief of heart, had broken their vows and defiled their function by contracting marriage; and if upon enquiry the report was true, to deprive and turn them out of their bishopricks. The other commission, was to call before them the bishops of LINCOLN, HEREFORD, and GLOCESTER, in whose patents it was provided, that they should hold their bishopricks whilst they behaved well; and since they had misbehaved, their bishopricks were to be declared void, "as they were indeed already void." Thus were seven bishops turned out all at once, by an authority, which the queen herself thought sinful and schismatical: and thus were the severities against BONNER and GARDINER, which I condemned in the former reign, as stretches of power without law, exceeded in the execution of these commissions. The seven sees, with three others, vacant by deaths, and that of Bath and Wells by the resignation of BARLOW, were soon filled with men in whom the queen confided: and these vacancies, together with the restoration of BONNER, GARDINER,

DAY, and VESEY, had introduced fifteen popish bishops within a few months into the church. This great change having been made, the next thing was to execute the queen's injunctions; and they were executed, particularly against the married clergy, in the most unjust, and arbitrary manner. Of the sixteen thousand clergymen that were then computed to be in England, it is thought, by the best accounts that can be had, that about nine thousand were deprived on account of their marriage; and those who had been regulars, of which there was a great number, were obliged to part with their wives as well as their preferments; and besides being deprived, were divorced. We are told by archbishop PARKER, who was then alive, that some were deprived upon common fame without any conviction, that many who were in prison were cited and turned out for not appearing, and several were never cited and yet deprived: some were deprived tho their marriage was before their entrance into orders, and others were induced to resign on the promise of a pension which was never paid. When the church was thus purged, the altars, masses, and dirges, and all the old ceremonies were introduced: the most eminent preachers in London were either put in prison, or under confinement, from the proclamation which prohibited preaching without licence. To justify the severity of the queen's proceedings against the married clergy, many books were published on the side of the celibacy, which accused them of the sensuality and impurity of their lives. The married clergy, being thus attacked, thought it a necessary self defence to return these imputations on those who pretended chastity, and at the same time were dissolute in the highest degree. That kennel of uncleanness in the religious houses was raked again upon this occasion, and the lewdness of the priests exposed without any reserve. It was even affirmed, that BONNER, who was the bastard of a priest in Leicestershire by a married woman, had several bastards himself.

In this situation were the affairs of the church, when a new parliament met on the second of April. The court had two things in view in calling the parliament at this time: the one was the approbation of the queen's marriage, and the other was the restoration of the pope's authority: and in the humour in which the bulk of the people of England then were, these were points which one would imagine a parliament would not be very forward to promote. For to obtain the first, it was not sufficient, that the majority of the members should be well inclined to

to the alterations in religion, but it was also necessary, that they should have but little or no regard to the interests of their country ; since the marriage would put England in evident danger of becoming a province to Spain. But to carry the second, it was requisite that the commons should be convinced, not only of the truth of the Romish doctrines, but also that religion could not subsist without an open acknowledgment of the papal power. Inconsiderable as the number was, even among the papists themselves, that was convinced of this, the greater was GARDINER's care and assiduity in the management of the elections, and in securing the leading members when they were elected, with places and pensions, on the side of the court. But however, the bishop beginning to suspect, from some circumstances, that the Spaniards intended to get the government into their hands, he at once consulted the nation's interest and his own : when the articles of the marriage therefore came to be ratified in parliament, he took care that they should be more explained, and even enlarged, in that part which declared the entire government of the kingdom to belong only to the queen : and the preservation of England out of the hands of the Spaniards at that time seems to have been wholly owing to the coincidence of GARDINER's own interest with that of the nation. The queen had new founded the bishoprick of Durham, as I have said, by her letters patents, and restored all the lands belonging to it in her possession. But neither the reversal of the sentence of TUNSTAL's deprivation, nor the queen's letters patents, being thought sufficient to recover the honours and lands to the see of Durham, therefore to restore it to its former interest, privileges and revenues, the two statutes, dissolving it in the late reign, were now in this parliament repealed. The commons then sent up a bill for reviving the statutes against lollardy, which being twice read by the lords was laid aside. They intended next to have revived the statute of the six articles ; but the court not being willing to take notice then of any of the acts of HENRY, it went no further. They brought in therefore another bill for extirpating erroneous opinions and books, which at the third reading was thrown out. Not content with this zeal, tho it had been disapproved by the court, they passed a bill against lollardy in some particular points ; but that being sent up to the lords was likewise dropped in that house at the third reading. In short the Spanish gold, and pensions, had been distributed with such success, that the commons, to shew how obsequious they were to the will of the queen, prepared four bills, in one session of six weeks only, for

the prosecution of those they called hereticks. If this passion of the commons had been humoured, many rigorous acts against the protestants must have been the consequence: but the ministry thinking it premature to begin the persecution before the queen was married, all the bills of this nature were dropped in the house of lords, by direction of the court. As zealous however as the commons had shewn themselves for popery, yet to secure the property of some of their members, they passed a bill, importing, that neither the bishop of Rome, nor any other, should have a power to convene or trouble those who were possessed of abbey lands. The lords agreed that the owners of such lands should be secured; but since it was resolved to reconcile the nation to the holy see, it was urged that it would be indecent to pass an act, which should call him only bishop of Rome, the compellation given him during the schism; and it was also preposterous to begin with a limitation of his power, before they had acknowledged that he had any authority at all in England; and therefore the bill was rejected by the lords. Nothing more being required of this parliament, on the twenty fifth of May it was dissolved.

The business of the queen's marriage being settled thus to her satisfaction, she was prevailed with to break thro the usual forms observed by all her sex, and to write the first love letter to PHILIP. She tells him, "that tho he had not writ since their alliance had been treating, yet thinking herself obliged by his affection for her, confirmed by good effects, and by his letters to his father's minister, she could not refrain from letting him know the duty in which she always designed to correspond with him, and from returning him thanks for his good offices. The parliament having agreed, she says, to the articles of their marriage which were thought more than reasonable, she trusted his coming to England would be both safe and agreeable to him: and so she recommends herself affectionately and humbly to his highness as his entirely assured and most obliged ally." In the meantime, the council were proceeding with vigour in matters of heresy. I shall take no notice however of little punishments and prosecutions. Many complaints having been made that the disputes in the last convocation had not been fairly carried on, that the most eminent reformed divines were detained in prison, and of those who had a right to be in the house but few were permitted to speak, and that not without interruption and menaces, it was now resolved to adjourn the convocation, which met

whilst this parliament was sitting, and to send the prolocutor with some of their members and others to Oxford, that the dispute might be held before the whole university. To give a colour of justice and sincerity to this conference, since the archbishop and RIDLEY were esteemed the most eminent of the protestants, the queen sent a warrant to remove them from the Tower to the prison at Oxford; and tho LATIMER had never been accounted very learned, and was then eighty years of age, yet having been a celebrated preacher, and zealous for the reformation, he was also sent thither to bear his share in the debate. To these three bishops, who were ill accommodated in a jail, denied the convenience of their books and papers, the conversation of each other, and any mutual assistance in the conference, for each was to have his day separate from the others, a committee from the convocation and the two universities, consisting of fourteen divines, were to be opposed; who might consult together before, and support each other in the debate. Here was on one hand a great appearance of candour, in appointing these three prelates, who were prisoners in the Tower, to carry on the dispute; the two first most indubitably the ablest men of their party. But on the other hand, it was very extraordinary, if candour to the protestants was intended, that they should be put under the circumstances above mentioned, and that there should be fourteen against one allotted for the dispute. Will any one pretend to believe, that the court was not resolved to confound them with something besides arguments, and that, under this appearance of candour, it was not intended to expose these three great prelates to insolence and abuse? The queen sent her precept to the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford to bring the prisoners into the public schools at the times appointed for the disputation; calling RIDLEY a doctor, and LATIMER only clerk.

When CRANMER was brought out first before the committee, the prolocutor WESTON made a speech, exhorting him to return to the unity of the church; to which the archbishop replied with so much modesty and solemnity, and in such pathetic terms, that many of the audience were observed to weep. The questions, on which the conference was to turn, were these; Whether the natural body of CHRIST was really in the sacrament? Whether any other substance did remain but the body and blood of CHRIST? And whether in the mass there was a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the dead and living? As soon as the questions were shewed his grace, he asserted they were not true, and

and that he would maintain the negative. I shall not tire the reader with the particulars of this dispute, which was carried on with much indecency by the committee; the prolocutor calling CRANMER, sometimes an unlearned, and sometimes an impudent man, and many others hissing whilst he was speaking to prevent his being heard. When the dispute had continued from morning till two o' clock, it was put an end to with great triumph; as tho CRANMER had been confounded in the opinion of all the audience, which they had shewn by their noise and laughter. The next day they brought out RIDLEY; who began with a solemn declaration, that tho he was once of another opinion than what he was of at present, yet he had not changed it upon any worldly considerations, but merely for love of truth: and since it was the cause of God he was now to maintain, he protested that he would have leave to add to, or alter any argument, as he should see cause for it, and desired he might have leave to speak without interruption. All this was promised him, but it was not complied with; and tho all the committee by turns assailed him, and sometimes four or five at once, yet he maintained his ground till the prolocutor put an end, by saying, "you see the obstinate, " vain glorious, crafty, and inconstant mind of this man, but " you see also the force of truth cannot be shaken; therefore " cry out with me, truth has the victory." This being ecchoed again by several of the audience, the dispute was concluded for the second day. The turn of the good old LATIMER came next, who told them that he was then above fourscore years of age, and not fit for disputing, but he would declare his opinion to them, and they might do just as they pleased; his memory was gone, but his faith was grounded on the word of God.

Thus ended the disputation, the committee boasting of their success; and in a few days after, the bishops being brought to St. MARY'S, the prolocutor told them they were overcome in the dispute, and he therefore required them to subscribe the questions in the affirmative. They objected against the noise and clamour which they were treated with, and refusing to subscribe, or to retract, they were all three adjudged to be obstinate hereticks, and declared to be no longer members of the church. Upon this the archbishop answered, "I appeal from this your sentence " to the just judgment of Almighty God, trusting to be present " with him in heaven, for whose presence on the altar I am thus " condemned." RIDLEY told them, "that altho he was not " of their company, yet he doubted not but his name was written

“ in another place, whither this sentence would send him sooner
“ than by the course of nature he should have gone.” LATIMER appeared transported with the sentence, and said, “ I thank
“ God most heartily that he hath prolonged my life to this end,
“ that I may in this case glorify God with this kind of death.” To all this WESTON answered, that if they went to heaven with this faith, then he would never come thither, as he was of the other opinion. The three bishops were then parted, and conducted to their separate prisons; where RIDLEY wrote a letter to the prolocutor, complaining of the noisy and irregular manner with which the dispute was carried on; in which he had not the liberty of making a full defence, nor of urging his arguments at length, being overpowered with clamour, and the indecent abuse of four or five opponents at a time: he desired however that he might have a copy of what the notaries had set down, with a liberty of adding to, or altering any part; but this was not granted. The archbishop likewise wrote to the council by WESTON, acquainting them of the disorder in the late public disputation, where he was not heard, nor permitted to propose his arguments, but all was shuffled up in a day, tho he had matter enough to be discussed for twenty days: it looked therefore, he said, like a design to shut up every thing in haste, in order to condemn them of heresy and to make a triumph; but he left it to the wisdom of their lordships to consider, whether this was an indifferent and a laudable way of handling such a subject. When WESTON was on the road to town, he had the impudence to open this dispatch of the archbishop's, and finding that it contained a complaint of this kind in which he himself was so much concerned, he sent it back again, and gave the queen and council an account very unfavourable to the champions of the reformation. It may be not improper to stop here for a moment, to observe the illegality, as well as the inconsistency, of the measures pursued at this time by MARY. There was nothing in the world she so much desired, next to her own salvation, as the restoring the ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction to the highest pitch it had ever arrived at: and yet in this instance, as well as in many others, she counteracted this authority and jurisdiction, by as notorious an exertion of her own supremacy in the church, as ever her father or brother had made use of who avowed this supremacy. Thus, contrary to all precedents, and to all ecclesiastical privilege and order, established by the canons of general councils, she empowered a committee of priests, without a single bishop among them, to try a cause of the highest nature in the
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church, to examine the faith of three bishops, to convict them of heresy, and to throw them out of church communion. But a zeal for her religion attoned for all her misconduct, and she stuck at nothing that would enable her to get the better of the reformers. The bishops being thus openly triumphed over at Oxford, there was a design of the same nature to be executed at Cambridge, over some other bishops and eminent clergy, who were in the several prisons of Newgate, the Fleet, and the King's-bench: but the prisoners, hearing of this intended insult, set forth a declaration, signed by three bishops and seven divines, that they would not dispute unless in writing, except it were before the queen and her council, or one of the houses of parliament: and for this refusal they give very sufficient reasons, founded on the proceedings in the late dispute at Oxford, and the predetermination of their enemies. To this declaration they added a summary of their belief; for which, they said, they were ready to offer up their lives, to the halter, or the fire, as it should please God to appoint. The publishing this declaration prevented any further public conferences in religion; and it was determined to silence the protestants more effectually in another manner, as soon as the queen's marriage was safely over which was then just at hand.

Advice having been sent to PHILIP that all the articles were settled, and every thing was ready for the consummation, he hastened over to England, and landing at Southampton was met by the queen at Winchester; where in a few days after they were married by GARDINER, and proclaimed by all their titles. Upon their arrival at London, the king, as an act of clemency, and to win the affections of the English, obtained the enlargement of several prisoners; among whom were the princess ELIZABETH, the earl of DEVONSHIRE, and the archbishop of YORK. This intercession was very acceptable to the people, who were as much inclined to the princess as GARDINER was set against her: and what the king did now for her preservation, on motives of generosity, and to recommend himself on his first appearance, he continued afterwards, when the hopes of issue by this marriage failed him, upon reasons of state. About a month before the arrival of the king, the princess had been removed out of the Tower, and was put under the charge of SIR HEN. BEDINGFIELD; who did not treat her with the civility and respect due to her quality. She saw herself however now without any restraint, tho all her motions were narrowly watched: and the

earl of DEVONSHIRE, concluding that he should be always distrusted, and upon the first disorder perhaps again sent to the Tower, went abroad to wait for better times; but died within a year in Italy, as it is said, by poison. The setting these prisoners at liberty was the only act of grace that PHILIP ever did in England: and indeed his whole behaviour both in the court and council, the one being so opposite to their genius and customs, and the other to their interests, made him hated and despised by all the people. The queen and her ministry could boast of but little more popularity; except among the papists, and those to whom they had given large promises, and pensions, from the Spanish gold which was following PHILIP, to make a shew of loyalty.

The marriage, and the jollities on that occasion, put a stop to the severities which were daily practised by the court; but they were soon resumed with interest. Orders were given to imprison all who did not come to divine service; and many were put in the pillory and lost their ears, for speaking too freely on the proceedings of the government. The lord mayor, and aldermen of London, were commanded to punish the spreaders of false reports; some of the princess ELIZABETH's servants were committed for some words which they had dropped about state affairs; and an order was given to BONNER to send some learned and discreet preachers into Essex to reduce the people there to the old religion; of which reduction, it seems, he knew no other way than by severity. When he went his visitation, he carried a book of homilies, which, he said, he and his chaplains had compiled; but the best and greatest part of it was taken out of "the institution of a Christian man," published by king HENRY, and chiefly composed by CRANMER. The articles of enquiry in which he proceeded in his visitation, and which were probably much the same with those of all the other bishops, related generally to the suppression of heresy, the marriage of the clergy, and the restoration of the old superstitious ceremonies. These he found in some churches were not complied with; and his behaviour in those places, in swearing, abusing, and even striking the clergy belonging to them, was so indecent, that the dean of St. PAUL's who accompanied him thought it necessary to say to those who saw it, in his excuse, that the bishop's long imprisonment had so disordered him, that in his passion he knew not what he did, and when he came to himself would be sorry for what he had done. To which a gentleman made answer, that

now he was taken out of prison he should be sent to Bedlam. The bishop observing during the course of his visitation, that the walls in most churches were decorated with passages taken out of the scripture, and in many with such passages as favoured the marriage of the clergy, or confuted the corporal presence and the sacrifice, sent letters mandatory, at his return, to raze out all these paintings, and to set up roods and images. This occasioned the reflexion, that it was highly necessary the scripture should be washed out before the images were introduced, since they were so contrary to one another that they could not decently stand together. Many ludicrous representations and satyrical poems were published at this time against the pageantry of the present worship; for the discovery of whose authors many large rewards were offered, but without effect. The court however was determined to turn soon into severe mourning that mirth and pleasantness of the hereticks, which they could not suppress: and now came on the great affair of reconciling the whole nation to the see of Rome.

The two former parliaments had yielded, to restore every thing in religion, and the church, to the state in which they were left at the death of HENRY; and the queen herself at first pretended to nothing more. But now the business of the marriage was over, and the government seemed to have all at their own command, the queen's bigotry broke loose; and nothing would content her righteous spirit, but a total reconciliation with the holy see. To this purpose she summoned another parliament to meet in the November following; in the writs of which, her title, as supreme head of the church, was not inserted, as it had been in the two last, tho it was still by law united to the other titles, and the power of which she had assumed till now in a high degree. Her majesty had never been more solicitous about any thing than to get this parliament to her mind: she wrote to the earl of SUSSEX, and probably to all the great men she confided in, desiring him "to admonish the electors to
 " choose men of wise, grave, and catholic sort, such as meant
 " the true honour of God and the prosperity of the common
 " wealth, which she and the king her husband did intend with-
 " out the alteration of any man's possession; as the hinderers
 " of her good purposes and the favourers of hereticks did falsely
 " report:" She ordered him to come up a fortnight before the meeting of the parliament that she might consult with him about the affairs that were to be treated of; and the earl in consequence
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of this letter wrote to the gentlemen of the country to reserve their votes for his recommendation, and to the town of Yarmouth particularly for leave to name a burges. The emperor having now permitted POLE to proceed as far as Flanders, and the temper of the parliament being quickly found to be favourable to the work he came for, the lords PAGET and HASTINGS were sent to bring him over. The first bill which passed at the opening of the session, was a repeal to POLE's attainder, which was read three times in one day in the house of commons, and to pass which the king and queen came to parliament on purpose without any other business, that it might be finished before he came to England. It was however passed but just in time, for in two days after he came to London; he made a private entry without the solemnities of legate, because the pope's authority was not yet restored by law.

In the bull which the pope passed to constitute POLE his legate, there was a great panegyrick on the queen; but these bulls were things of form: his powers and instructions were in the brevet which accompanied it. His first powers were to receive all hereticks of what rank or sex soever, even bishops and archbishops, communities as well as persons, and how great soever their sins were or how long soever continued in, to absolve them, tho they were such as were reserved immediately to the holy see; to pardon all irregularities and bigamies of ecclesiasticks, they first leaving their wives so that they might continue in their functions, on their private confession and penance; to suffer any of the clergy, except bishops, that were married, to continue in that state upon their conversion, and to declare the issue lawful, only excluding them from all ecclesiastical functions; to absolve communities from unlawful pactions, tho confirmed with oaths; to dispense with Lent, and the vows of regulars; to unite benefices, and to agree with those who possessed any goods of the church, discharging them from all the profits they had wickedly received, on their restoring the immoveable goods, if it seemed to him convenient to require them, and to apply what should arise from such agreement, to the church, or to schools, and the advancement of learning. He was likewise empowered to delegate others under him for the performance of these things, whilst he remained without the kingdom; to confirm bishops and archbishops promoted by a secular nomination during the schism, on their returning to the unity of the church, and to provide to all sees upon any vacancy such as the queen should

recommend; and these powers were confirmed, all constitutions notwithstanding. Ample as these powers will probably appear at first sight to the reader, yet they certainly were equivocal; and when they were sent over from Flanders by the emperor, they were thought by the English council too slender to give the nation satisfaction in the point of the abbey and chantry lands. The cardinal was obliged therefore to send an agent to Rome for fuller powers, before he could be admitted to come into England as a legate. I shall here give them the reader. As several unforeseen cases might happen with relation to England, that could not be comprehended within the powers already given him, he was authorized now to make use of all faculties sent to him, either by himself or by one deputed from him, and to do every thing that he might think would conduce to the glory of God, the honour of the holy see, and the bringing the queen's dominions to the communion of the church. In another instrument the pope declares, that as he had made POLE legate a latere, in hopes of reducing the kingdom to the unity of the catholic church, so that he might not obstruct the salvation of so many souls by any worldly regards, and might encourage the progress already made there by shewing himself indulgent and bountiful with respect to the goods of the church, he therefore empowers the cardinal to treat with all the detainers of those goods for whom the queen should intercede, and to compound with them, that they might without scruple enjoy and detain the same; saving always such things, about which, for the importance of them, it should seem fit to him to consult the holy see. These powers, tho' more wordy, were yet as equivocal and useless as the first, and were certainly given without sincerity. But the king and queen, who were in the sentiments of the court of Rome, assisted the fraud as much as lay in their power. After all however, the canons make the goods of the church so sacred, that even the pope himself, unlimited a power as he is flattered with, in other respects, has no power to alienate them; and consequently the consent of JULIUS to the alienation of the lands in England was of no significancy, and his successor refused plainly to confirm it, as we shall see hereafter.

The cardinal had first a private audience of the king and queen; and two days after he came to the parliament house. Their majesties sitting under a canopy, and the lords and commons being present, the lord chancellor GARDINER acquainted them with the character and business of the cardinal, and hoped

they would follow the good example of the king and queen in receiving him with due regard. After this introduction, POLE himself stood up, and made a long speech to both houses; acquainting them with his commission from the holy see, to restore the nation to its ancient and true nobility, by making them again a part of the catholic church which had disowned them. He ascribed the revolt entirely to the unbridled appetite and licentiousness of king HENRY, but the queen's panegyrick was not neglected: and whilst the cardinal was thus laying out his eloquence in her praises, and in sounding high the merit of this reconciliation with Rome, her majesty's passions were touched very sensibly; but this, which was an effect only of her own enthusiasm, she fondly interpreted to be the quickening of a child in her womb. The queen believing herself, from this circumstance, to be with child, communicated the affair to the court ladies; whose flattery did not help a little to confirm her in the opinion. Notice was therefore given of it to the council, who wrote a letter that night to BONNER, to cause Te Deum to be sung at St. Paul's and the other churches in London, and that collects should be constantly used to bring this conception to an happy issue. During all the night, and the next day, there were great rejoicings at court, and in the city; and it was even said by some zealous people, that as JOHN BAPTIST leaped in his mother's womb at the salutation of the virgin, so here followed an happy omen at this salutation of CHRIST's vicar. When the house of commons were returned to take this speech into consideration, some of the members shewed their dislike of reviving the pope's authority, and spoke of it in a language becoming Englishmen. But the majority had either so little sense of any religion at all, or had had that sense so blinded with Spanish gold, that when a message came from the lords to propose a conference, in order to prepare a supplication for their being reconciled to the see of Rome, they consented to it; and the petition was approved of by both houses. This address was presented to the king and queen by the lords and commons on their knees; praying their majesties, who had been no way defiled by their schism, to be intercessors with the legate of the holy see, that he would grant the kingdom an absolution, and receive all their subjects again into the bosom of the church. If an English parliament could so divest itself of its spirit and understanding, as to make this mean and weak submission to an ideal power, we may be sure that the request was not made in vain: they received on their knees a full absolution from the legate, for themselves

selves and the whole nation, and were restored again unto the unity of the holy church. As soon as the absolution was pronounced, they went to the chapel royal in solemn procession, and sung Te Deum; and the whole day was spent in great solemnity and rejoicing. This is an event in the English history, which calls up our indignation at the little share of sense, or courage, or integrity, which our ancestors were then possessed of; and it cannot be read without concluding, that the majority of the lords and commons of that time, turned about at her pleasure by a female bigot, had either no understanding, or no religion.

On the Sunday after this famous day of reconciliation, which POLE procured to be kept as a high festival with an additional office, the submission of the two houses to the pope's authority, and the cardinal's absolution, were repeated by the lord chancellor in a sermon at St. Paul's. The next day it was resolved to send an embassy to the pope, in order to make him a tender of the obedience of the English nation. A committee was then appointed by both houses, to prepare a bill of repeal of all the statutes passed against the see of Rome, in the two reigns preceding: and to make this go down with the more ease, a petition was at the same time procured from the convocation, in order to remove any jealousy of the clergy's insisting on the restitution of the abbey lands. They acquaint their majesties in this address, that notwithstanding, as the guardians and defenders of the church, they ought to endeavour to recover her goods, which in the time of the late schism had been alienated, yet having considered well of it, and seeing how difficult and indeed impossible it would prove, and how much it would endanger the public peace of the realm and the unity of the church, they preferred therefore the public welfare, and the salvation of souls, to their own private interests; and humbly prayed their majesties to intercede with the holy legate, that according to the powers given him by the pope, he would settle and confirm all that had been done in the alienation of the lands of the church, to which they on their parts as far as they were concerned did consent. They entreated their majesties likewise, that those things which related to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction might be re-established; that so they might be able to execute their functions, to the honour of God, and the common benefit, temporal and eternal, of the whole realm. This address having been transmitted from the king and queen to cardinal POLE, by the lord chancellor, the prolocutor,

prolocutor, and six other members of the convocation, the legate granted a full confirmation of the abbey and chantry lands to all those who possessed them, without any distinction, and without first consulting the pope as his breve directed: but to this he added an heavy charge, requiring those who had any of the goods of the church to remember the judgments of God that fell on BELSHAZZAR for prophaning the holy vessels, tho they were not taken away by himself, but by his father; and that they would take care at least that such as served the cures should be maintained out of the tithes. The cardinal having thus exceeded his powers, the parliament sent to the pope to confirm what his legate had done, and in the mean time, passed the act repealing all the statutes against the holy see; in which they inserted and ratified this agreement of the legate's, and ordered that all suits relating to the church lands should be tried in the queen's courts only, with the penalty of a premunire to those who should disturb the possessors of them on a pretence of ecclesiastical power. It was likewise inserted in the same act, that the title of supreme head never of right belonged to the crown; but that all writings wherein it had been used were still to be in force, as well as those in which it had been, or for the future should be, omitted: that there should be no obstruction to the execution of any bulls from Rome, but that all exemptions which had been granted to religious houses should be repealed, and they should be subject to episcopal jurisdiction; excepting only the privileges of the two universities, the churches of Westminster, and Windsor, and the Tower of London; and that the statute of Mortmain should be repealed for twenty years to come. To all this it was added, that the two houses desired the following articles might be established, thro the cardinal's intercession, by the pope's authority; "that all bishopricks, " cathedrals, or colleges now established, might be confirmed " for ever; that marriages within the degrees prohibited only " by the laws of the church might be confirmed, and the issue " declared legitimate; that all institutions into benefices, and " judicial processes, might be confirmed; and finally, that all " the settlements of the lands of any bishopricks, monasteries, " or other religious houses, might continue as they were, without any trouble by the ecclesiastical censures or laws."

Many of the branches of this act had their first rise from an address sent to the upper house of convocation by the lower; in which they desire their lordships to take care, that nothing might be

be done in the settlement of the lands of the church to the prejudice of any just title which they had to them by law; and that schools and hospitals might be erected in several parts of the kingdom, agreeable to the grant of the chantries to king EDWARD. They desired likewise, that the statute of Mortmain might be repealed, and that all impropriations might be dissolved, and the tithes restored to the church. After these preliminary requests, the lower house proceeded to propose some articles, in which the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the church might be reformed. In the first place, and above all other things, they propose, that the preachers of heresy should be obliged to a public recantation, and that all heretical books, such as the late service book, and CRANMER'S book against the sacrament of the altar, should be brought in, and burnt; that the statutes against Lollards should be revived, and the church restored to its ancient jurisdiction. They likewise move, that the statutes allowing pluralities and non residence may be repealed, that simoniacal pactions may be punished, not in the clergy only, but in the patrons, and those who are concerned in making them; that the liberties of the church may be restored according to Magna Charta, and the clergy may be delivered from the heavy burden of first fruits, tenths, and subsidies; that there might be a clear explanation made of all the articles of the Premunire, and that no disobedience to it should incur the guilt of it, till a prohibition was first issued out by the queen in that particular; that all exemptions should be taken away; all usury forbid; all ecclesiasticks obliged to wear their habits; and finally, that those who had committed spoil on churches, without warrant, should be compelled to make restitution. The reader will see by this address from the lower house of convocation, that they were got a great way already in their journey back to Rome: and the house of commons were so precipitate in their proceedings, that if their zeal had been humoured they would have finished at once, what the ministry intended to bring about by degrees. As soon as the act of repeal was finished, a bill was brought in to revive all the statutes against hereticks; and another bill was offered for voiding all the leases made by married priests; but the lords finding it would introduce a great confusion in the rights of the church's lands, laid it aside. A report having been made, that some heretical preachers had prayed "that God would turn the queen's heart" from idolatry or else shorten her days," another act was sent up in this sessions to the lords, who read it three times, and passed it, on the day the parliament was dissolved, adjudging all those

who so prayed to be traitors; yet if they shewed themselves penitent, they were not to be condemned of treason, but put to any corporal punishment, other than death, at the discretion of the judge. These were all the acts of this parliament, except one by way of supplement to the act of treasons in favour of the king, and another against the spreaders of false reports against their majesties, the nobility, the great officers, and judges; and on the sixteenth of January fifteen hundred and fifty five, the third parliament of MARY, which had re-established popery, was dissolved.

This was no doubt a pleasing event to bishop GARDINER, who had now performed all that he had undertaken to the emperor, or the queen: and his former reputation as a great and able statesman was much confirmed, when it was seen that he had brought about such an amazing change in so short a time, and where the interests of those who consented to it seemed to lead them another way. Indeed the interests of their religion, if they had any, and the interests of their country, if they had any regard to it, most certainly would have led them to oppose this change with all their power: but their private interests, which they sought only, were secured in the confirmation of the abbey lands, and enlarged by lucrative employments, and Spanish gold. To those who had any qualms of conscience about their country's being enslaved again to the see of Rome, the crafty prelate suggested, that all the old laws against provisions from thence should be kept in force; and that no legate should come to England in order to execute any power, till all his faculties were examined, and approved by the queen and council; not forgetting to inform them, that a commission was sent under the great seal to POLE, to authorize him to exercise his legatine power, before he stirred from Flanders. But it was not so easy for him to quiet the fears of others, who knew that the canon law had so indissolubly annexed to the church the lands which had been given to it, that it was not in the power of the legate, nor the pope himself, to confirm their alienation: and it was thought that this confirmation was rather an indemnity and permission to retain the lands, than to declare that the possessors had any lawful title. Therefore when men were near death, and could no longer enjoy those lands themselves, it was not to be doubted but the terrors of sacrilege and its punishments, with the hopes of that relief which masses for the soul might bring in purgatory, would prevail with many of them to make great, if not entire restitutions. But the
bishop

bishop had art enough to cover this future danger from the greatest part of his friends, by sounding high the present confirmation of what the legate had done by a law at Rome, and by the advantages which he laid before them for consenting to this act. In a few days after the dissolution of the parliament, the two houses of convocation waited on the cardinal at Lambeth; who ordered them to repair to their several cures, and advised them to conduct themselves with lenity and moderation, endeavouring to recover their people from their errors by persuasion and kind usage rather than by violence. The dean and chapter of Canterbury having the spiritual jurisdiction during the vacancy of the see, the legate granted them a commission according to his powers for reconciling the clergy, and for authorizing them to reconcile the laity of that province, to the holy see. The same grace was no doubt extended also to the other province; and a plenary absolution was granted to every one, on his performing the penance prescribed, of all heresies, schisms, apostacies, excommunications, suspensions, and other ecclesiastical censures. The clergy were to be restored and confirmed in their benefices, and absolved from all censures to which they have made themselves liable, by swearing against the pope's supremacy, the breach of vows in quitting a religious life, or any other irregularities.

The parliament being at an end, the first thing which the queen and her ministers took into consideration, was how to reclaim the hereticks. It is probable that their number was greater than that of the papists; but the former were without all support, and the latter had the power of the government in their hands. Cardinal POLE had been suspected formerly of leaning too much to the protestants; and he took care to avoid all occasions of being blamed any more upon that head. He knew how jealous the court of Rome would be if he should be seen to shew them any favour; and indeed he came over to England at this time, much altered in respect of the freedom of conversation which he practised formerly: he assumed an Italian temper, as well as conduct, was much upon the reserve with all the English, and confined his confidence and familiarity to PRIULL, and ORMANETO, whom he brought over with him. Nevertheless, being a man of a generous disposition, he delivered himself in the council held upon this subject, without any hesitation on the side of gentleness: he said that the bishops who were fathers should look on those who erred as their sick children, and shew them tenderness and compassion upon that account, and not destroy them;

them; that this violence was not only inconsistent with their character, but, as he had often observed, enflamed and propagated the distemper, instead of curing it. There was a great difference, he told them, to be made, between a nation just seized and infected in a small degree, and a nation in which the malignity had had time to spread itself, and had infected all ranks and orders in it; that the people therefore were not to be treated with violence and rigour, which might only confirm them in their errors, but must have time given them to recover by slow degrees; and that this was agreeable to the advice given to her majesty by the emperor, who had found from his own experience the mistake of other measures. In conclusion, the cardinal offered it as his opinion, that as the scandals and ignorance of ecclesiasticks had given the first rise to heresy in every country of Christendom, they should begin with a reformation of the manners of the clergy, by reviving the rules of the primitive church, and then the people might be brought over without any force.

In opposition to this salutary and prudent counsel, the lord chancellor GARDINER, who had no great sense of church affairs but as they were subservient to intrigues of state, and being himself of an abject vindictive temper, proposed reviving the statutes against lollardy, which carried the terror of fire and faggot, as the chief expedient they had to trust to in restoring popery. He was confident, he said, that if the preachers then in prison found there was no other alternative than to recant or burn, they would certainly choose the first, judging of others probably by himself: or if they were obstinate enough to suffer, the terror of their execution would procure a compliance from all the rest. He reminded them how the Lollards encreased in England, upon WOLSEY's slackening the rigour of the laws against them; and if the bloody statute passed in the reign of HENRY had been executed with firmness, he was sure there would not have been an heretick now in the kingdom. He did not deny that a reformation of the clergy was a good design, but all times, he said, would not bear such good designs: and if they were now to set about it, they should not only lose many of the clergy themselves who now adhered firmly to them, but the hereticks would take advantage from it to raise clamours against the scandalous and depraved manners of the priests; and this would encrease, rather than lessen, the aversion which the people had already but too much for their present pastors. If the sober
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advice of cardinal POLE, was becoming a man of candour and generosity, who had a serious sense of religion, the opinion of bishop GARDINER was as much in character: not indeed of a true christian prelate, for he was nothing less, but of a cruel man, and a servile courtier, who concerned himself with nothing but an outward submission to the state religion. It is easy enough to conclude, to which of these counsels the natural temper and the bigotry of the queen would lead her: she encouraged POLE indeed in the design of reforming the manners of the clergy, in which she would give her assistance; but she pressed GARDINER to proceed with all imaginable severity against the hereticks.

The chancellor stood in need of very little direction to pursue the measures which his own temper and resentment dictated. For the reformed divines who had escaped abroad, had just at this time exposed him very severely, and yet very justifiably, by reprinting his book of true obedience prefaced by BONNER, and sending it into England; in which he had not only wrote against the pope's supremacy, but had often called the marriage of the queen's mother "incestuous and unlawful, justifying the king's divorce, and his marrying his most godly and virtuous wife "queen ANN." The prelate was not a little nettled at being thus exposed; but he had assurance enough to bear up under it, and to excuse himself by saying, that PETER had denied his master. It was observed however by others, that such a compliance as his lordship's continued in for the space of five and twenty years, was very unfitly compared with a sudden effect of fear, that was expiated immediately with the most sincere repentance. The resolution having been taken, as I said, to put the laws in execution against hereticks, which GARDINER cheerfully undertook, above fourscore, who had been imprisoned near a year and a half till the law had passed against them, were now brought before him; not to answer for any crimes because they had been guilty of none, but to be worked upon by promises or threatnings to renounce their faith. The prelate tried however in vain, except on BARLOW who had been bishop of Bath and Wells, and one more; and the rest were returned to prison. Finding the people thus resolute, the council sent for the most popular preachers that were in custody, in order to begin the severities upon them, according to GARDINER's plan. It was resolved that HOOPER, as the most obnoxious to the government, if not the most popular in his own party, should be the leading

sacrifice to popery. They offered him a pardon by the name of JOHN HOOPER clerk, not acknowledging him to have been a bishop, if he would confess his heresies and return to the church. Upon his refusal they gave him till the next morning, to consider what he would do, when he was brought before GARDINER, BONNER, TUNSTAL, and three other bishops; who made him the same offer of pardon again, and which he as resolutely refused. Three articles were then exhibited against him, for marrying, for allowing a divorce and second marriage in the case of fornication, and for denying the corporal presence of CHRIST in the sacrament. HOOPER owned himself guilty of the accusation, but offered to defend himself against all who should maintain the contrary. When the chancellor found that they could not prevail upon him by persuasions, he pronounced the sentence against him as an obstinate heretick, and delivered him over to be degraded from the order of priesthood, and to be sent to Newgate by the sheriff. But an order was sent with him to burn him at Gloucester, and to call in some of reputation in the county who might assist the magistrates at his execution: and because he was, says the order, "a vain glorious person, as all hereticks
"are, he was neither to be suffered to speak at large in going to
"his execution, nor at the place, for avoiding further infection." He was much pleased at being carried to Gloucester, hoping to confirm many by his death in the opinions which he had taught them as their bishop. The day before his execution, some of his friends being permitted to see him, would have persuaded him to accept of the queen's mercy, since life was sweet, and death in the easiest way was bitter: but he refused; telling them, that the death that was to come after was infinitely more bitter, and the life that was to follow was beyond comparison more sweet. When he was led out to his execution, the queen's pardon was shewed him if he would recant: but he desired them to take it away, and being denied leave to speak otherwise than in his devotion, he declared his faith in the form of a prayer, and begged that God would enable him to endure his torment patiently. The wood burning ill, and the wind blowing away the flame that it did not rise up and choke him, nor destroy his vitals, he was for a long time in the utmost torment; during which, he called often to the people for the love of God to bring him more fire; which, tho it was renewed, was prevented by the wind from putting him out of his misery, till he had been near three quarters of an hour in burning. The manner of his death being thus severe, very rash and uncharitable reflexions were

were made upon it, as tho he who had kindled the fire of dissension about the vestments, had suffered thus uncommonly for that reason. But this difference had been composed long before: and he and RIDLEY had corresponded whilst they were in prison, acknowledging their mutual faults in carrying things of such indifference to so great a length, and assuring each other of their sincere love and affection. Happy would it have been for this country, and much to the interest of religion, if the fires which consumed these pious men had put an end to such frivolous and idle contests! and if those who have since engaged in them with a furious zeal, would reflect more on the sense which these good bishops had of them when they were on the verge of another world, than on the heats into which they put them when perhaps ease and plenty made their passions violent, it is probable they might be persuaded to a little more humility and moderation.

The next example of the bloody cruelty of this pious queen and her pious ministry, was shewn on ROGERS, a prebendary of St. Paul's, and a zealous and learned preacher. When he was brought before the council, he was asked by the lord chancellor whether he would unite himself to the catholic church, and acknowledge the pope as supreme head: to which he answered that he knew no other head of the church but CHRIST, and that the pope had no other authority than any other bishop, from scripture, or antiquity. But it was objected to him by some of the council, that he had acknowledged king HENRY to be the supreme head of the church, which ROGERS owned; tho not in such a manner as that he had a power to forgive sins, to bestow the Holy Ghost, or to be a judge above the word of God, which they attributed to the pope. Whilst he was going on to explain himself, the chancellor pressed him to answer directly whether he would acknowledge the papal power; to which he replied, that his lordship, and all the bishops, had for many years preached against the pope. GARDINER confessed that they had been forced to do so by the cruelty of the times; but he said they would argue no more with him; mercy was now offered, which if he rejected, justice must come next. The prisoner refusing to submit, asked him whether, as they had been pressed to deny the pope's power by cruelty, they would now by the same motive, force others to acknowledge it? This was a question not to be answered; and he was allowed to consider the part he chose to act till the next day. The next day, he was brought before
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the same commissioners who had tried and condemned HOOPER just before; when GARDINER said it was vain glory in him to stand out thus against all the church. But ROGERS protested it was not vain glory, but conscience only, which kept him from uniting with the antichristian church of Rome. The bishop told him that by that he accused the queen and the whole realm to be of the church of antichrist. The prisoner said, he believed the queen would have acted a good part enough, if it had not been for his lordship's council; but it was affirmed by GARDINER, and all the commissioners, "that the queen went before them in these measures, which proceeded from herself." After some more questions on their side, and complaints on his, they declared him an obstinate heretick, and delivered him over to the secular power. He then desired he might be permitted to speak to his wife about his ten children; but they denied she was his wife, and would not gratify his request. When he was brought to BONNER to be degraded, he again renewed his request; and with the same brutal hatred was again refused it. On the morning of his execution, when he was called upon to make ready to go to Smithfield, he was so fast asleep that it was with difficulty they awaked him. A pardon was offered him at the stake if he would recant his error; but he chose, he said, to submit to that short but dreadful torment, rather than hazard everlasting burnings by such an apostacy. Not being permitted to make a speech, he only desired the people to continue in the doctrine which he had taught them, for which he had not only suffered patiently all the bitterness and cruelty which had been inflicted on him, but did also gladly now resign his life and give his flesh to the consuming fire as a testimony to it. In the same week one SAUNDERS who had a church at Coventry, and had been imprisoned for preaching without a licence, and now condemned for a heretick, was sent thither and burnt. The next day DR. TAYLOR minister of Hadley, who had opposed mass in his church before the law had revived it, shared the same fate at his living, with some inhuman circumstances from the guard. But they were not the only brutes. There was a singular piece of cruelty practised by the council, which was, when they sent those away condemned for heresy who were to be burnt in the country, they threatened to cut out their tongues, unless they promised solemnly to make no speeches to the people at their execution; which, to avoid that inhuman butchery, these unhappy people complied with.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding the sagacity of the old wily chancellor, he was for once out in his politicks. He had taken it into his head, agreeable to what he had declared in opposition to POLE at council, that these executions being made in several parts of England would have struck such a general terror into the whole party, that there would be little or no occasion for any further severity. But when he saw that six more were soon after apprehended on the same account, and that the spirits of these whom they called hereticks were rather heightened than depressed by these dreadful sufferings, he resolved to be concerned no more in these trials; and turned over that invidious task entirely to BONNER, whose savage temper delighted in it. Nevertheless these executions caused an universal consternation: the bigots only triumphed: the rest of the people who had any sense of humanity could not without the last concern behold these good men exposed to such cruel sufferings, who were accused of no crime, and were first imprisoned for trifles, where they were detained amidst great ill usage till the laws were past by which they were now burnt. But at this time the spirit of the two religions shewed itself. In the reign of EDWARD, when protestants had the power, those whom the government took offence at for not obeying the laws were only turned out of their benefices, or at most imprisoned; and of these there were very few. But now, when popery bore the rule, the most barbarous cruelties had been executed on innocent men for their mere opinion. Those who favoured the reformation, when they saw those who preached it give up their lives amidst so much torment rather than renounce it, were awakened to think of it with greater seriousness, and to be more in earnest than they had been. In short, those who neither knew nor cared much for religion, were startled at the strange severity of the present measures: and being naturally, according to the English temper, relenting and compassionate, they conceived an aversion to those who promoted these severities. The bishops themselves had seemed ashamed of it; and GARDINER, and the others with him in the commission, had purged themselves of it, as we have seen in open court, laying it wholly upon the queen. The queen however had declared at her first accession, that she would not force her religion upon her subjects: and as it was not therefore thought decent to charge it upon her, it was said that these fires were kindled by the king; to whom the sourness of his temper, and his bigotry for that religion, made it reasonable enough to impute it. Besides, he had been born and educated

in Spain; where the inquisition was let loose on all who were suspected of heresy without any restraint. The king, having been informed that the persecution was laid at his door entirely, which would make him very unacceptable to the English nation, had no mind to lie under the imputation. Besides he was determined not to be the dupe of the bishops, who were clearing their own reputation at his expence: and therefore his confessor, in a sermon which he preached at court, charged the bishops with the cruelties complained of by all the people, which he said they had not learned in the scripture; where bishops were taught, in the spirit of meekness to instruct those who opposed them, and not to burn them for their consciences. The bishops were so confounded to hear the blame of this returned upon them, by a Spanish priest and confessor to the king, that a stop was put for several weeks to any further cruelties.

At this time a petition drawn up and printed by the exiles, was sent over to the queen; in which they set before her "the danger of being carried away by a blind and furious zeal to persecute the members of CHRIST's church, as ST. PAUL had done before his conversion: they remind her of the manner in which CRANMER had preserved her in her father's time, so that she had more reason to believe he loved her, and would speak truth to her, than all the rest of her clergy: they collected many passages out of the writings of GARDINER, BONNER, and TUNSTAL, against the pope's supremacy, and her mother's marriage; concluding thence that they were men, who by their own confession had no conscience in them, but measured their actions and professions by their fears and interests: they told her, that the persecution which she had set on foot, was like that which the scribes and pharisees raised against the apostles, who it was pretended had been once of their religion, and so were hereticks and apostates: they reminded her, that in her brother's reign, none of the catholicks had been used with the rigour which she had authorized; and in conclusion they represented to her, that she was entrusted with the sword by God for the protection of her people as long as they did well, and was to answer to him for their blood if she delivered them to the mercy of such wolves." From the queen, the petition turns to the nobility, and the people; warning them of the danger of losing their liberties, and the abbey lands, and of being brought under the Spanish yoke. In the conclusion it exhorts them, to repent of their great sins which had brought such heavy judgments upon them, and to intercede

tercede with her majesty to put a stop to this deluge of blood, by granting her subjects the same liberty that she allowed to strangers of transporting themselves abroad. But this petition had no effect. Whatever regard the king and the bishops might have to the public disaffection from this cruelty, the queen had none at all; or at least she was determined to sacrifice every thing to her bigotry. After a few weeks intermission, she ordered the fires therefore to be rekindled, and the nobility and gentry to attend upon them; in order to give them countenance, and prevent a riot. BONNER, bishop of London, distinguished himself by a fury, which would be unbecoming and brutal even in a cannibal: but the reader must not expect, that I can follow this prelate thro all the rivers of blood, with which, by the queen's order, he deluged the nation in this reign for their conscience and religion. This account is copiously drawn out by Fox in his acts and monuments of the martyrs, who has left nothing to be added upon this subject; and who in that part which he gives from records and papers, bishop BURNET says, is a most exact and faithful writer. To him therefore I must refer the reader, who has a mind to know all the circumstances of the burnings under MARY, and of the patience and constancy with which they were endured by the protestants. Two or three instances which I shall give, will be sufficient to shew the unrelenting fury of this queen, to which so many hundreds were made a sacrifice for their faith; and it would extend this work too much, as well as be very disagreeable, to give any more.

Whilst the court was giving these flaming proofs of their zeal and bigotry, the queen, it seems, felt a load upon her conscience which she could bear no longer. The reader perhaps will imagine, and well he may, that it was upon account of this hellish cruelty towards her subjects: but it was nothing like it. She sent for the lord treasurer, and some of the other principal state officers, to declare to them her conscience, she said, concerning the church lands which continued still in the crown. "She thought as they were taken away by unlawful means, and in the time of the schism, that she could not keep them without injustice, and she was therefore determined to surrender them up to the church: if they should tell her that her crown would be then so poor, that she could not maintain her dignity, she must tell them in return, that she valued the salvation of her soul more than ten kingdoms; and she thanked God her husband was of the same mind with herself." In conclusion,

conclusion, she ordered them to go to the legate with the lord chancellor, to whom she had already imparted this design, and to carry with them a rentall of the lands. Notwithstanding the cardinal had consented to the alienation of all the church estates that had been made in England, and an agent was sent to Rome to procure the pope's confirmation, yet JULIUS, suspecting what would be required of him by the English, took occasion at this time to shew them, that nothing was more distant from his intentions, whatever his legate might have promised for him. He published a bull, without any mention indeed of England in it, and in general terms, by which he excommunicated all those who detained any church or abbey lands, and the princes, prelates, and magistrates, who did not assist in the execution of this bull. The people here were greatly alarmed when this was known; and tho GARDINER endeavoured all he could to remove their apprehensions, by telling them, that it was made only for Germany, and that no bull had any authority in the country which did not receive it, yet this gave but little satisfaction. It was not difficult to perceive, that a defect in a simple formality could not excuse a practise in England which was a sin in Germany; and if the pope had his authority from CHRIST or from St. PETER, his bulls ought every where to be acknowledged. The queen in particular, who thought herself then to be near the time of her delivery, was much terrified with the danger of dying under excommunication; neither would she have such a load upon her conscience, as that of robbing the church. But a few days before she made this restitution to the legate, pope JULIUS died at Rome; and his successor living only three weeks after his exaltation, CARAFFA was elected to the papal chair. The queen was desirous to advance her favourite cardinal POLE, and wrote to her ambassadors at the court of France, to prevail on that king for his interest in the legate's favour: but she was too late in her application, and before it could reach Rome, CARAFFA was in the chair under the name of PAUL the fourth; a pope of the greatest magnificence, and the most pride, and cruelty, since the time of the second JULIUS. On the day of his election, the English ambassadors who had been sent to desire the pope's reconciliation, entered Rome with a great train; but PAUL would not admit them to an audience, till they had agreed to accept of a grant of the title of the kingdom of Ireland, which HENRY had assumed during the schism; pretending that God had given him a power to destroy or to build kingdoms at his pleasure. This having been acquiesced in by

by the ambassadors, whom the queen had ordered to obey the pope in every article, his holiness admitted them into the consistory; where, falling prostrate at his feet, they confessed the faults of the schism which England had fallen into, and humbly asked pardon of the holy see. The pope told them, that he was ready to do every thing in his power to gratify the king and queen, who had always retained their allegiance; but that the church lands must be restored to the last farthing, since they belonged to God, and could not be kept without incurring damnation to the possessors; nor was his own authority so large, as to prophane the things dedicated to God. He made them acquainted with his design of sending over a collector to gather the tribute due to the holy see; "for they could not expect St. PETER" "would open the gates of heaven to them, so long as they denied him his rights on earth." The ambassadors seeing the haughty temper of the pope, and that he would not permit the least contradiction, were as humble and submissive as he liked they should be; and thus their embassy ended without settling any thing.

In the mean time, the court of England being informed that the protestant preachers were connived at by the justices in several parts of the kingdom, a general order was sent to all the sheriffs to seize them; with an instruction to the justices to place spies in every parish, in order to give them information of every body's behaviour. This was thought to have so much of the inquisition in it, that it was imputed to Spanish counsels, and it alienated the people still more from the court. But it may be easily enough imagined that all others were weary of these severities so contrary to the temper of the English nation, when BONNER himself grew to dislike them. He complained that this invidious service of punishing hereticks was put wholly upon him, all the others looking on without taking any share of the odium; and therefore he discharged several who were brought before him without any sentence. The king and queen being informed of this slackness, and that the bishop's fires had been extinguished for above a month, writ a very sharp letter to his lordship; acquainting him with their knowledge of it, and admonishing him for the future to have more regard to the office of a good pastor; and either to endeavour to recover hereticks from their error, or if they were obstinate and incorrigible to proceed against them according to law. At the same time, an order of council was sent to the lords RICH and OXFORD to be

present at the executions in Essex, in order to grace those triumphs over heresy; and where BONNER soon redeemed the time he had lost. When their majesties wrote this letter to the bishop, the queen believed herself upon the point of being delivered. The ambassadors were named to carry the news of it to foreign princes, and a letter was wrote to the lord treasurer by the council to have money ready that they might speedily be dispatched. In the beginning of June, she was believed to be in labour, and it flew over many parts of the kingdom that she was even brought to bed of a son: the bishop of NORWICH ordered Te Deum to be sung in his cathedral and other churches; and the priests were every where transported with an excessive joy. But this pregnancy went off in a false conception; and it was given out that the queen had said, she should never be happily delivered till all the hereticks then in prison were burnt. There is a story in Fox, that a woman declared to him and others some years after, that she being delivered of a boy in the beginning of June fifteen hundred and fifty five, the lord NORTH and another lord came to her, making her great offers for her child, which they said should be well provided for, if she would swear she never had one at this time; and that soon after some women tampered with her to the same purpose, one of whom they said was to be the rocker; but she would not comply upon any terms. If this account is true, there is great reason to suspect they had some ill designs at court on this disappointment of the queen's; and that it was no new thought in the papists of JAMES the second's time, to put an impostor upon us to support their interest and religion. But let this be as it might; it is certain that from this time there were but little hopes of any issue from the queen. This disappointment encreased the sourness of her temper; and the king, who had married her in hopes of having children, that so he might unite England with Spain, finding these hopes were vain, grew out of conceit with a wife who had neither youth nor beauty, and had little regard afterwards to the affairs of England. I must now return to the poor hereticks.

The queen's ill humour being encreased by this disappointment, and the king's coolness for her, of which she was very sensible, the fires were rekindled in several places with a double fury. The reader perhaps will be surprized, that the archbishop's fate should be still delayed, and that the queen did not make him one of her first sacrifices to popery. But as GARDINER had entered into a correspondence at Rome, in order to ruin POLE and

and succede himself in the primacy, he preserved CRANMER with that view, against the council's opinion and the queen's own inclination. It was pressed by all of them to begin with the archbishop, who was not only the first in rank, but who had also been the chief promoter of heresy in the kingdom; and ought therefore to suffer first. But the sly old chancellor, under an appearance of as much hatred to the primate, and as much zeal for the cause as any of them, was in no such haste to get rid of CRANMER: his lordship told them, that the best thing they could do, was to try to shake his fortitude and integrity, and if they succeeded in that attempt, it would be such a blow to the whole party as they would never be able to get the better of; whereas if he should be burnt, and should die with as much resolution as the rest had shewn, which it was probable that he would, it would be such a strengthening to heresy as the government would have reason to repent of. Under this colour was CRANMER preserved, till GARDINER could get POLE recalled, that he might himself be made archbishop of Canterbury: and the pope would not allow the see to be vacant by attainder, till CRANMER was deprived by a commission from Rome. To the execution of many at the stake this summer, in Kent, and Suffex, we must add the orders which were sent to the lord NORTH, the lieutenant of the Tower and several others, to torture at their discretion some that were apprehended under a pretence of plots, if they were so obstinate that they would not confess. But this was a large step towards the rigour of the inquisition, and was grounded only on the surmises of the clergy. The king, as I said, having no regard to his wife, and thinking it more necessary for him to look after his hereditary dominions than his matrimonial one, he left her in September and went to Flanders; giving her a severe mortification for his coldness towards her. This however did not hinder, but perhaps accelerate, her proceeding in the founding of religious houses, out of the abbey lands that were in the crown; and about that, and some other particulars, she wrote directions to the council under her own hand. "She desired that those who had a commission to treat with the cardinal about the goods of the church might wait on him once a week; in order to finish that, and some other business that was to be prepared for the parliament. She recommended particularly the care of good preaching, which she wished might be well looked to, and advised a general visitation of the churches and universities, by such as the cardinal and themselves should choose. As for the punishment of hereticks, she would have

have justice done on those who by learning studied to deceive the simple, but wished it might be so managed as the people might see they were not condemned but upon just occasions; and therefore ordered, that some of the council should be present at all the burnings about London, at which good sermons should be preached".

It is certain that POLE, both in his temper and his judgment, was much against the persecution which was carried on with so much cruelty; but he durst not oppose it for fear of drawing the pope's indignation upon himself. The present pope was his professed and inveterate enemy; and was resolved on the first occasion to take the legatine power from POLE, and to give it to GARDINER: but the cardinal was so much in the queen's favour, and had done such eminent service to the church, in reconciling England to the holy see, that it required time to bring it about. In this situation which POLE was in, and which he was well apprized of from the pope's having given out in the conclave that the cardinal was a favourer of heresy, he could not openly discourage the persecution, as he would have done. He wrote a letter at this time to CRANMER, in which he owns and commends the mildness of his temper, and the unblameableness of his life; but he writes with so much declamation, and so little proof, insulting the wretched prisoner under a shew of tenderness, that the letter does but little honour to the cardinal, tho it is an undoubted testimony to the character of the archbishop.

In September, the ambassadors who had been sent to Rome returned with the bull erecting Ireland into a kingdom, and bestowing the title of king of Ireland on the crown of England; which the queen accepted very thankfully, as tho it had been indeed in the disposal of the pope, and she had never been possessed of it before. But the confirmation of the settlement made by POLE of the abbey lands, was not only refused, but a bull was published at Rome which in a manner repealed it all: for it declares "that the pope, by virtue of the fullness of the apostolic power, annuls all alienations or impropriations, or leases for lives, or beyond three years, or exchanges of goods and rights belonging any ways to the church, and to whomsoever made, tho by the popes or cardinals, without the solemnities required by law, and tho confirmed by oaths and established by long prescription. These are all made void by the apostolic authority;

thority ; the possessors of such lands are to be compelled to make satisfaction for all the mean profits received, and all judges are required to give judgment conformable to this bull." The whole favour which the ambassadors could obtain for the zeal of the queen to reconcile her subjects to the see of Rome, was, that England was not named, nor the late settlement fulminated against particularly in this bull : and this is enough to shew in how fraudulent a manner the transaction was carried on for securing the abbey lands to the possessors. The pope pressed the setting up inquisitions every where, with great vehemence : and it is probable that the king, or his Spanish ministers, had made the court sensible, that it was the only sure method of rooting heresy out of the land. They had already set up torturing at discretion, and instructed the justices to employ informers in every parish ; which seemed to be two great steps to prepare the nation for a regular inquisition. A commission was brought over at this time from the pope, and probably by our own ambassadors, to BROOKS bishop of Gloucester, to demand justice against CRANMER ; and assisted with two civilians commissioned by the queen he exhibited articles against the archbishop at Oxford, as the pope's delegate. When his grace was brought into court, he paid his respects to the two doctors, who sat there by the queen's authority ; but he took no other notice of the bishop, than to inform him, that it was owing to his lordship's foreign character, which he did not acknowledge, and not to any personal disregard, that he did not pay him the same respect. The bishop opened the trial with a long speech against the prisoner ; setting forth his apostacy, his heresy, his incontinence, and his treason ; exhorting him to repent, and insinuating great hopes of restoring him to his see, if he would renounce his errors. The archbishop, kneeling down, repeated the lord's prayer and the apostles creed ; and then answered the bishop's charge. He affirmed his allegiance to the crown according to the oath he had often sworn, which was inconsistent with an acknowledgment of the authority of the bishop of Rome ; and he could not serve two masters. He said the bishops of Rome had set up pretensions, not only contrary to the power of princes, but also to the laws of God ; in requiring worship in an unknown tongue, denying the chalice to the people, and disposing of crowns and principalities. He reminded the bishop of his having sworn himself to the king's supremacy, which his lordship did not disown, but charged it on the archbishop as an act of his procuring : to which CRANMER replied, that the bishop did him great injustice in this

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charge, since it passed in the time of his predecessor who had asserted the king's supremacy; which the universities asserted also under their hands and seals, when BROOKS was one of their members, before WARHAM's death. Many arguments passed between the archbishop and his judges, such as the reader has seen often insisted on before, and therefore I shall not repeat them. In conclusion, his grace assured them, that the loss of his promotion was so far from grieving him, that he thanked God for it very heartily: his only concern was to see all the pains and trouble which king HENRY and himself had taken, in order to retrieve the authority of the kings of England, and to vindicate the nation from the baseness and inconvenience of a foreign yoke, now wholly thrown away; since the queen in her own realm was obliged to become his accuser before a foreign power, tho she had authority enough to punish him, if he had transgressed the law, to which he was ready to submit. After this, he was cited to appear at Rome before the pope, within eighty days, to give an answer to those articles which they had now objected to him: and tho he assured them that he was willing to go, if the queen would send him thither, yet they remanded him again to prison; not intending that he should have the liberty of going to Rome to defend his practice and opinions, to which in mockery they had cited him.

About a fortnight after the archbishop's trial, the bishops of GLOCESTER, LINCOLN, and BRISTOL, were sent to Oxford, by a commission from cardinal POLE, to proceed against LATIMER and RIDLEY, if they could not prevail upon them to recant. When the commission was read, and it appeared that the judges proceeded in the name of the pope by authority from his legate, RIDLEY put on his cap, and refused to shew any reverence to those who acted by such a commission. He said he had all the respect in the world for cardinal POLE, on account of his royal birth, and of the great learning and virtue which he was possessed of, pulling off his cap when he spoke of him thus; but when he named him as the pope's legate, he put his cap on again, and told them that he could not pay any reverence to that character. His fellow prisoner protested likewise against the pope's authority; and being both accused of the opinions which they had maintained in the public schools a year and a half before, were allowed till the next morning to consider, whether they would retract, or persevere in them. But both adhering to the answers they had already made, they were the next morning pronounced

nounced guilty of heresy ; and being degraded from priests orders, were consigned over to the secular magistrate to be punished. Notwithstanding the cardinal stiled them bishops in the commission, and directed their degradation in case of obstinacy from that character, yet it seems his delegates, more bigotted than POLE, would allow neither of them to be more than a priest. Great attempts having been made on RIDLEY to no purpose, in order to persuade him to accept of the queen's mercy, a warrant was sent down for their execution ; and the lord WILLIAMS and the burghers ordered to attend upon it to prevent disobedience. As they were leading out to the stake they looked up to CRANMER's prison, in hopes to have seen him and bid him adieu : but the archbishop, being engaged in a dispute with some fryars, forgot to appear at the window when they were passing by ; recollecting himself however soon after he went to the top of his prison, and looking at them with great tendernefs, kneeled down, and prayed fervently, that God would strengthen their faith and patience in that last but dreadful suffering. When they came up to the stake, they embraced one another with great affection ; and RIDLEY, with an air of pleasure, said to LATIMER, " be of good heart brother, for God will either assuage the fury " of the flame, or else enable us to abide it." A sermon of a quarter of an hour was preached by SMITH, who in the late reign had recanted popery and returned to it again in this ; in order to remove any ill impression, which the burning of two such venerable old bishops, might make upon the spectators. When he had ended his harrangue, which consisted chiefly of abuse and coarse representation, they kneeled to the lord WILLIAMS and the commissioners for leave to speak a word or two in reply : but the vice-chancellour, suspecting they would be too hard for the preacher, and defeat the queen's design in the sermon, without giving time to the lord WILLIAMS to make answer, hastily said, that except they intended to recant they were not permitted to speak. To this RIDLEY answered, that he would never deny his lord, nor the truths which he was persuaded of ; God's will be done. But as he had received fines when he was bishop of London for leases which were now voided, he begged that the queen might give order, either that the leases might be made good, or the fines restored to the tenants out of the effects he had left behind him, which were more than sufficient for that purpose. After this, they were ordered to fit themselves for the stake ; and when they had prayed, and were undressing themselves, LATIMER comforted his fellow sufferer, saying,

saying, "that they too should that day light such a candle in England, as he trusted by God's grace would never be put out." Some gunpowder then being hanged about their bodies in order, to hasten their deaths, by whose merciful order we cannot tell, the fire was put to the wood; and the powder taking fire with the first flame, LATIMER was put out of his pain and died immediately. But there was so much wood thrown on the fire where RIDLEY was, that the flame could not break thro it; so that his legs were almost consumed before it was observed, and then a passage being made to the flame, it put an end to his life. The station which both these martyrs had been in, the regularity of their lives, the peaceableness of their tempers, their age, and their behaviour at the stake, raised great commiseration in most of the standers by, and sent them home not at all pleased with those who had brought them to this end.

Thus died these two excellent bishops: the one for his piety, learning, and solid judgment, the ablest man, next to CRANMER, of all who advanced the reformation; and the other for his zeal, his diligence in the pastoral office, and the plainness and integrity of his life, esteemed a true primitive Christian, who had more of the simplicity of the first ages, than of the politeness or learning of later times. LATIMER had always been in earnest in his religion; and at his first setting out in the world had a strong opinion of a monastic life: but having been disengaged from the prejudices of education, by some of those who were burnt for heresy in the reign of HENRY, he made further advances in the doctrines which were not then established. Therefore when that capricious monarch intended to force his own religion upon his subjects, the bishop, finding that he could not have the freedom of his conscience and the possession of his see, resigned the latter voluntarily without being called upon to do so: and tho he might have been restored in the time of EDWARD, yet he chose to live in a private station at Lambeth with the archbishop, and to lay out all his time in preaching in different places. He arraigned the vices of the great, in a sermon at court before the king, with a freedom which became his character. He had nothing to fear from that religious prince, and as he had nothing to lose, the power of the courtiers had no terrors. He took great care of his diocese whilst he exercised the episcopal office; giving a noble example of hospitality, benevolence, and a contempt of riches; for which much greater churchmen, both in his own days and since, have not been so eminent.

eminent. He doubtless considered an attachment to the world as the greatest blemish in an ecclesiastick: and therefore when the council wrote to him in the beginning of this reign to appear before them, of which he had notice given him, the messenger found him ready to attend the summons; and tho he told him, when he delivered the letter, that he had no orders to take him into custody, and the court would probably have been pleased with his flying abroad, yet the good old man, conscious of his innocence, and disengaged entirely from the world; surrendered himself up, and freely laid down his life when the cause of God required it. In short, LATIMER, with a moderate share of learning and abilities, was a much greater man, a much better christian, and a much worthier bishop, than many of his order who have shone with a more conspicuous figure. As to RIDLEY, he had none of the defects, but all the virtues, of his companion. His fine parts, and his great improvement in all the branches of literature necessary to a divine, gave him the first rank in his profession; and his life was answerable to his knowledge. He was of an easy and obliging temper to all whom he had to do with; and tho he wanted not a proper spirit to support his character, or to do himself justice against the great and powerful, as may be seen in the resistance which he made to the duke of SOMERSET, and the visitors at Cambridge, which the reader must remember, yet he was always ready to forgive any injuries, or offence. The great benevolence which he had in his disposition, to do all offices of kindness within his power, inclined him particularly to be serviceable to his own relations; but yet he was so much upon his guard, in what has disgraced many others of his order in all ages, that he never put them into stations for which they were unqualified, or preferred them beyond their merit. His zeal for religion did not shew itself in promoting severities against those who differed from it, but in diligently explaining the parts that were misunderstood, and shewing their foundation in scripture and antiquity. But the greatness of his mind, was not only shewn in the candour and charity of his sentiments; he did good offices to those who differed from him; he was a great benefactor to the poor; he expended his revenue in a way becoming a bishop; he maintained and treated HEATH the deprived bishop of Worcester, for a year and half in the same splendour, as tho Fulham house had been his own; and BONNER's mother, who merited nothing on her own account, dined always there at the table with him, whilst her son was in the Tower. Many other instances might

be given of the extraordinary virtues of this prelate, which the history we have been relating does not furnish. But enough has appeared of RIDLEY to convince the reader, how much the reformation was indebted to his zeal and learning whilst he lived, as well as to his courage and constancy at his death.

It is reported by Fox, and repeated by most historians, that GARDINER out of his impatience to have these bishops burnt, had refused to go to dinner on the day of their execution, till the news should be brought that the fire was kindled; and that the messenger not arriving till four o' clock in the afternoon, he then sat down cheerfully to his dinner, but was struck at table with a suppression of urine, which in some days after brought him to his grave. The story, I believe, is not true. The bishops were burnt on the sixteenth of October; on the twenty first, the parliament was opened by a speech from the lord chancellor, and on the twenty third, he appeared again in the house of lords; and had he been seized with a retention of urine on the sixteenth, he would scarcely have been able to come abroad on those days, neither would he probably have held out till the twelfth of November following, which was the day he died: and bishop GODWYN, who takes no notice of this report, says he died of a dropsy. But let this be as it might: it is certain that he languished in a good deal of misery from his mind and body, for some days before his death. He was often heard to say, that "he had sinned with ST. PETER but he had not repented with him:" and when DAY, bishop of Chichester, was comforting him with the assurance of justification thro the blood of CHRIST, the dying prelate answered, "that he might speak of that to him or others of his profession, but if he opened that gap and preached it to the people, then farewell all again." Thus died the famous lord chancellor GARDINER, bishop of Winchester, and first minister to queen MARY. The reader has seen so much of this prelate, in the two last reigns as well as this, that he must be well acquainted with his character. Tho he had the name of GARDINER to cover his descent, yet he was supposed to be the natural son of WOOVIL, brother to EDWARD the fourth's queen: and to this extraction was imputed his very early advancement to the see of Winchester by king HENRY. If the distinguishing characteristick of the two bishops who went before him, was a great contempt of the world, that of this prelate was a violent attachment to it. He had a good deal of wit, a great knowledge of the canon and civil law, wrote Latin with ease and

purity, and was excelled by few of his cotemporaries in Greek. His greatest deficiency appears to have been in the studies of his own profession; in which tho he was not ignorant, yet he was not deeply skilled. But his greatest qualifications, were a quickness of apprehension, a great experience in public affairs, an impenetrable concealment of his own sentiments, a subtil way of insinuating himself into the confidence and affections of those whom he had a design upon, and the most profound dissimulation. These are qualifications which made him eminent as a minister of state, but they were useless, to say the best of them, to a minister of religion: and in truth he had little other regard to religion, than as it served or supported the civil power. Thus his great abilities were directed solely to the encrease or preservation of his own authority in the state: and thus, tho his own religion was in all appearance that of the church of Rome; yet he went into all the changes made by HENRY revolting from it; and would willingly have done the same in the reign of EDWARD, if CRANMER had not known his dissimulation, too well to permit his carrying on such a farce, which would do more harm than good. He had gone early into all the views of HENRY's divorce with CATHARINE; and was the principal instrument which the king made use of, before WARHAM's death, to negotiate that affair. This should have made him as obnoxious to the present queen, as it had made the archbishop: and tho her majesty at first did most certainly look upon GARDINER in no very favourable light, on account of his compliance in such a servile manner to her father's will, yet the bishop had been deprived and imprisoned for his religion; and he had skill and insinuation enough, to cover his obedience to the will of HENRY, and to make the most of his sufferings for his constancy in the faith. Thus by putting on a zeal for popery in the beginning of this reign, which perhaps he had not really at his heart, he recommended himself to the queen and cajolled the emperor; by the same address he vanquished POLE at the court of Rome, and had more of the confidence of the pope than the pope's legate. The same artifice, which had acquired him the queen's favour, preserved him in it: and tho POLE had given her majesty the true character of this prelate, whom he despised and hated, yet GARDINER having conducted her state affairs with so much success, it was not difficult for him to obviate the reflexions made on him by the cardinal, whom he did not love, by shewing her that the legate was totally ignorant of politicks, and the world. So great indeed was GARDINER's capacity and experience as a statesman, and

and so little scruple did he make of any thing which stood in his way, that it was impossible for the queen to make a better choice. The only mistake he was guilty of whilst he was in power under MARY, was in imagining that the execution of three or four of the leading men, would put an end to the heresy of the reformed. His own abject servile temper, as I have said, was probably the cause of this mistake: but as soon as he saw it, he corrected it, as far as he durst for fear of offending his bigotted mistress. It was not thro any clemency and tenderness in his nature, for he had none of the milk of human kind, that he forbore ever after from meddling with these executions; but because of the unpopularity which he saw it brought upon those who ordered them; and as to CRANMER, the bishop preserved him on motives which have been already assigned. But whilst the fruit of his labour at the court of Rome was in his view, and he had a near prospect of driving POLE out of the kingdom, of being made a cardinal and legate, and of filling the see of Canterbury, it pleased God to take him out of the world, and to break all his ambitious projects. Notwithstanding he was possessed of the wealthy see of Winchester above twenty years, yet we read of no foundations for learning, no endowments of colleges, hospitals, or houses of charity, nor indeed of any other acts of benevolence, becoming such a character and station as GARDINER held. He either hoarded up the revenues of the church of CHRIST, which should be sacred to hospitality, and the relief of the poor and indigent, in order to enrich his favourite, tho perhaps unworthy relations; or else he consumed them in a vain magnificence and splendour little suitable to a christian bishop. Indeed he was nothing less: and what he said on his death bed to DAY, shews that he died as he had always lived; without any other sense or concern about religion, than as it might serve the interest of the state, or promote the wealth and power of ecclesiasticks. But I must turn again to the history.

The parliament, as I have said, was now assembled, but the good intelligence between the queen and the commons, on the death of GARDINER, began to cease: the greatest part of the nation grew weary of the cruelties which were daily exercising against innocent men; and the members would no longer be the queen's instruments, to restore an authority to the clergy, which had been so odious to the people. When it was moved therefore in the house of commons, to give a subsidy and two fifteenths to the crown, tho the first aid which the queen had asked who

was in the third year of her reign, it was opposed with great vehemence: it was said, that the queen had given away her riches profusely to the clergy, and then applied to the laity to pay her debts; why did she not send to the clergy? To this it was answered, that the convocation had given her a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, and that what she now desired was no more than what she had remitted to her subjects at her first accession. But yet tho it seemed very unreasonable to deny it now, the debate grew so high, that the queen sent a message to accept the subsidy without the two fifteenths, and thus put an end to the opposition. A few days after, the queen sent for the house of commons, and told them that her conscience would not permit her to take the tenths and first fruits of church preferments, which was a tax her father laid upon the clergy to support his dignity of supreme head; and she had divested herself of it. The cardinal then made a speech, to shew that tithes and impropriations were the patrimony of the church, and ought in equity to be returned to it; which the queen likewise gave consent to. But when this bill was brought into the house, it was long argued; and tho they were ready enough to pass the act to confirm the queen's resignation of the first fruits and tenths, yet they made many objections to the clause of tithes and impropriations still in the hands of the crown; in the end however it was carried by a majority of sixty seven. The parliament appearing thus alienated and untractable, and the house of commons having thrown out two or three bills sent by the lords, on the ninth of December they were dissolved. Let us now turn to the convocation.

I have already taken notice that they granted a subsidy to the queen of six shillings in the pound to be paid in three years, in return for her favour of giving up the tenths and first fruits, and restoring the tithes and impropriations to the church. But this was not all that they had to do. The cardinal being delivered from GARDINER's jealousies and opposition, obtained a licence of the queen under the great seal to hold a national synod; authorizing him to decree in it what canons he thought fit, and empowering the clergy also to meet, consent to, and obey those canons, without any danger of the law. This was thought safe on both sides, as well for preserving the rights of the crown, as for securing the clergy from the danger of a premunire. The cardinal, having observed the discipline of the church to be so much relaxed as that it was almost extinguished, drew up a plan for a reformation

which he presented to this synod, and afterwards printed. It is digested under twelve heads, and is a demonstrative proof of the good heart as well as the good temper of this great ecclesiastick. He delivered his opinion to the council at his first coming over in the character of legate, that the way to prevent the growth of heresy, was not to persecute the people but to reform the clergy; and he governed himself by it to the day of his death. The decrees therefore which he now presented, and which this synod passed, related solely to the instruction and good ordering of parish priests; to the regular and exact discharge of the episcopal office, in their constant residence and preaching in their diocese, in avoiding pomp and secularity, in relieving the poor, maintaining scholars, and other works of charity of public use; in their care and caution about giving orders, and conferring benefices on the most deserving without partiality; and in preventing the alienation of any lands or goods which their clergy were in possession of. In the conclusion, he recommended what CRANMER had before suggested, that in every cathedral there should be a seminary of young men trained up in study and virtue till they should be fit to serve in the church, and to supply the wants of the diocese, as the old men went off. These were the rules which POLE thought expedient to recover a church overrun, as he thought, with heresy; but they were too good for the times, many of the clergy wished him at Rome again, and the fires were rekindled.

The time was now come, in which CRANMER was to undergo the torment to which the queen had destined him from the beginning. A mock process having been carried on against him at the court of Rome, at the end of which the modest pope pronounced him contumacious for not appearing, tho he was known to be shut up in prison, a commission was sent over to BONNER bishop of London, and THIRLBY bishop of Ely, to degrade, and excommunicate, and then consign him over to the secular power. BONNER entered on this employment with great pleasure, as a piece of revenge on CRANMER who had deprived him: but the bishop of ELY, who was a gentle and good natured man, and had formerly lived with his grace in great friendship, assured him, that it was the most sorrowful action of his whole life, and that no earthly consideration but the queen's command should have engaged him in it. When their commission was read, the archbishop was clothed in pontifical robes of canvas, in order to make him appear ridiculous; which were taken from him piece
after

after piece, according to the ceremonies of degradation which are in use in the church of Rome; BONNER all the time insulting him with rude and ludicrous expressions, and THIRLBY weeping, pulling BONNER by the sleeve, and desiring him to forbear. When the ceremony was finished, he publicly reproached the bishop of LONDON with having broke the promise which he had made him of treating CRANMER with respect: but the archbishop bore it all with his wonted fortitude and patience; assuring them the degradation gave him no concern, as he had long ago cut himself off from any connexion or communion of the Roman church: but it was great injustice to condemn him for not going to Rome, when he was shut up in prison. He denied however the authority of the pope, and appealed to the next general council, by an instrument which he delivered in form of law. But this did not avail him. Every engine that could be thought of to overturn his constancy, was employed. The best divines the queen had in her party, were sent to him every day to argue with him upon his opinions, and to give him hopes of life and of preferment if he could recant. He was removed out of prison to the dean's lodgings at Christ's church, where he was treated with great civility and respect. He resisted every argument for many days, but at last, the infirmities of human nature got the better; and he, who had stood his ground for above three years together, was at the near approach of a fiery death, persuaded to subscribe an abjuration of his religion. He not only acknowledged the supremacy of the pope, and all the absurdities of the church of Rome, but exhorts those who had been deceived by his doctrine or example, to return to the unity of the church; and protests that he had signed this declaration of his belief, not thro interest or fear, but only for the discharge of his own conscience. This recantation, which was immediately printed and dispersed, was received with great insultings by the papists, and by the archbishop's friends with infinite dejection. The queen who had made a merit of pardoning his private offences against herself, that she might put him to death with greater torment, under a pretence of religious zeal, finding her measures broke by his abjuration, pulled off the mask, and shewed that nothing would satisfy her but his death. She said, that as he had been the great promoter of heresy which had corrupted the whole nation, what was sufficient in other cases should not serve his turn, and she was resolved he should be burnt. To this purpose, she sent COLE the provost of Eaton to Oxford, with private instructions, to prepare a sermon for his execution, and
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ordered the lords WILLIAMS and CHANDOS, and some other men of fashion, to be there on the day appointed with their retinue, to prevent disturbance. Soon after a Spanish fryar, who was a witness to the recantation, proposed the reading it to a public audience, and that the archbishop should transcribe it with his own hand and sign it; which he complied with. Till this time he had no suspicion that they intended to burn him after his abjuration: but having some little jealousy of it from this circumstance, he wrote a sincere confession of his faith such as flowed from his conscience, and not from fear: and when they brought him to St. Mary's, under a pretence of hearing a sermon from COLE upon his conversion, being uncertain what they might do with him, he put that paper into his bosom; which was afterwards printed and dispersed, notwithstanding the care of the council to suppress it. He was placed upon a scaffold over against the pulpit, that all the people might see him whilst he heard his own funeral sermon: and never was there a more awful or more melancholy spectacle beheld in England; a venerable archbishop, above twenty years the second man in the kingdom, and universally beloved for his innocence and sweetness of temper, now cloathed in rags, and set up as a gazing stock to the world, betrayed by falshood and dissimulation to act against his conscience, and hurried blindfold into eternity without any warning! The preacher having vindicated the justice of the queen in bringing CRANMER to the stake, tho he had disclaimed his errors, enlarged a great deal on his conversion, attributing it to the inward working of God's spirit, and assuring him that there should be dirges and masses said for his soul in all the churches at Oxford after his execution. The poor archbishop was all this time in the greatest perturbation, and floods of tears run from his eyes. At last being called upon by COLE to declare his faith, in order to give the world satisfaction of his dying a good catholic, he prayed first with many nervous pathetick expressions of deep inward sorrow, and then he made an exhortation to the people, to obey the queen out of conscience towards God, to live in mutual love, to relieve the poor according to their abilities, and not to love or to set their hearts on the things of the world. He then came, he said, to that, on which all his past life, and that which was to come did hang, which was the principles of his religion; and as he was now upon the verge of eternity he should declare his faith to them without any reserve or dissimulation. He then repeated the apostle's creed, asserted his belief of every thing in the scriptures, renounced the pope in the strongest terms, and affirmed

affirmed that he thought of the sacrament, in the same manner that he did, when he wrote his book about it in answer to bishop GARDINER: but there was one thing, he said, which troubled him more than all the actions of his life, which was the signing a paper contrary to the truth and against his conscience thro a fear of burning; but when he should come to the fire he was resolved that the hand that signed it should be burned first. It is impossible to express the confusion which this unexpected declaration threw the whole assembly into; who thought to have had a great triumph that day in CRANMER's public recantation, and found it turned against themselves. They charged him therefore with falshood, and bid him no longer dissemble; to which he replied with many tears, that he ever loved simplicity, and had never before that time dissembled in all his life. He would have gone on further, but they pulled him down, and hurried him away to the stake, where LATIMER and RIDLEY had before been offered; reproaching him all the way for retracting his abjuration. As soon as he came to it, he prayed, and undressed himself; and being tied to the stake, and the fire kindled, he extended his right hand into the flame; never drawing it back except once to wipe his face till it was consumed, saying often, "This unworthy hand." He burnt to all appearance without pain or motion, and seemed to repell the torture by mere strength of mind; testifying a repentance for the fault which he had committed.

Thus ended the life of THO. CRANMER archbishop of Canterbury in the sixty seventh year of his age, and the twenty third of his primacy; leaving an only son of his own name behind him. The reader has seen so many instances, of the meekness, humility, forgiveness, and benevolence of this prelate, as made him amiable as a man beyond all expression. But tho these virtues exposed him often to his enemies, who took advantage from thence to use him ill, knowing how readily he would forgive them, yet they did not lead him into such a weak submission as to consent to every thing that was uppermost. I have already accounted for the feeble stand he made against the arbitrary rule of HENRY; in which he shewed as much prudence, and as great a desire to do his country service, as in any part of his life. We know however that in the law of the six articles, in which the king expressed as much zeal and fury as in any thing, but which the archbishop thought of the utmost moment to true religion, he opposed his majesty to the last, at the hazard of every thing

thing that was dear. I know that he has been generally blamed by almost all historians for too great a compliance with the will of this absurd and irreligious prince; but in my opinion he has been blamed unreasonably. There are many occasions, I must confess, where one wishes the king's humour had been got the better of; but how could CRANMER do this alone? The rest of the council would not join him in any attempts to thwart the king, nay they were most of them enemies to the archbishop; and he saw from every day's experience, that HENRY was so made, so self-willed, so imperious, and so obstinate, that if he had attempted any thing in any other way than he did attempt it, he should be so far from succeeding, that he should never be able to have any interest in him at all. He might have excluded himself from the council, or he might have brought himself to the block, by opposing the king's measures singly and unsupported by all the other bishops: but would he have done any good by this to himself? would he have done any good to his country? Whereas by a general compliance, hinting measures at a distance, and as it were by accident, he put the king on many occasions on great and good designs: and to say the truth, the whole that was done towards the reformation, in the reign of HENRY, was entirely owing to the address of the archbishop, and his dextrous management of the king's froward humour. This feeble stand therefore, which has been attributed to the pusillanimity of his temper, has been attributed wrongly; and tho' he had great candour and great humility naturally, yet his gentleness was not always the effect of temper; it was in many instances the effect of virtue. He opposed, as far as he durst, the alienation of the abbey lands to the use of the crown and of private persons, in the reign of HENRY: he did all that was in his power against his friend the duke of SOMERSET in the affair of the chantry lands; and he withstood the duke of NORTHUMBERLAND in almost all the acts of his administration. But the most convincing proof that he had no meanness of spirit, was, that he never dissembled his opinion, nor deserted his friend when he was in disgrace; nay his compliance with HENRY was in some measure owing to the greatness of his mind: for the king had given him such singular marks of his kindness and affection, that he could not bring himself to resist his majesty, where otherwise he might have thought perhaps a resistance would have been right. The learning which he had acquired in the canon and civil law was equal to that of the chief of his contemporaries: but his labours in searching into all ecclesiastical authors ancient and modern,

modern, and making extracts from them on all the points of divinity with his own hand, would have as much exceeded our comprehension if it had not been so well attested, as in truth it exceeded the diligence of all his predecessors in the chair of primate. The knowledge which he had acquired by this means, meeting with a very clear tho not a quick discernment, and a judgment which seldom erred when well informed, gave him a vast superiority, RIDLEY excepted, to all the great men of his time. His only defect as a man of letters was in his stile, which was diffused and unconnected even for that age; but he was not singular nor remarkable in this defect: it is what many of our able writers have fallen into, since our language has been much improved, in some thro inattention, in others perhaps thro pride. But it was impossible that CRANMER could have time for every thing. He lived in an age when an archbishop had continual avocations at the council table, and when almost all the business of the state, was the business of the church and of religion; in which he must necessarily take the lead, and share the greatest burden. He had all the skill and learning of the church of Rome, as well as the prejudices of his country, and the interest of the clergy, to contend against; and he had scarcely any one of his profession, besides RIDLEY, that was either able or willing to assist him in the contest. But notwithstanding the public demands upon him, as the head of the reformation, he found time to discharge the proper duties of an archbishop. His clergy were overlooked with as much care and assiduity as tho his thoughts had been wholly occupied about the episcopal office: and I have seen heaps of his private letters to CROMWELL, whilst that lord was vicar general, which shew the great part he took in pursuing the interest of his friends. When the hospitality of his table was provided for, which was plentiful without luxury and great without magnificence, to which his honest neighbours and tradesmen were invited, all the rest of his revenue was laid out on the poor, and in pious uses; witness the pensions which he gave to many German refugees, and the infirmaries which he kept in his house, for the sick and wounded seamen in the service of the crown. He had that thorow contempt of the world which is essential to the character of an ecclesiastick; how little soever it has been practised by ecclesiasticks in latter ages: but the whole manners of CRANMER were adapted to his profession; affable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of benevolence, and condescension, forgiving, just, and tender hearted, his life was all of a piece. In short those who compared modern and an-

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cient times together, discovered so many excellent qualities and endowments in this eminent prelate, that they ranked him not only with the greatest primitive bishops, but also with the fathers of the first class who were the immediate successors of the apostles. But amidst all the honour and gratitude which I desire should be paid to the memory of this great apostle of the reformed church of England, I do not forget that he was a man, and that he was not therefore without faults. I have taken notice of some in the preceding pages, and given them the censure which they deserve. The last false step he made was a dreadful fall indeed: but instead of exciting our indignation against so great and good a man as CRANMER, it should put us all upon our guard against the frailties of human nature; it should cure us of spiritual pride, the worst pride of all, and teach us not to condemn others with too much rigour who have made a few sudden slips, nor to be too sure of ourselves that we should not fall under the like temptation. His faults, as well as his virtues, are set before us for our instruction: and if he was prevailed on thro the weakness of this mortal flesh to deny his master, let us remember that he underwent a very painful martyrdom, in which he expressed a deep resentment of his former frailty, with an heroic constancy and fortitude which was almost above the reach of mortals. In short if we look at CRANMER in all points of view, we must allow him to have been a prodigy of a man: his equal was never seen yet in the see of Canterbury, and I will take upon me to say, that his superior never will be.

Cardinal POLE, having been elected sometime before in England, and approved by the pope, was consecrated the day after CRANMER's execution, and had the pall put on him by the bishops of ELY and WORCESTER. It is therefore without foundation that he is accused of having hastened the death of that good prelate, that he might possess himself of his archbishoprick. Tho the pope wanted only a colour to wreak his revenge on POLE whom he mortally hated, yet being pressed hard by the queen, and GARDINER being no more in his way, the bulls had been dispatched at Rome from the time of CRANMER's sentence there. After the master of the rolls had had the custody of the great seal for some time on GARDINER's death, it was given to HEATH the archbishop of YORK with the title of lord chancellor; and the revenue of the see of Winchester was sequestered for the use of cardinal POLE. It was generally thought that he intended to hold that bishoprick in commendam with the primacy; but
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after some little time, WHITE bishop of Lincoln obtained a translation to Winchester, where he had been born and educated, on condition of paying a pension of a thousand pounds a year to the legate. All the rest of this year was spent in carrying on the queen's two favourite projects, raising religious houses, and persecuting the protestants. The bishop of LONDON, who had the task of burning hereticks consigned to him, as being most void of the feelings of humanity, not contented to punish them one by one, sent them this summer to the fire by whole troops, sparing neither age nor sex, the cripples nor the blind, and making equal havock of all. The cardinal having been informed, that there were hopes of recovering three out of sixteen that BONNER had condemned to the flames at once, procured an order from the council that they should be put into his hands, and having prevailed on two of them to abjure he procured the queen's pardon for them, which was the only pardon granted to hereticks, or at least accepted, in this reign. It was a very unusual, and a very ungrateful thing to the English nation, who are naturally merciful and benevolent, to see six, and seven, and thirteen, of their fellow creatures burning alive in one fire, without any other crime but that of their private conscience: and it is no wonder it should raise an horror against a religion of such cruelty, to be derived down from father and son as long as England shall continue a nation. These fires therefore, which were at this time so thick in many parts of the kingdom, were so far from extinguishing the light of the reformation, as the queen fondly hoped, that they spread it more, and kindled a general disaffection against her government: Neither was she able to make any considerable progress in her other scheme of restoring religious houses. For many of the nobility and gentry had taken the alarm on hearing of such a design; and some of the commons in the last parliament, had laid their hands upon their swords, when it was mentioned there, and boldly said, they knew the way to defend their properties. She founded and endowed however two or three this year, and turned the cathedral church of Westminster into a monastery, allowing the prebendaries pensions till they were provided for. But as she could not carry this undertaking as she desired in favour of the monks and nuns, she was determined to destroy every thing that had appeared against them. To this purpose she granted a commission to BONNER and two others, "to search all registers
 " in order to find out the professions made against the pope, and
 " the scrutinies made in abbies, which tended to the subversion

“ of all good religion and religious houses ; which, having gathered, they were to carry to the cardinal, that they might be disposed of as the queen should order.” This commission has been referred to in several parts of this work, as having occasioned many defects in the ecclesiastical history of this country, during the two preceding reigns : but yet notwithstanding the pains they took in vitiating registers and destroying records, enough has escaped their diligence, which bishop BURNET recovered and has transmitted faithfully to posterity, to convince us of the superstition and abominable licentiousness of the religious houses, and of the profound dissimulation of queen MARY’s bishops, who had signed declarations against the pope and the old corruptions, which they now disclaimed. It would be tedious and disagreeable to give the reader a recital from the council book of all the orders that were issued this year, to several lords, and justices of peace ; in order to thank some for their zeal and diligence, and to stir up others to be more active in searching after and suppressing hereticks. Even BONNER’s cruelty was almost satiated ; or rather he was disgusted at the cardinal’s having interposed, and saving two of his convicts, and at his chiding him severely for the fire which he made of thirteen at once : for he burnt no more for some months, and the council complained that he had discharged two at one time, and four and twenty at another, who were rank hereticks still.

In the beginning of the next year, POLE sent his Italian friend ORMANETO, and several bishops, on a visitation to the university of Cambridge, of which he was chancellor in the room of GARDINER. The first thing which they did they put two churches under an interdict, because the bodies of BUCER and FAGIUS, two German hereticks, were laid in them. They went thro all the colleges, gathering many heretical books, and observing the order used in their chapels. Then they entered on a ridiculous process against the two dead bodies ; of which sensible men, whose understanding was not devoured by their bigotry, must be ashamed. The process being finished by the visitors, and a writ from the queen having been sent in consequence of their sentence, the bodies were taken out of their graves, tied to stakes with many of their books, and all the heretical writings they could find, and burnt all together. In a short time after, ORMANETO and BROOKS bishop of Gloucester were sent by POLE to visit the university of Oxford ; where they went over all the colleges as had been done at Cambridge, and burnt all the English bibles,

bibles, with such heretical books and papers as they could find. The like ridiculous process was also carried on against the body of PET. MARTYR's wife; but as she was a foreigner, and understanding no English, they could not meet with any witnesses who had heard her utter any heresy, which put the visitors to a stand. They sent up therefore to the cardinal for fresh instructions; who directed, that since it was notorious she had been a nun and had married contrary to her vow, her body should be taken up and buried in a dunghill as a person dying under excommunication; which was done accordingly. But all these violences on the dead and living, on account of conscience only, had a very different effect from what the queen expected. The magistrates every where grew slack in searching after and presenting hereticks; and therefore the council wrote to several towns to choose zealous catholicks for their mayors, who would be diligent in discovering and suppressing hereticks. But all would not do. The nation had too quick a sense of these bloody and inhuman cruelties against harmless people who did ill to no body, and the queen was obliged to take other measures. It has been said, that she resolved to erect an inquisition on the model of that in Spain: but whether this was so or not, she gave a commission to one and twenty, of which the trusty BONNER was at the head, and almost all the rest lay gentlemen; "empowering them, or any three of them, to enquire into the false rumors and heretical opinions spread among the subjects, either by presentments, by witnesses, or any other politic way they could devise; to search after all heresies, and the bringers in, the sellers or readers of all heretical books; to examine and punish all misbehaviours or negligences in any church or chapel; and to trie all priests who did not preach on the sacrament of the altar, all persons who did not hear mass, nor come to their parish churches, nor go in processions, nor take holy bread and holy water: directing them to use all such means as they could invent, and to call before them such witnesses as they pleased, whom they might force to make oath of such things as would discover what they sought for." A commission of the same nature, as well as several other subordinate to this, was given to the archbishop of YORK and some other persons, but with this limitation, that if any thing appeared so intricate to them that they could not determine it, they were to refer it to the bishop of LONDON and his colleagues in the commission just recited. Except courts of inquisition had actually been set up, to which these commissions of such unlimited power and extent were a large and frightful step,

step, every measure was taken that could be devised in order to extirpate heresy. In consequence of this commission, the fires were rekindled with great diligence. But BONNER having two and twenty sent up to him out of Essex, wrote to the cardinal that tho he found them to be obstinate hereticks, yet since his eminence had been offended with him for his last proceedings, he would do nothing with them till he knew his pleasure. Upon this, POLE employed some of his friends to deal with the prisoners, in order to sign a paper professing “ their belief, that the “ body of CHRIST was in the sacrament, that they submitted to “ the church of CHRIST, that they would be faithful subjects to “ the king and queen, and would be obedient to their superiors “ spiritual and temporal according to their duties.” On their signing this declaration, the cardinal ordered them to be discharged; which shews how willing he was to accept of any shew of submission from the hereticks, and to stop BONNER’s carnage.

The holy pope having sent an absolution to the king of France of his oath he had taken to observe a truce with the king of Spain, and having even incited him to break it, PHILIP sent over to the court of England to join him in this war: but not being able to prevail, he came over himself the beginning of this summer, and during six weeks stay, he persuaded the queen his wife to take part in his quarrel, and to declare war against France; for which she did not want many fair pretences. The pope was no sooner informed of this, than he expressed his rage against POLE, as tho the cardinal could have prevented it, with great indecency. This however did not content him; he instantly made a decree to revoke all his legates in the king of Spain’s dominions, among whom POLE was named. But KARNE the queen’s ambassador, informing him what a prejudice it would be to their religion to recall him when things in England were yet in such an unsettled state, in which all the cardinals acquiesced, the pope assured him, that tho he would not revoke any part of his decree, yet he would give orders there should be no intimation made of it to POLE, and that if the queen sent to ask his continuance in England it should be granted. The queen, notwithstanding her devotion to the see of Rome, yet had so much personal regard to the cardinal, and was so tender of her prerogative, that she wrote a warm letter to his holiness on this subject; in which she tells him, that his predecessors out of respect to the kings of England had annexed the office of legate to the see of Canterbury; that it could not be resigned without great ignominy;

nominy; that the parliament would not give up the honour and advantage of the crown; and if they could be wrought to a compliance she would not concur with them.

Notwithstanding this remonstrance to the pope in favour of POLE, yet his holiness having been incensed afresh against PHILIP, relapsed into a new fury against the cardinal, and resolved to sacrifice him to his revenge. For this purpose he sent for PEYTO, the queen's confessor, to Rome; and creating him a cardinal, put into his hands the decree of POLE's revocation, and appointed him his legate in England. At the same time he wrote to her majesty, to give her an account of this alteration, and to require her to receive PEYTO as the legate of the holy see. But the queen wrote to the new legate, that if he offered to set foot in England she would punish him with the utmost rigour, and calling for the bulls revoking POLE, she ordered them to be laid up without being opened; as had formerly been practised. The cardinal however knowing the temper and enmity of the pope, laid down the ensigns of the legatine power, and sent ORMANETO his friend and confidant to give an account of his whole behaviour in England, and to clear him of the imputation of heresy. The Italian conducted his negotiation with such address that he mollified the haughty pope, and PEYTO dying, and a peace being made soon after between his holiness and the king of Spain, POLE was restored to his former power.

Tho the queen had engaged in a war with France in order to revenge her husband's quarrel, and was likely not to be free from one with Scotland on the same account, yet her treasure was quite exhausted, and it was not easy to find money to carry it on. Her cruelties towards the hereticks had so moved the compassion, and turned the spirit of the nation against her, that she was afraid to call a parliament; tho the state of her affairs, and her want of money, made it highly necessary. Privy seals were therefore issued to the number of a thousand, at an hundred pounds a piece, and sent about every where for the loan of money; but this encreased the jealousy of the nation more than it added to the queen's treasure. These difficulties however did not deter her from giving fresh orders for proceeding against those who wrote and spread heretical and seditious books. To add to her other troubles, the king sent over intelligence, that the French intended an attempt on Calais and offered his troops to reinforce the garrison: but either thro want of money, or that it was thought the place

was secure enough in the winter, the necessary supplies were not sent. Nay some of the council suspected, that this was an artifice of PHILIP's to get possession of Calais; and they could not persuade themselves that the French intended to besiege it. Wherefore the advice was disregarded, and not one step taken towards its relief; tho the governour, lord WENTWORTH, was not wanting in his sollicitation. After such an abominable neglect of providing for the security of the place, the queen and her ministry were in the last consternation, when the next news they heard was that it was actually taken. To this immediately succeeded, the loss of Guisnes with a garrison of eleven hundred men under the lord GRAY, and the castle of Hammes; which were the whole remainder of the ancient English conquests in France. The loss of Calais made a great noise in England. The protestants laid hold of it to arraign the government; some accused them of treason, others of incapacity, and their best friends could not acquit them of the charge of negligence. The creatures of the court were so confounded, that they had no other resource but in the fault of the governours: and the ministry, to give a colour to that accusation, permitted the two lords to lie in prison without attempting any thing for their release; issuing out a mock citation to WENTWORTH to answer the charge of giving up the place. Those who were otherwise dissatisfied with the conduct of affairs, took advantage from the loss of this important fortress, and said, that it was a judgment on the nation for a contempt of the true religion, and the cruelties which had been exercised in this reign. Others imputed it to a council composed chiefly of ecclesiasticks who knew nothing of war, who had no regard to the nation's honour, who had drained the treasure by the restitutions and endowments which they had persuaded the queen to make, and who minded nothing but the ruin of her conscientious subjects. But the loss of Calais affected none so deeply as the queen herself; who was so sensible of the disadvantage and disgrace of it, that it added much to her melancholy, and had a very ill effect. The place was taken in the beginning of January fifteen hundred and fifty eight; and finding all the methods that had been tried of raising money to be ineffectual, a parliament had been summoned to meet the twentieth of that month. When PHILIP heard of the loss of Calais, he wrote over to the queen, to raise a great force with all possible haste, and send over before the works could be prepared, and he would draw out his army to join them in the siege. But the council suggested many reasons why this advice could not be com-
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plied with; amongst the rest this was one, that they had reason to fear they had too many enemies at home, which they had not yet had time to reduce to order and obedience, according to their duties; and so the recovery of Calais was never attempted.

The parliament was opened on the twentieth of January, and the convocation of the province of Canterbury the day after. The abbot of Westminster, and the prior of St. John of Jerusalem, which had been refounded, took their places in the house of peers according to their writs: and a few days after, the lords sent a message to the commons to desire a conference about the defence of the kingdom. After several days debate, the commons agreed to give a subsidy, a fifteenth, and a tenth, and ordered the speaker to acquaint the queen with their resolution; who sent them her hearty thanks. The ecclesiasticks foreseeing the difficulties the queen would have in getting money of this parliament, and principally upon their account, the convocation, on their first meeting, immediately voted a subsidy of eight shillings in the pound to be paid in four years. The subsidy being agreed to in the house of commons, as I have said, the courtiers proposed the plan of an act for confirming all the queen's letters patents; intending probably no more, than that she should have the power of founding religious houses at her pleasure: but this not being so explained, one of the members opposed it resolutely, and urged that a power so unlimited might put the kingdom in danger, and give the queen a capacity of disposing of the crown from the legal heir. The commons were offended at this insinuation; and in order to pay their compliments to the queen, and at the same time to shew that they had an aversion to the thought of setting aside the princess ELIZABETH, they voted the member guilty of irreverence to her majesty, and ordered him into the custody of the serjeant at arms, till he had made his submission, and had the queen's forgiveness. Nothing further considerable was transacted in this session; and on the seventh of March the parliament was prorogued till the fifth day of November. Let us now return to the convocation. BONNER, as the cardinal's commissary, proposed some heads of reformation to both the houses: but it does not appear, that the bishops or clergy shewed any great inclination to entertain POLE's project of reforming abuses, and the lower house desired leave to offer their propositions. A complaint having then been made, that there was a great want of priests to serve the cures, it was moved,

ed, that no priests should be taken to serve in the wars; that the bishops might unite small benefices to be served by turns; that the parishioners of chapels of ease might be obliged to come to their parish church till curates could be provided; and that bishops might be authorized by the pope to ordain out of the seasons for conferring orders. The motion being agreed to, the convocation was prorogued to the November following.

The loss of Calais, and the meeting of the parliament, had given some little respite to the protestants; but in the end of March the persecution was renewed with greater fury than ever. The queen herself went an amazing length in a proclamation on the sixth of June; in which it was ordered, that whosoever had any books of heresy, treason, and sedition, and did not presently burn them without reading, or shewing them to any other person, should be esteemed rebels; and without any further delay be executed by the martial law. Nay to shew that her aim was not to convert, but to destroy the protestants, soul and body, if it was possible, to such a pitch of outrageous cruelty had her bigotry and ill humour carried her, that a proclamation was issued, forbidding any man to pray for hereticks at the stake, to speak to them, or even to say so much as "God help them." Whilst these tragedies were acting in different parts of the kingdom, the queen, who was deeply affected with the loss of Calais, making an unsuccessful effort of revenge on the coast of France with a numerous fleet, and being sensible that the war would be pernicious to her, came easily into a proposal of a treaty for a general peace at Cambray in the October following. On the fifth day of November, the parliament met according to the prorogation. On the seventh, she sent for the speaker of the house of commons, and ordered him to lay open the ill condition which the affairs of the nation were then in: and tho a treaty of peace was then negotiating at Cambray, yet it was necessary to put the kingdom in a posture of defence, in case the treaty should come to nothing. But the commons were now so much dissatisfied with the counsels of her ministers, and so little inclined to grant her request, that she was obliged to send her chancellor and eleven other lords to that house, to open the bad state things were in, under the apprehension of an invasion from France and Scotland, and to pray them to hasten the necessary supplies: but tho the commons entered on the consideration of this extraordinary message, as soon as the lords withdrew, and continued to deliberate upon it for two days after, yet they could not come to
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any resolution. The queen had for a great while declined sensibly in her health: her natural melancholy and sourness had been much heightened by the mortifications which she had undergone in the two preceding reigns: and having committed herself to the care of women during her fancied pregnancy who had only flattered her, she had neglected to prevent the consequences of that accident, which had an ill effect upon her. The shame and grief of the disappointment, the despair of issue after that, and the plain neglect and disgust of the king her husband, all concurred to improve the disorder both of her mind and body, and brought her into a low and languishing state of health, which turned to a dropfy. The loss of Calais, and the other ill successes of this year, meeting with a constitution thus broken, the mind sympathized with the body, and it was visible to every body that she had not long to live. In this condition, her chief uneasiness was the same with that of her brother EDWARD, when he found his end approaching; that after her death, the whole structure in religion which she had raised with so much care would infallibly be overturned. The bishops knew this as well as any body. They knew that ELIZABETH, how much soever she had concealed it, was a protestant in her heart, and was obliged to be so in defence of her own legitimation. Many of them therefore were perpetually insinuating to the queen the danger of letting the princess live: and GARDINER often exclaimed without any reserve, that they were lopping off the branches, which signified nothing, whilst the body of the tree was suffered to stand. The queen was a bigot to the last degree; and it gave her no remorse to spill human blood, when her religion was the pretence. Wherefore in all appearance she would not have spared a sister, whom she looked on as a bastard, and an heretick, if the providence of God had not immediately been her defence. For in a time when the spirit of persecution run so high, that the ears and hearts of men were shut against the voice of reason, justice and humanity, to what other cause was the preservation of this princess owing, whom so many reasons demanded as a sacrifice to popery, than the particular protection of the God of heaven? When the queen lay on her death bed, the cardinal lay on his; and despairing of the queen's recovery, as well as his own, he sent a letter by his chaplain to the princess, to assure her that he had acted nothing against her, and that no part of the unacceptable usage she had met with was owing to his advice. This was probably the last act of his life; for in three days after he was taken out of the world, surviving the queen but a few hours.

In this critical time, and in the fifty ninth year of his age, died the great cardinal POLE, of the blood royal of England, legate to the pope, and archbishop of Canterbury; a modest, humble, good natured and learned man. The divisions among protestants and their want of discipline, their disregard of the sacred order, and their seizing the church revenues, together with the prejudices of education, inclined him to think that religion was not well supported without a power equal to that of a pope. But he was plainly governed by motives of conscience. Had interest or ambition swayed him, he would have complied with HENRY's measures, and then would probably have stood foremost in that prince's favour: neither would he have declined the holy chair, when it was offered him, if wealth and greatness had been his object. His whole conduct was exemplary in all respects: and had he lived under a pope of less haughtiness, and a queen of less cruelty, his measures might have been fatal to the reformed religion. The great pattern of disinterestedness, regularity, and application which he shewed himself; his care to reform the manners of the clergy, and the abuses which their sloth and negligence had introduced; and the candid and gentle treatment with which he desired the protestants might be used, in all appearance would have been much more fatal to the progress of the reformation, than the indulgence of the bishops to the vices of their own party, and the inhuman severities exercised on the other. His opposition to the methods of sword and fire gave his enemies room to suspect him of leaning a little towards the hereticks; wherefore he was never taken, or at least never heard, in their councils about religion. But they did not understand him. The sweetness of his temper, and the solidity of his judgment, both concurred in engaging him against cruelty and violence: but he had an invincible attachment to the see of Rome, to a degree of superstition, and thought it impossible to maintain the order and the unity of the church without it. He was very inconsistent in one particular, which was, that at the same time he was exclaiming against the persecution of the reformed, and would not himself take any part in that slaughter, he was giving commissions to others to proceed in it, and returned a certificate into the court of chancery, of several who had been convicted of heresy before the commissaries of his appointing. But however upon the whole, it may be said of cardinal POLE, what bishop BURNET says of him, that he was a man of as great probity and virtue as most of the age, if not as all of that church, in which he lived.

We must now turn to the queen; who having laboured under a dropfy, and a grief of heart for the accidents which have been mentioned, on the seventeenth of November gave up her life in the forty third year of her age, after a short, inglorious, sanguinary reign, of about five years and a half. The natural temper of MARY, was sour, vindictive, melancholy, fierce, obstinate, and cruel; a temper excellently fitted to her religion; which in return made her religion so acceptable to her, and the queen so great a bigot. Little more than this need be said, to account for her delivering herself so totally up to her confessor, for her inexorable hatred to those she esteemed hereticks, and for the deluge of blood which she shed among her subjects. Her education under her mother had been very strict, and she allowed herself both before, and after her advancement, in few of the diversions with which courts abound. She was very constant in her devotions, and seemed to take delight in little else. It is certain that she concerned herself with no other public affairs than what related to heresy and the church. She had deep resentments of her own ill usage in her father's and brother's reigns, and her piety did not at all stand in the way of her revenge; but she thought she concealed it all, and it is not impossible might cover it over from herself, by a laudable zeal against heresy. But if revenge had not been sometimes at the bottom, why was CRANMER burnt after he had abjured heresy? His recantation had brought him within the mercy of the law: and to condemn a catholic to the flames, and burn a man for heresy whom they own is not an heretick, is a mystery to be cleared no other way, than that the queen was determined to have his life as a sacrifice to her revenge; tho she owed her own life at that time to CRANMER. In short the natural cruelty of queen MARY's temper was a reproach to the tenderness of her sex, for which all her virtues could not atone. In every thing but the gentle measures which he advised, she submitted implicitly to cardinal POLE; and this is enough to convince us, that all the persecutions carried on against her protestant subjects, flowed from her own inward, merciless, and blood thirsty temper. The death of this queen came critically to blast the design that had been laid, in France and Spain, as well as England, of extirpating heresy, when the peace was finished which was then negotiating; and it ought to make us sensible, of what importance the religion of our princes is, to the peace, and welfare, and happiness of the people. For at the time when the enemies of the reformation imagined it was
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on the point of being rooted out, it pleased God by removing this great instrument of mischief, and by raising up another queen, not only to revive it here with great success and splendor, but to guard and protect it in other countries. In short the hand of God was against MARY and her government, and her death was lamented by none but her popish clergy. Her reign was in every respect calamitous to the nation, in which nothing was attended to but cruelty and superstition; and, to use the words of an historian of that time, "ought to be transmitted down to posterity in characters of blood."

Thus are we now come to an end of this hateful and inglorious reign; in which, at the lowest computation, two hundred and eighty four were offered up at the stake, on account of their conscience only. But in a book corrected, if not written, by lord BURLEIGH and published in the following reign, it is said that above four hundred were executed in public, besides those murdered secretly in the prisons. Great numbers were likewise vexed with long and grievous confinement; who tho they redeemed their lives by renouncing their consciences, or rather by giving them the lye, yet this being forced from them by the fears of such hellish torments, as it begot an inward perturbation for the loss of their integrity, so it created the highest aversion in their hearts for those who had driven them to such extremities. I cannot close the account of this persecution which brings me to the conclusion of this book, without desiring the reader to reflect, how much the remembrance of those dreadful times, should fill us with gratitude for the liberties that we now enjoy, under a prince who makes it his care to preserve the blessings of the reformation in their full extent!

THE
ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY of ENGLAND.
BOOK XIII.

THE parliament being sitting at the time of queen MARY's death, the chancellor went to the house of lords in a few hours after she died, and imparting the melancholy news to them, who were almost all of the old religion, an universal silence for some little time ensued. But they soon recollected themselves, and sent for the house of commons, to whom the lord chancellor made a short speech on the mournful occasion: he told them that the lords intended to proclaim the princess ELIZABETH, the next heir to the crown, who had an indisputable title, in which resolution he hoped they would concur. This was answered with many loud and repeated cries, "God save queen ELIZABETH, long and happily may she reign." The parliament being then declared to be dissolved by the death of MARY, the lords proceeded to the proclamation of the new queen with the usual forms. The joy at her accession, among all ranks of people, except the popish clergy, is inexpressible. The queen was then at Hatfield; and on her coming to London the day after she had the news of her sister's death and her own proclamation, she was met at Highgate by the council, and by all the bishops. She gave a civil reception, and her hand to kiss, to every one of them, except BONNER, whom she looked upon as defiled with so much blood, as to make such a civility from her indecent. The people in the city received her with all the joy that those delivered from the terror of fire and slavery could express: and she returned their acclamations with an affability

which

which they had never seen from a crowned head before. The first thing she did after the usual compliments were over, was to send messengers to all the princes of Christendom, in order to notify her accession to the crown of England. But she wrote herself to king PHILIP to whom she thought she was much obliged for his good offices with the queen her sister, and made him large acknowledgments of her gratitude. She sent to KARNE the English resident at Rome, as she did to her other ministers, to acquaint the pope with the late change; not without expressing an inclination to be upon terms of friendship with his holiness. But the pope in his wonted stile, declared that England was a fee of the holy see; and that it was a presumption in ELIZABETH, who was illegitimate, to think of taking the crown without his consent: nevertheless if she would renounce her pretensions, and refer herself wholly to his clemency, he would shew a fatherly affection to her, and do every thing for her that could consist with the dignity of the papacy. When the queen was informed of the manner in which his holiness had treated the civil message which she sent him, she immediately revoked the powers that she had given KARNE, and recalled him home. Having no further business to relate at Rome in the history of this reign, I have anticipated the order of time for giving the reader the pope's reply, and the queen's measures upon it, that I might make an end of this short negotiation with the holy see at once.

The foreign business being thus dispatched for the present, the next thing which employed her majesty's care was to form her privy council: and to thirteen of those employed in the late reign, all zealous catholicks, she added eight others of the reformed religion; that neither party might despair of her favour, and that she might hold the balance in her own hand. Out of some of the latter however, the chief of whom were SIR WILL. CECIL, and SIR NICH. BACON, she selected a sort of cabinet council, with whom she secretly concerted measures for retrieving the reformation: but in this they proceeded with great caution, for fear of raising disturbances in her infant government. The queen made no difficulty nevertheless, to give orders, that all who were confined in prison on account of religion should be set at liberty. Upon which, a pleasant man that frequented the court petitioned her majesty, that the four evangelists which were still shut up in Latin, should be set free in English; to which the queen replied with the same humour, that she would talk with them first herself,

self, and see whether they desired the enlargement which he had recommended. It must be owned that no prince ever came to the throne in a more clouded state of affairs than ELIZABETH did; the nation being then engaged in a war with France and Scotland, and the queen having no ally but PHILIP; who, the moment he saw the changes which she intended to make in religion, would infallibly turn against her. As soon as this monarch received the news of his wife's death, and the queen's accession, he sent his compliments of congratulation, and a secret proposal of marriage with the queen; for which he would procure a dispensation from Rome. Her majesty had owned the obligations which she had to PHILIP, but she had no inclinations to have a partner on the throne; and one especially who had already made himself obnoxious to her people, whose affections she was determined at all events to secure. Besides, if it was lawful for a man to marry two sisters, it was equally so for a woman to marry two brothers; which would make her father's marriage with CATHARINE valid, and render the queen herself illegitimate; neither would the pope's dispensation at all mend the matter. Tho the queen was therefore determined from inclination, interest, and opinion, to reject this proposal from the king of Spain, yet she had too much occasion for his friendship, just at that time, to give him the least occasion of complaint; or however, till the treaty of peace at Cambray was concluded. She did not therefore entirely undeceive him in his hopes of marrying her; tho she was resolved within herself that she would never accept him for a husband. As soon as the news of queen MARY's death had got abroad, the exiles for religion returned home; and those who had hid themselves in the houses of their friends began to appear: but the public religion continued for a time in the same condition in which the late queen had left it. The papists whom ELIZABETH found in the ministry, possessed her with fears of rebellions at home, and wars abroad, if she should make any change in religion: and those whom she had joined with the papists in her council and whom she chiefly relied on, such as CECIL, and BACON, had been used so much to comply in matters of religion, that they were easily brought to bear what they did not approve, and apprehended great danger in being too quick in making alterations.

Tho the queen had been bred up from her infancy with an hatred to the papacy, and her title to the crown was founded on a marriage made in defiance of the pope, yet her first impressions in her father's reign were in favour of such old religious rites as he

had still retained; and she naturally inclined to state and magnificence in her devotions as well as in her court. She thought that in her brother's reign religion was stripped too much of external ornaments, and that the doctrines were many of them too much confined: it was her intention, that images should be still preserved in churches, and that the sacrament should be explained in such general terms, as that those who believed the corporal presence might not be driven away from the church by too nice an explanation of it. She had an objection to the title of Supreme head, which she thought imported too great a power, and came too near that authority which CHRIST had only over his church. Her principal desire was to find out such a temper in making the changes which were necessary, as might, if possible, include all her subjects, or at least breed but little division and animosity: and as in the alterations formerly made, particularly in renouncing the papacy, and laying aside some of the old ceremonies, the whole clergy had concurred, she apprehended it best to follow these alterations by slow and easy steps. The queen having communicated her private thoughts to the cabinet council, a long consultation was held about the measures proper for her majesty to pursue; the result of which was to this effect. In the first place it seemed necessary, before any thing should be attempted, that the queen should call a parliament, in order to discover the affections of the people. In the mean time, it would be proper to conclude a peace with France and Scotland as fast as possible, that she might have no foreign enemies besides the pope, whose practices and malediction were not much to be feared. The quiet of the nation being thus secured from abroad, it would behove her majesty next to prevent any disturbances within the kingdom. The natural way to effect this, was to turn out all those who had any share in the administration in the former reign, who were of the old religion, and to lessen their credit among the people by exposing their misconduct; to bring the clergy under a premunire, and keep them under it, till they had renounced the pope, and consented to the alterations that were to be made; to review the commissions of the militia, and the peace, trusting only such in them as were known to be well affected to the queen, and the reformation; and to take particular care of the schools and universities, that the rising generation might be well principled in religion. But in order to establish the form of worship once for all, and that changes might not be made too often, it was expedient that the service book of king EDWARD should be revised by a committee of their best divines; and in the interim, her ma-

jesty

jeſty might give ſome hopes of a reformation, by allowing the communion in both kinds, and ſome other liberties. Theſe were the meaſures propoſed and agreed to in the cabinet council, with which the queen ſhould begin her reign; in order to ſecure the kingdom from foreign and domeſtic troubles.

But before her majeſty had time to take theſe meaſures, ſome of the exiles who had fled abroad for ſhelter from the perſecution, and were returned on the queen's acceſſion, relying upon her inclinations to the reformed religion, began in many places to pull down images, to affront the prieſts, and to uſe the ſervice book of king EDWARD without authority. In order therefore to make ſome diſcovery of her intentions, the queen upon this gave order by a proclamation, that the epiſtles and gospels, the lord's prayer, the creed, the ten commandments, and the litany, might be uſed in Engliſh. By another proclamation, ſhe forbid all innovations, and preaching without a licence under the great ſeal; requiring all her ſubjects to uſe no other forms of worſhip than thoſe ſhe had in her chapel, till it ſhould be otherwiſe appointed by the parliament. Her majeſty had at this time given the great ſeal to SIR NICH. BACON, as lord keeper only, but with the full power of chancellor; and the new writs to ſummon a parliament were iſſued out by him. The funeral rites having been performed at Weſtminſter for queen MARY, great preparations were made for the coronation of her preſent majeſty. But here was a great difficulty to be got over. There were but three of the reformed biſhops living at this time, BARLOW, SCORY, and COVERDALE; the former had reſigned, and the proceſs, by which the two others had been deprived, not being reverſed, their character might be queſtioned: and yet all the other biſhops, apprehending ſhe intended to bring religion back to the ſtate in which EDWARD left it, reſuſed to crown her. At laſt the court prevailed on OGLETHORP, biſhop of Carlisle, to perform the ceremony, according to ancient cuſtom directed by the Roman pontifical. Several of the biſhops had died juſt before, in a ſhort time after the death of MARY; and moſt of thoſe who were now alive had complied ſo often with the changes in the three preceding reigns, that they were at length aſhamed of turning any more. Great conſultations were therefore held in the cabinet council, to procure proper men for filling the fix ſees which were vacant by death, and the reſt that might be vacant if the biſhops ſhould continue intractable. This was a matter of the firſt importance in ELIZABETH's government, as things were circumſtanced at that time.

DR. PARKER, who had been chaplain to the queen's mother, and had the care of the first instruction of the queen herself, was thought of by the lord keeper, for the see of Canterbury; and he was much approved of by her majesty, and SIR WIL. CECIL, now made one of the secretaries of state. But PARKER was a modest diffident man, much disabled by sickness, and a lover of privacy, and therefore declined a public station. He assured the lord keeper, that a prebend of twenty nobles a year would be much more acceptable to him than an employment of two hundred pounds. In short he was forced, literally speaking, into the see of Canterbury; and it was not till the August after, that he would submit to the solicitations of his friends, or the queen's command.

On the twenty fifth of January fifteen hundred and fifty nine, the parliament was opened with a long speech by the lord keeper; in which he laid before them the distracted state of the nation, as well in matters of religion, as in the other miseries which the late administration had brought upon them. As to religion, which the queen, he said, desired their immediate application to, it would be very proper they should examine it without heat, partiality, or reproach; avoiding the extremes of idolatry and superstition on the one hand, and indifference, inattention, and irreligion on the other. He exhorted them by the consideration of their duty to God and the queen, of their love to their country and themselves, to establish that, which should be thought most serviceable, upon a cool examination, to promote the honour of God, the settlement of his church, and the repose and harmony of the kingdom. When he came to the state of the nation, he aggravated the loss of Calais, with many severe reflexions on the former ministry, and spoke of it as a thing which they could not hope to recover. He made an high panegyrick on the reigning queen; assuring the two houses, that there was nothing she would endeavour after more effectually, than advancing their prosperity, and preserving the affections of all her people. In the conclusion, he laid before them the expences which the government must be subject to, and the queen's necessities: but he had her orders to desire no other supply, than what they should offer voluntarily themselves. The court had taken such measures about elections to this parliament as seldom fail of success: the magistrates were changed almost every where; and the people, who were disgusted with the late cruelties, were encouraged to exert themselves in favour of such representatives,

as were known to be well affected to the reformed religion. The majority of the house therefore was evidently on the side of the court; and in order to give some little strength to the protestant peers, the queen had just restored the marquis of NORTHAMPTON to his honours, of which he was deprived in the late reign, created the eldest son of the late duke of SOMERSET earl of Hertford, and the second son of the duke of NORFOLK viscount Bindon; and advanced her cousin CAREW, and OL. ST. JOHN, to the dignity of barons.

The first bill which was brought into the house of lords, in order to try how they stood affected to the reformation, was a bill to restore the first fruits, and tenths, and impropriations, to the crown; and it had all the success that the queen could wish. For it passed in four days, and was protested against only by the archbishop of YORK, and eight other bishops, without their being joined by any of the temporal lords: tho the temporal lords, except the new ones just created, were the very same which had passed the act, for returning these emoluments to the church, but about two years before. The house of commons passed it without the least hesitation: and considering the many miseries which the unhappy marriage of the late queen had involved them in, they sent an address to her majesty, in which having assured her of the affections of the whole nation, they besought her to choose such an husband as might not only make herself and her people happy, but by the blessing of God might bring such issue as should reign after her death, which they prayed might be very late. To this her majesty answered, that she looked on this address, as an expression of their affection and respect, since they had neither confined her to time or place: but as she had declined some honourable propositions of marriage in her brother's time, and had not been induced to accept any when she was under fears of death thro the displeasure of her sister, so she had no dissatisfaction with her present state. She assured them however if ever she married, she would make such a choice as should be to the satisfaction of her people. They would not want a successor when she died, and for her own part she should be well contented, that the marble should tell posterity, "here lies a queen that reigned so long, and lived, and "died a virgin." But as they did not take the queen at her word, the two houses had a conference in a few days after, to consider what should be the authority of the person whom the queen should marry. Her majesty being informed of this, sent
a message

a message to desire, that they would apply themselves to other things which were more pressing. The lords had it under consideration, whether, as the late queen had procured a repeal of her mother's divorce, and of the acts which declared the queen herself to be illegitimate, the same method should not now be taken, as ELIZABETH was exactly in the same predicament. But the lord keeper suggesting, that the crown purged all defects, that the looking back upon those transactions would bring a reproach at least upon her father, whose honour she ought to be tender of tho her sister was not, and in the end perhaps might rather prejudice than advance her title, advised an act in general words only asserting the lawfulness of her descent, and her undoubted right to the crown. This advice was complied with; and an act for recognizing the queen's title to the crown, and another for restoring her in blood to her mother, passed both houses without delay.

The business of religion, which was the next thing attended to, was, for very obvious reasons, began in the house of commons: where by several acts which passed in this session, the public worship was to be performed in the vulgar tongue; the queen was restored to her right of supremacy over the ecclesiastical state, and all foreign power repugnant to it was abolished; the acts made in the reign of EDWARD relating to religion were all confirmed and renewed; the queen was restored to her right of nominating to bishopricks, by the old way of conge d'elire, and empowered to put the exercise of her supremacy into what hands she pleased; the uniformity of the public worship was established upon the plan of king EDWARD's service book, reviewed, and altered by the learned divines who had been nominated by the queen and her cabinet council, already mentioned; the queen was empowered to reserve some lands belonging to bishopricks as they became void, and to give in exchange impropriated tithes according to the value; the religious houses, founded by queen MARY, were suppressed, and reunited to the crown; the deprivation of the popish bishops in the reign of EDWARD was declared valid in law, and all the leases made by their successors to be legal: thus in short, in this one session of parliament, religion was brought back again to the state it was in at the death of EDWARD. In the act relating to the supremacy, it was declared, that the authority of visiting, correcting, and reforming all things in the church, was to be for ever annexed to the crown; which the queen, and her successors, might by her letters

letters patents depute to any persons to exercise in her name. This power gave rise to what was afterwards called the "High Commission court," who had the same jurisdiction which had been committed singly to CROMWELL with the title of lord vice-gerent in all affairs ecclesiastical; and how much this power was abused in this, and the two succeeding reigns, will appear in the sequel of this work. The queen having a scruple about the title of supreme head, it was changed to that of supreme governour; and to this title, all bishops, and persons in public employments, civil or ecclesiastical, were obliged to swear, under the penalty of forfeiting their office in church or state, and of being incapable to hold any other employment during their lives: to this a clause was added, making all attempts in writing, printing, teaching, and preaching, to defend the authority of any foreign power over these realms, for the first offence to be the forfeiture of goods and ecclesiastical preferments, or imprisonment for a year if there were no goods worth twenty pounds; for the second offence, to incur the penalties of a premunire; and the third offence to be high treason. In the clause relating to the queen's power, of assigning her jurisdiction over the church to any persons whom she pleased, there was a proviso, that such persons should judge nothing to be heresy, but what had been already so determined by the authority of scripture, by the four first general councils, or by any other general council, in which such doctrines were declared to be heresies by the plain and express words of scripture: all other points, not so decided, were to be judged by the parliament, with the assent of the clergy in convocation. Some of the prelates spoke against this bill in all its parts; but it was carried by a great majority, and dissented to only by two temporal lords, the archbishop of YORK who was the chief speaker, and eight other bishops. The parliament having passed the several acts above mentioned, and given two subsidies to the queen, were dissolved on the tenth of May. We must turn now to the convocation.

The queen had sent out her writs as usual, and the convocation meeting the day after the parliament, BONNER, as commissary to the dean and chapter of Canterbury, who had the jurisdiction during the vacancy of the see, ordered a mass of the holy ghost, and then opened the meeting with a short discourse. The archdeacon of Canterbury, who had been complained of to the council and received a reprimand for his sedition, was chosen prolocutor. But lest the convocation should set out any thing in

opposition to what the queen was then intending to do, her majesty sent, and required them, under the pains of a premunire, to make no canons. But as the act of the clergy's submission to HENRY and his successors had been repealed in the first year of the reign of MARY, so the convocation might have acted by their own authority, without any licence from the queen, or incurring the premunire with which she threatened them. But either thro fear or despair of doing their cause any good, the bishops sat inactive; and the lower house contented themselves with a declaration of their judgment on the corporal presence in the sacrament, of the propitiatory sacrifice in the mass for the dead and living, and of the exclusion of the laity from all power in the church whatever. After these few articles had been sent to the universities, and, except the last, subscribed there by a great majority, they were recommended to the upper house, and presented by BONNER to the lord keeper. This was the whole business transacted in this first convocation of queen ELIZABETH, who prorogued them from time to time till they were dissolved. The queen and her ministers, it seems, had now determined to have a public disputation before both houses of parliament, by nine ecclesiasticks on each side; concerning those points which were most likely to be objected to, when the bill of uniformity should be brought into the house of commons. HEATH, the archbishop of YORK, was still retained in the council; and when this conference was proposed to him, after some communication with his brethren, he accepted it, tho not without some reluctance. The points to be disputed were these three; whether it is not against the word of GOD and the custom of the ancient church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayer and the sacraments; whether every church hath not authority to appoint, to change, and to take away ceremonies, and ecclesiastical rites, so the same were done to edification; whether it could be proved by the word of GOD that there was a propitiatory sacrifice in the mass for the dead and living. The terms of the dispute, as they were settled in council, and accepted by the parties, were, that the bishops and their friends, as being actually in office, should open the debate, which should be all in writing, by reading their papers on the first question, and then the protestant divines should read theirs: these papers were then to be mutually exchanged that they might be reciprocally answered; and thus it was to be conducted till the three questions had been discussed. The preliminaries being thus adjusted, in order to avoid wrangling, reproach, and noise, which

had disgraced the public disputes in the late reign, the first meeting was appointed by the queen's order, on the last of March, in Westminster abbey.

The day being come, and the place accommodated for the audience, the lord keeper took the chair as moderator; to preserve order and decorum, and that the dispute might be carried on according to the terms agreed on. But WHITE, the bishop of Winchester, instead of reading their paper on the first question, pretended it was not ready, and that they had mistaken the directions that the dispute was to be managed in written arguments. The secret of this was, the bishops in their private meetings had agreed to read their paper but not to give a copy of it: they thought it not decent to refuse a public account of their doctrine, but they would not enter into disputes with hereticks about it. Besides, they looked upon it as the highest act of supremacy for the queen to appoint such a conference; of which she and her council would pretend to be the judges when it was ended. The lord keeper reprimanding them for departing from the preliminaries, they said that DR. COLE, dean of St. Paul's, should deliver their sense upon the first question, tho it was not enough digested to be put in writing. This being assented to, the dean discharged his commission amidst vehement contortions of body, and much scorn and reproach on the reformers; pretending to speak off hand, but reading most of his arguments and authority out of a paper. When he had finished his speech, HORNE the late dean of Durham, who was appointed by the other side, read gravely and in a modest manner the paper which had been prepared on the first question; which he afterwards gave to the lord keeper, signed with all their hands, to be delivered to the bishops when they should bring him theirs. Thus ended the dispute on the first day; the shouts of applause on the protestant side, declaring the victory in their favour. The bishops, perceiving from hence how much more acceptable the reformed religion was to the people, were resolved to proceed no further. On the second day therefore, when they were required to deliver their sense on the next question, they insisted that their answer, to the paper read by HORNE the day before, should be first heard: but the lord keeper told them, that this was contrary to the order agreed on; that no answer was to be read on either side till they had gone thro the questions; and then both sides were to proceed in their reply. They said, that what COLE had delivered the former day was extempore, and not a thing concerted amongst them

them as the sentiments of the party: but this appearing very disingenuous, and contrary to what they had themselves declared, the audience required them to go on to the second question, according to the order of the dispute. The bishops then insisted, that the other side should read their paper first, apprehending it was an advantage to the side which was heard last: but the lord keeper adhering to the terms of the agreement, that they as bishops actually in office should deliver their opinions on each article first, their lordships refused to proceed any further. The bishops of WINCHESTER and LINCOLN in particular, asserted, that the doctrine of the catholic church was already established, and ought not to be disputed except in a synod of divines; that it was too great an encouragement to hereticks to hear them discourse thus against the faith before an unlearned multitude; and that the queen, in directing this dispute, had incurred the sentence of excommunication; not without some threatnings that they would execute it upon her majesty and her council. This put an end to the assembly; and the two bishops were committed for their insolence to the Tower. The whole world saw that this disputation was managed in a very different manner from that in queen MARY's time; and the audience were generally much confirmed in their belief of the reformed religion, when they saw the papists thus quit the field, where there was neither noise, partiality, nor disorder. The reformers themselves took great advantage from the issue of this debate; and affirmed that their adversaries, knowing the truth was not on their side, were afraid to put their cause to the hazard of a defeat. The papists, on the other hand, said in their own justification, that the lord keeper was their professed enemy, that the laity would take upon them to judge of this dispute who they saw were predetermined, and that it was appointed only to set off the intended changes with the pomp of a triumph.

In giving the reader an account of the bills passed in parliament, it has been said that the uniformity of the public worship was established upon the plan of king EDWARD's service book, somewhat altered. It may be proper now to be more particular in this article. A committee of divines were ordered to bring the whole book of common prayer under a review; in order to see if any alterations were necessary to be made; to strike out all offensive passages against the pope; and particularly to contrive the communion service in such a manner, as not to exclude by any express definition the belief of the corporal presence,

fence, which the greatest part of the nation still retained; but to leave it as a speculative point undetermined, in which every one was left to the freedom of his own opinion. Upon this, the rubrick, which explained the reason for kneeling at the sacrament, "that thereby no adoration is intended to any corporal presence of CHRIST's natural flesh and blood, because that is only in heaven," was left out in the new liturgy: and the words at the delivery of the elements, which, in the first and second book of king EDWARD, were different, were now joined together, and made the form which is now in use. A passage in the litany, "against the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and his detestable enormities," was expunged; and some of the collects were a little altered. When this review was laid before the parliament, the committee had left it at the people's liberty to receive the sacrament kneeling, or standing; but the parliament restrained it to the former posture, and without any other amendment, passed the act for establishing the uniformity of public worship, according to the book of common prayer thus reviewed. Tho all the reformers were of one faith, yet they were far from agreeing about discipline: the exiles had split into contending parties upon that head; and while some were for setting up the service and discipline of the English at Geneva, others were for the service book of king EDWARD, and for withdrawing no further from the church of Rome, than was necessary to recover the purity of the faith, and the independency of the church. Rites and ceremonies, in their opinion, were indifferent, and those of the church of Rome preferable to others, because they were venerable and pompous, and the people had been long accustomed to them. These were the sentiments of the queen herself, who was afraid of reforming too far: she was desirous to retain images, crucifixes, and crosses, instrumental and vocal musick, with many of the popish habits: and in the act of uniformity, there is a clause empowering her to ordain and publish such further ceremonies and rites as may be for the advancement of God's glory, the edifying of his church, and the reverence of CHRIST's holy mysteries and sacraments. Had it not been for this reserve of power, to make what alterations her majesty thought fit, she told DR. PARKER, she would not have passed the act. This act however and the rigour with which it was executed, occasioned the separation of those who now began to be called Puritans; from their attempting at a purer form of discipline and worship, as they imagined, than that which was yet established.

After the parliament was dissolved, the bishops and leading clergy were ordered to attend the queen: her majesty put them in mind of the act of supremacy passed in parliament, recommended uniformity to them in church affairs, and exhorted them to relinquish the superstition of the Roman communion. The archbishop of YORK replied in the name of the rest, that the engagements of the late queen to the apostolic see were binding to her successors, as well as herself; and that unless these engagements were made good, and all heresy exterminated, the kingdom must lie under perpetual ignominy and censure. The queen told him, that she had called her parliament and clergy together, to make a covenant with GOD, and not with the bishop of ROME; that her sister had no power to bind her successors to an usurped authority; that her crown being wholly independent, she would own no sovereign but JESUS CHRIST; that the pope's usurpation over princes was intolerable; and that she should look upon all her subjects both spiritual and temporal, as enemies to GOD, and the crown, who should from henceforth abet his pretensions in this kingdom. Soon after this, the oath of supremacy was tendered to them: and imagining, that if they stuck close to one another, the queen would be obliged to dispense with them, and not turn out all the bishops in England at one stroke, they all refused to take the oath, except RITHIN bishop of Landaff. But in this they were mistaken. The court had some hopes of TUNSTAL bishop of Durham, who was a learned, inoffensive, and good natured man; and being much disgusted at the cruelties exercised in the late reign, had retired wholly to his diocese, in which not one person was burnt, or hardly used, on account of heresy. The court gave him till September before they offered the oath to him: but as he was then very old, he chose to go out with the rest, more for the decency of the thing in all appearance, than for any scruple he could have about the supremacy for which he had formerly wrote so much. They were all put in prison for a little while upon their refusal; but except BONNER, and the bishops of WINCHESTER, and LINCOLN, they were all set at liberty. Many complaints were brought against these for having exceeded the law in the prosecution of those who were presented for heresy; and it was much desired by the bulk of the nation, that they should be made examples of to appease the resentments of the people. The queen received these complaints; and, that she might not be thought to deny justice, promised to order an enquiry to be made into the particulars,

particulars, in a visitation which she intended to send over the kingdom, and to proceed against them according to the information that should be given. Her majesty was naturally of a merciful disposition, and her divines had learned in the gospel not to seek revenge, nor return evil for evil: it was therefore thought for the honour of the reformed religion, to give this demonstration of the conformity of their doctrine to our Saviour's precept and example, and of the different spirit of the two professions. The archbishop of YORK, who was a man of a generous temper, and had burned none for heresy, was permitted to live securely at a house of his own in Surry, where the queen went sometimes to visit him. TUNSTAL, and THIRLBY, lived at Lambeth with PARKER when he was made archbishop, with as much ease and freedom as tho the palace had been their own. The bishops of WORCESTER, CHESTER, and ST. ASAPH, chose to go abroad; but all the others remained in England, where they lived in peace, and were treated with the respect which they deserved. A few gentlemen, and all the nuns went out of England, but most of the monks returned to a secular course of life.

The next public measure relating to the church was a general visitation over the kingdom, for which the queen had ordered injunctions to be prepared. But there was a great difficulty about that relating to images. The queen herself, as I said before, was not only inclined to them, as a matter of pomp and magnificence, which she thought might excite devotion, but also as a means of conciliating superstitious people to the new religion: and it was not without a sort of protestation from the reformed divines, in which they all concurred, that her majesty consented to have the images removed by one of these injunctions; but she would not part with her altar, nor her crucifix, nor with lighted candles, out of her own chapel. The gentlemen, and choiristers, appeared there in their surplices, and the priests in their copes; the altar was furnished with rich plate, with gilt candlesticks, lighted candles, and a massy crucifix of silver in the middle. The service was sung, not only with organs, but with the artificial musick of cornets, sackbuts, and psaltery, on the solemn festivals. In short, the service performed in the chapel royal, and in some cathedrals, was scarcely to be distinguished from the Roman, except that it was performed in the English tongue. By this means, as the queen expected, many of the popish laity were allured into conformity, and came regularly to church for nine or ten years; till the pope, having lost all hopes of an accommodation,

commodation, forbad them, by excommunicating the queen, and laying the kingdom under an interdict. The import of the injunctions was generally the same with those of EDWARD: I shall therefore only take notice of those which were now added. To prevent the scandals which had been given by some indecent marriages of the clergy, it was ordered that no priest or deacon should marry without allowance from the bishop of the diocese, and two justices of the peace, as well as without the consent of the parents, or friends of the woman. The clergy, by another injunction, were directed to use habits according to their degrees in the universities; the queen declaring, that this was enjoined not for any holiness in the habits, but for the sake of order and decency. The people were all to resort to their own parish churches, except on extraordinary occasions, and some were appointed to give notice of such as did not comply. Innkeepers were to sell nothing in time of divine service. No images or monuments of superstition were to be retained in houses. No clergyman was to preach without a licence from his ordinary. A strict enquiry was to be made, why any had been imprisoned, famished, or put to death, on account of religion in the late reign; and all the registers were to be searched about it. All slanderous words were to be abstained from, under severe penalties. No books were to be printed without licence. The queen explained the oath of supremacy; declaring she did not pretend to any authority for the ministering divine service in the church, and that all she challenged was that which had at all times belonged to the imperial crown of England, that she had the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons under God, exclusive of all foreign power whatsoever: and if those who had any scruples about the oath before, would take it in that sense, she was well pleased to accept it, and would acquit them of all the penalties of the act. The next injunction was to order, that, for preventing riots, no altar was to be taken down but by the consent of the curate and churchwardens, that communion tables should be made for every church, and on sacrament days should be set in some convenient place in the chancel, and at other times should be placed where the altar used to stand. The sacramental bread was required to be round and plain without any figure on it, but somewhat broader and thicker than the cakes made for the mass. The bidding prayer was the same that had been prescribed in king EDWARD'S time, except that an expression, which imported a prayer for the dead, was altered. These injunctions were to be read in the churches once every quarter;

and

and the penalty for disobeying them was suspension, deprivation, sequestration, excommunication, and such other corrections as the visitors should appoint.

The common prayer book by the act of parliament was to take place at Midsummer, and about that time the queen signed a commission to the visitors, who were most of them laymen, empowering any two of them to examine the true state of all the churches, to suspend or deprive unworthy clergymen putting others in their places, to proceed against such as were obstinate by imprisonment, church censure, or any other legal way. They were to reserve pensions for such as would not continue in their benefices but quitted them by resignation; to examine into the condition of all that were imprisoned on account of religion, and to discharge them; restoring all those to their benefices who had been unlawfully turned out in the late reign. In short their jurisdiction takes in the whole compass of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and reaches to every part of the episcopal function, except ordination, consecrating of churches, and officiating in divine service. The prudence of reserving pensions for such as quitted their benefices was much applauded; as well for preserving them above want which might tempt them to do mischief, as for keeping them under some restraints, by granting them only during their good behaviour. - But it was thought a great stretch of the queen's supremacy to give authority to lay visitors to proceed by ecclesiastical censures; and it was no otherwise excused than by another abuse, that it was no more than what was done by the lay chancellors in spiritual courts. The visitors having made their report to the queen of the obedience given to the laws and her majesty's own injunctions, out of the nine thousand four hundred benefices then in England, not above two hundred were resigned on account of religion. The greatest part of the clergy, tho they retained their affections to the old religion, yet thought it most adviseable to comply with the reformation, that they might keep the protestants out of the churches, and be in a condition themselves to support their abdicated friends: so that if the queen had died before all that generation was dead, and before a new set of men better educated and principled were grown up in their room, they would have probably turned about again, under a prince of the old religion, as nimbly as they had done before in the reign of MARY. But yet small as the number was of those who quitted, it was impossible to find protestants of tolerable learning and capacity to supply the vacancies;

because many of the stricter sort, who had been exiles for religion, could not comply with the terms of conformity, and the queen's injunctions.

All the sees, excepting Landaff, being vacant now by death, or deprivation, it was necessary to find out the proper persons to supply them. But besides the difficulty there was in this from the scruples which many of the most eminent exiles retained, particularly against the habits, the queen was in no hurry. Tho DR. PARKER therefore, after repeated denials, was elected to the see of Canterbury in August, and several more divines to other sees about that time, yet there was no consecration till the middle of December following. A royal visitation, during which the episcopal power in the diocesan was suspended, might properly enough fill the chasm, and the queen might like to exert her prerogative in spirituals when it was least encumbered. But the chief reason for this delay, I apprehend, is to be looked for somewhere else. The reader has been told of an act of the last parliament, by which her majesty was empowered to take into her possession any castles, honours, lands, and tenements, of a vacant bishoprick which she pleased, giving the value in impropriate parsonages, tithes, and tenths, in exchange for the same. The church lands were to be certified into the exchequer upon the old rents, without any consideration of fines, or other casual profits; and the compensation was to be made out of poor estates rated generally at the utmost value. As the queen had acquired this power by act of parliament, she had too much of her father in her not to exercise it. The sees therefore being vacated by the popish bishops, this was her time to order a survey of all the castles, lands, and manors of the bishopricks; and she did not miss it. She contented herself with nominating some divines whom she intended to promote, but she kept back their consecration; whilst she issued a commission to survey the vacant bishopricks, and send their returns into the exchequer; and another commission to the lord treasurer, and three others, to examine the certificates of all bishops lands thus returned, and to give their opinion of what were proper to be annexed to the crown, and what proportion in tenths and impropriations should be given in exchange. The commissioners were not idle in obeying the queen's command; and the archbishop elect, and some of his brethren, foreseeing how lamentably the church would be impoverished, endeavoured to prevail with the queen to drop the project; that the new sees erected by king HENRY might be continued;

tinued; and that the bishops promoted to them might have the common privilege of disposing of the prebends. But Cox, who had been preceptor to king EDWARD, and was afterwards bishop of Ely, went further than all the rest. He put a paper into her hands, reminding her of her education in the best religious principles, and of the motives of conscience, of the fear of God, and of another world, which she had said she always acted upon. Hence he desires her to put a stop to this unequal exchange of the temporalities of the bishops, which would be a noble instance of goodness in her; and suggests many unanswerable reasons for making this request to her. But the queen was not to be moved; she was resolved to take the benefit of the act, and to enrich herself, for some time at least, at the expence of the church and clergy.

The several exchanges having been made which the court intended, the sees were now to be filled up. A warrant was therefore issued under the great seal, directed to the bishop of LANDAFF, to SCORY, BARLOW, and COVERDALE, who had been bishops in the reign of EDWARD, and to some suffragans, to consecrate archbishop PARKER; which was accordingly performed in the chapel at Lambeth, according to the form of ordination in king EDWARD's service book omitting only the ceremony of the pastoral staff. The new bishops were all soon after consecrated by his grace, and BARLOW was promoted to the see of Chichester, and SCORY to that of Hereford: but COVERDALE was very old, and had, besides, his scruples about the act of uniformity, so was never restored to any bishoprick. The public worship being now reformed, the queen's injunctions sent over England, and the sees supplied with bishops, it was necessary to set out the doctrine of the church for avoiding diversities of opinion, as it had been done in the time of EDWARD. Indeed they were set out then by virtue of his supremacy, under the great seal, and the queen might have done so now: but it was afterwards objected as a crime against CRANMER, that they were thus enjoined, without being first discussed, and approved in convocation. The bishops therefore waited for such an opportunity; and for the present agreed on a short profession of their doctrine, which all incumbents were obliged to read publicly at the entrance on their cures. There was no dispute among the reformers upon this point; and if the habits and ceremonies had been left indifferent, the seeds of division had been prevented. But as the case stood, it was next to a miracle, that the reformation had not been

been lost back into the hands of the papists: and if some of the puritans had not complied for the present, in hopes of the removal of these grievances when things were better settled, it must have been so. For it was impossible, with all the assistance they could get from both the universities, to fill the vacant parishes with men of tolerable learning, character, or abilities. Many churches were quite unfurnished; and not a few mechanics, altogether as unlearned as the worst of those who had been ejected, were preferred to dignities and livings, “who were “disregarded by the people and did the reformation more harm “than good:” whilst others of the first rank, for learning, piety, and usefulness in their functions, being puritans, were laid aside. The bishops saw this plain enough, and archbishop PARKER in a mandate to the bishop of LONDON and the suffragans of his province, not to ordain any more persons thus unqualified, owns the fact which I have mentioned, in those very words; but the terms of conformity were not relaxed.

The late archbishop HEATH, and four other popish bishops, sent an address to the queen sometime after their deprivation, exhorting her to return to their communion; which the queen answered very properly. But this was not the only attempt that was made to regain her. PAUL the fourth being dead, the new pope, who assumed the name of PIUS the fourth, considering that violent measures had more than once proved unsuccessful, wrote a cajolling letter to the queen, in which he refers her to the instructions he had given his nuncio; which, it was reported, were to confirm the English liturgy, to grant the communion in both kinds, and to reverse the sentence against her mother's marriage, on condition she would return to the obedience due to the holy see. But ELIZABETH was not to be won with either threats or entreaties to part with her supremacy; of which she was as fond as the king her father: the nuncio therefore was not allowed to set his foot in England, and tho the queen consented to receive the letter, she sent orders for the bearer to stop at Brussels. About the same time, the emperor, and other Roman catholic princes abroad, interceded with the queen to grant her subjects of their religion churches to officiate in after their own manner, in great towns and cities, which her majesty would not grant; and which, after so many cruel burnings of those of her own religion in the late reign, was the most impudent request that was ever made to a crowned head. The collegiate church at Westminster, which had frequently changed
its

its foundation, and suffered great revolutions in figure and fortune within twenty years past, being dissolved in the last parliament, had now a settlement from this queen which has continued to the present time. She made choice of a parcel of the best lands, and conveyed the rest to the church; over which she appointed a dean, twelve prebends, two schoolmasters, forty scholars, minor canons and others belonging to the choir to the number of thirty, and twelve almsmen. The queen in her injunctions having ordered the removing all paintings and monuments of counterfeit miracles and idolatry from churches and private houses, the people in their rage and revenge against popery, defaced the images of CHRIST and his apostles, and other historical representations of scripture in the windows, destroyed the monuments and coats of arms, took down the bells and lead from the roofs of churches, and turned the steeples into pigeon houses. Wherefore the queen published a severe proclamation, most of the copies of which she signed with her own hand, forbidding all such disorder under pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of goods at pleasure, and to cause reparation to be made of all that had been done of this kind from the beginning of her reign.

About the same time, her majesty sent a letter to the archbishop of CANTERBURY, and some others of her high commission court, to review the calendar for the common prayer, to strike out some of the lessons, and to appoint others which they should judge more useful and instructive. In the same letter she complains, that many churches were unrepaired to a scandalous degree, unornamented, and negligently kept; which she desires may be rectified by their care. Before this time, it was left to the discretion of the ministers to change the chapters to be read in course for others of more edification; and even after this new regulation, the bishops recommended it in the preface to a second book of homilies which they published. In the summer of this year, the archbishop visited his diocese, which he found in a deplorable condition, the greater part of the clergy being either mechanicks, or mass priests in disguise. He made a report of this to the queen with much grief: but her majesty did not appear to be so much concerned at this, as to maintain her own supremacy. Wherefore she ordered his grace to draw a form of subscription for all ecclesiasticks, in which they acknowledge “ that the restoring the supremacy to the crown, and “ the abolishing all foreign power, as well as administration of

“ the sacraments according to the book of common prayer, and
 “ the queen’s injunctions, is agreeable to the word of God, and
 “ the practise of the primitive church.” At the same time,
 the archbishop published an admonition to be set up in every
 church, forbidding all clergymen, under the degree of master
 of arts, to preach, or expound the scriptures, or to innovate or
 alter any thing, or to use any other rite than what is set forth by
 authority. But it was almost impossible to comply with this
 admonition; the scarcity of protestants who had abilities, and
 no scruples, being so great. Indeed the reformation went very
 heavily on; and it was long before the universities could supply
 the necessities of the church. The queen herself was with the
 utmost difficulty prevailed on to part with images, and she still
 retained a crucifix in her chapel. The bishops saw that super-
 stitious people worshipped this idol; and when SANDYS spoke
 freely to the queen about it, she threatened to deprive him. She
 had such a strong aversion to matrimony in the clergy, that it
 was owing to CECIL’S courage and dexterity, as appears by a
 letter of his to PARKER, that she did not absolutely prohibit the
 marriage of all ecclesiasticks. He was obliged to consent to an
 injunction, “ that no head or member of any college or cathe-
 “ dral, should bring a wife or any other woman into the pre-
 “ cincts of it, to abide in the same, on pain of forfeiture of all
 “ ecclesiastical promotions.”

The archbishop waited on the queen to remonstrate against this
 order; and as he tells CECIL in his answer, was surprized to hear
 her treat the institution of matrimony with a satire and contempt
 which gave him horror. She even declared to him, that she
 repented her making any married men bishops, and wished it
 had been otherwise; nay threatened him with injunctions of
 another nature, which his grace understood to be in favour of
 the old religion: but he attributed these words to some sudden
 heat conceived upon untrue reports raised against them by their
 enemies. The archbishop’s letter to the secretary upon this oc-
 casion is a very good one, both for the matter, and the spirit
 of it; he assures him, “ that the bishops have all of them great
 “ reason to be dissatisfied with the queen; that he repents his
 “ having engaged in the station in which he was; and that the
 “ reception which he had from her majesty the day before, had
 “ quite indisposed him for all other business, and he could only
 “ mourn to God in the bitterness of his soul: but if she went
 “ on to force the clergy to any incomppliance, they must obey
 “ God

“ GOD rather than men, and they had many of them con-
 “ science and courage enough to sacrifice their lives in defence
 “ of their religion.” The truth is, the queen had so much of
 her father in her, that instead of improving the reformation be-
 gan by EDWARD, she often repented she had gone so far. Thus,
 when the dean of St. Paul’s in a sermon at court spoke with some
 dislike of the sign of the cross, her majesty called aloud to him
 from her closet, commanding him to desist from that ungodly
 digression, and to return to his text. At another time, when
 one of her chaplains preached a sermon on Good-Friday, in de-
 fence of the real presence, which without guessing at her senti-
 ments he would scarce have ventured on, she openly gave him
 thanks for his pains and piety. The queen’s prudence and cau-
 tion in proceeding against popery being made known, the pope
 renewed his attempt to gain her; and dispatched another nuncio
 with an invitation to her to send some bishops or ambassadors to
 the council of Trent; which after much interruption was again
 to be then opened. But the nuncio was a second time refused to
 come into England: and when she was importuned by the kings
 of Portugal, France, and Spain, to rely upon so solemn a re-
 presentation of the bishops of Christendom, rather than to re-
 sign to the judgment of a few private persons, her answer was,
 “ that tho she desired a general council yet she would send no
 “ body to Trent; that the pope’s authority had been renounced
 “ in England by act of parliament, and therefore she would have
 “ no further correspondence with that see; that it was not the
 “ pope’s, but the emperor’s privilege to call a council; and that
 “ she did not understand the bishop of Rome had any more au-
 “ thority than another bishop.”

On the twelfth of January fifteen hundred and sixty two,
 the second parliament of ELIZABETH was opened by the lord
 keeper; who pointed out the business of the session, under the
 two general heads of religion and civil government. The first
 act which passed was a confirmation of the supremacy, “ for an
 “ assurance of the queen’s royal power over all states and sub-
 “ jects within her dominions.” In this act it is ordained, that
 no man living in the queen’s dominions should from thenceforth
 by word or writing or any other open deed endeavour to main-
 tain the power of the bishop of Rome, heretofore claimed and
 usurped within this realm: and for the better discovery of all
 persons popishly affected, it was enacted, that none should be
 admitted into holy orders, or to any degree in the universities,

or to any of the inns of court, or to practise as an attorney, or to bear any office in Westminster-hall, or any other court, or to serve in parliament, till they should first take the oath of the queen's supremacy; with a power to every bishop to tender the said oath, to every spiritual person within their diocese, as well in places exempt as not exempt. The penalties of the first refusal of the oath is made a premunire, and the second high treason. Many of the papists having busied themselves in foretelling fortunes, and in spreading dark and doubtful prophecies of the queen's death, two statutes were passed for suppressing these practises, and against charms and witchcraft; by which her majesty's person might be endangered, the people incited to rebellion, and the peace of the realm disturbed. The writs for taking persons excommunicated having been oftentimes sunk with the sheriff, and the censures of the church avoided by such means, another act was passed for preventing this abuse. At the same time, to take away all occasion of reproach from the church of Rome, the two houses passed a bill, that the whole bible and common prayer book should be translated into the welsh language, and a book of either sort so translated and printed, should be provided for every cathedral, and parish church, and chapel of ease, where the said tongue was commonly used. The same care, tho not by act of parliament, was also taken afterwards about the homilies. These were all the acts of this parliament relating to the church. By the act of assurance of the queen's power, the bishops were authorized to tender the oath of supremacy to all the ecclesiasticks in their diocese: but the archbishop being desirous to divert the rigour of this law, and at the same time not to give the papists too much encouragement, prevailed upon the queen to permit him to direct the bishops not to offer the oath without necessity, and never to press it a second time without a direction from him in writing. He tells the bishops that this advice, which however they should keep to themselves, was sent on weighty considerations; and he tells secretary CECIL, in another letter, that he had the queen's consent to this expedient, tho not by a warrant under her hand: and by this means none of the popish bishops, or divines, except BONNER and one or two more were burdened with this oath; whose refusal, on their exceptions to the validity of the consecrations of the new bishops, came to nothing. We must now turn to the convocation.

The queen having given a licence to the convocation, which met

met the day after the parliament, to review the doctrine and discipline of the church, the upper house began with the former; reducing the forty two articles, passed in the time of EDWARD under his letters patents, to thirty nine, as they now stand; but without making any considerable variation in the doctrine. The chief alterations made in them were these. The canonical and apocryphal books of Scripture were enumerated, declaring that some lessons were red out of the latter, for the instruction of the people, but not for the confirmation of doctrine. A declaration was added, tho this is not in the original copy subscribed by the two houses now in the library of Bennet college, that the church had a power to decree rites and ceremonies, and had authority in controversies of faith, but still subordinate to the scriptures. Instead of that large refutation, of the corporal presence, in the article of the sacrament, it is only said in the new articles, that the body of CHRIST is given and received after a spiritual manner, and the means by which it is received is faith: and tho in the same original copy, a great addition is made against the corporal presence in the room of what was omitted, yet it is dashed over with minium, but in such a manner that it is visible. The secret of it was, that the queen, if she did not herself incline to believe it, which is doubtful, yet thought such an express definition against it might drive many from the church who were still of that persuasion; and therefore she judged it superfluous to say any thing more, than that CHRIST was present after a spiritual manner. There were many debates in the lower house, and a great unwillingness among many of the members to subscribe these articles. This occasioned an order from the upper house, that the names of those who had not subscribed should be laid before them; upon which many more subscribed, and the bishops renewed their former order. When the archbishop opened the convocation, he told them that they had now in their hands an opportunity of reforming all things in the church, and that the queen, and many of the nobility, were desirous it should be made use of to that purpose. As soon therefore as the articles relating to doctrine were concluded on, SANDYS, bishop of Worcester, offered a paper of advice about rites and ceremonies; that the rubrick in the common prayer, which allows private baptism, and a liberty to women to baptize in cases of necessity, might be expunged; that the direction in the same office for making a cross on the child's forehead might be discontinued, as unnecessary, and superstitious; and that a committee might be appointed to

reform the ecclesiastical laws; moving further, that these regulations may be confirmed in the present parliament. There was likewise another paper, desiring a further reformation in the church, signed by three and thirty of the most considerable members of the lower house; but this not being approved, another was brought in containing the following articles: That all holy-days except Sundays, and the feasts relating to CHRIST, be abrogated: That in reading the common prayer, the minister should turn his face to the people, that they may hear, and be edified: That the cross in baptism may be omitted as tending to superstition: That many being unable to kneel, thro age and sickness, at the sacrament, and others kneel and knock superstitiously, that therefore the order of kneeling may be left to the discretion of every ordinary: That it be sufficient for the minister in time of saying divine service, and ministring of the sacraments, to wear a surplice, and that no minister say service, or minister the sacraments, but in a comely garment or habit: and lastly, That the use of organs be omitted. These propositions were the subject of warm debates in the lower house; and upon a division it appeared, that forty three were for approving them, and thirty three against it: but when the proxies were counted the scale was turned; and it was determined only by the majority of one single vote, that there should be no alteration in the rites and ceremonies then established. Several other papers and petitions were drawn up in both houses of convocation, in order to reform the discipline and government of the church, but nothing passed into a law; and having granted a subsidy to the queen, they were prorogued to the tenth of April. With this convocation the reformation of the church of England properly speaking was at an end: and the subsequent part of this history, will consist chiefly of the unhappy breaches, which the passions of some, the interests of others, and the weakness of almost all of them, occasioned among protestants.

By virtue of the clause in the act of uniformity, which gave the queen a power of adding any other rites and ceremonies she pleased, in her first injunctions it was ordered, that the clergy should wear seemly garments, square caps, and copes, which had been laid aside in the reign of EDWARD. But this occasioned a great diversity of practise in the church. Many conformed themselves to the established rites in every circumstance, whilst others refused the cap, and surplice: many forsook the service because those habits were used, whilst others abstained in other places

places because they were rejected. At length the matter was laid before the queen, who was highly displeased with this report, and especially that her laws were so little regarded. Upon this, she wrote a letter to the two archbishops, reflecting with some acrimony on these diversities, as if they were the effect of remissness in the bishops, and requiring them to confer with those in the high commission, that so an exact order and uniformity might be maintained in all external rites and ceremonies; and that none hereafter be admitted to any ecclesiastical preferment, but who is well disposed to common order, and shall promise formally to comply with it. In obedience to this command, the archbishop, with the assistance of several of his brethren, drew up “ordinances for due order in preaching and administering the sacraments, and for the apparel of persons ecclesiastical.” The preachers were directed to study edification, and to manage controversy with sobriety and discretion; exhorting the people to frequent the communion, and to obey the laws, and the queen’s injunctions. All the licences for preaching were declared void and of no effect, but should be renewed to such as their bishops should think worthy of the office; and such as preached unsound doctrine were to be denounced to the bishop, and not contradicted in the church. Those who had licences were to preach once in three months, and those who were unlicensed, to read homilies. In administering the sacrament the principal minister was to wear a cope, at all other prayers only the surplice: in cathedrals they were to wear hoods, and preach in them: the sacrament was to be received by every body kneeling: every minister saying the public prayers or administering the sacraments was to wear a surplice with sleeves; and every parish was to provide a communion table, and to have the ten commandments set on the east wall above it. The bishops were to give notice when any were to be ordained, and none were to be ordained without degrees. Then follow some rules about wearing apparel, caps, and gowns: to all which was added, a form of subscription to be required of all who were admitted to any office in the church; that they would not preach without licence, that they would read the scriptures intelligibly, that they would keep a register book, that they would use such apparel in service time especially as was appointed, that they would keep peace and quiet in their parishes, that they would read some of the bible daily, and in conclusion that they would observe uniformity in all the laws and orders already established, and use no sort of trade if their living amounted to twenty nobles.

These ordinances being thus framed, the archbishop brought them to court to receive the royal sanction: but the puritans, foreseeing the storm that was coming upon them, had applied to all their friends, who had any power, to use it in their favour; among others to R. DUDLEY, son to the late duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, made earl of LEICESTER, the greatest favourite the queen had, and who affected to be a sort of patron of the puritans. Her majesty's rigour therefore being greatly softened by his application, in which others joined him, the queen refused to enforce the ordinances with her authority; telling PARKER, that the oath of canonical obedience was sufficient to bind the inferior clergy to their duty, without the interposition of the crown. The archbishop, nettled at the disappointment, told the ministry that the queen had ordered him to frame the articles; and if she would not give them the royal sanction, they had better have done nothing, and they should be laughed at for what they had done. But her majesty's zeal at that time was still so cool, that when the bishop of LONDON came to court, she said nothing to him about redressing the neglect of uniformity in the city, where it was most notorious. Upon this, the archbishop wrote to CECIL in some heat; and assured him, if they did not remedy this backwardness by another letter from the queen, he would no more strive against the stream, let who would fume or chide. But whether the queen or the secretary gave him any contentment upon this head, or not, we are wholly ignorant; it is most probable that they did. For in a few days after, the articles were published under the title of advertisements, and the archbishop proceeded upon them with great zeal. Among many of the puritan clergy which he cited before him, were SAMPSON dean of Christ-church, and HUMPHREY's president of Magdalen college in Oxford. They were men of high renown throwout the nation, for learning, piety, and zeal for the reformation; having been exiles for religion in the reign of MARY, and now returned with scruples about the habits. The archbishop tried what his arguments would do to remove their scruples, but they were inflexible: and after long attendance, and many checks from some of the high commissioners for their refractoriness, they framed a supplicatory letter to them in an elegant and very submissive style; in which they pray that what is the care and pleasure of the papists, which the bishops themselves have no great value for, and which the puritans refuse not from any contempt of authority, may not be their snare, nor their crime.

The

The commissioners were much divided in their opinion how to proceed against them. Some were for answering their reasons, and enforcing the habits with a protestation, "that they wished them taken away:" others were for a connivance, and not a few for a compromise. But the archbishop, who was at the head of the commission, would abate nothing; and told the divines peremptorily in open court, that they should either conform to the habits, or else part with their preferments: to which they both replied, that their consciences could not comply with the injunctions, let the event be what it would. Upon this answer, they were both put under confinement, and detained a considerable time as a terror to others: but the storm chiefly fell upon the dean of Christchurch, who was deprived of his deanry by a special order from the queen; nor did he ever obtain, after his enlargement, any higher preferment in the church than the government of a small hospital. The archbishop indeed applied to the chapter of Christchurch, and obtained some favour for him from that body, probably some present, or an annual pension: his grace likewise applied strongly to the secretary, "that as the queen's pleasure had been executed upon him for example to the terror of others, might yet be mollified to the commendation of her clemency." But I believe this application produced no more than a connivance for SAMPSON to preach in publick. HUMPHRYS had more friends in power at court, who obtained a toleration for him, and even considerable new preferments, before he had got the better of all his scruples; which he did in some years afterwards, and became dean of Winchester. As the establishment was founded on a catholic and comprehensive bottom, as it took in by far the greatest number of English subjects, and was the best medium between foreign protestants of different persuasions, those who would not comply with such a scheme, should only blame themselves if they lost the advantages of it. These exclusions must happen in all countries whilst mankind think differently on such subjects, but can only be charged on the legislature when they neglect the most catholic and embrace the narrowest scheme; nor do these exclusions reflect any more disgrace upon the government than the enacting any other useful laws which promote the general good, tho with some inconvenience to a few particular people. On the other hand, it may be said, that it would have answered every end of the act of uniformity, if it had been enforced only after the death of the present incumbents: and this was an indulgence

which they thought probably might be expected by them not unreasonably, and which the government perhaps ought to have granted. It must be owned however that great clemency was shewn to quiet peaceable men, who were permitted in great numbers to enjoy their preferments in the church, till the tumults and disturbances raised over the kingdom made it necessary to require a stricter observance of the act of uniformity. It may be said I believe with truth, that the general conduct of the governors in church and state, was very suitable to the times in which they lived and the persons with whom they were engaged : but it is likewise as true, that there were many instances where the reins of discipline and government were held too freight. The archbishop for the most part erred on this hand, tho not without good intentions towards the honour of God and the public quiet. But he had so much zeal for an obedience to the queen, that he told the secretary in a letter, “ that so that his prince “ might win honour, he would be very gladly the rock of offence, “ nor would he be amused or daunted.”

Agreeable to this resolution, he caused the whole body of incumbents and curates in the city of London, to be summoned before him, and some of the other commissioners, at Lambeth ; where he desired CECIL, and some of the privy council, to countenance them with their presence. But they all refused to be concerned in such disagreeable work ; nor would the queen give any other authority to the advertisements, than by issuing a proclamation in which she required uniformity in the habits, upon pain of prohibition from preaching, and deprivation. On the day appointed for the appearance of the London clergy, they were ordered by the bishop's chancellor to declare, whether they would promise conformity to the apparel established, and testify the same by a subscription under their hands. After much persuasion, and many threatnings, sixty one subscribed, and seven and thirty absolutely refused ; upon which, notwithstanding their crying out for compassion to themselves and families, they were immediately suspended from all manner of ministry ; with an assurance, that if they did not conform within three months, they were to be deprived. The archbishop acknowledged that these were some of the best preachers ; but when they offered a paper with the reasons of their refusal, his grace said it was not the business of the commissioners to argue and debate, but to execute the queen's injunctions : “ and he did not doubt, but “ when the clergy had felt the smart of want and poverty, they “ would

“ would comply, for the wood as yet was but green.” Nay lest they should see their weakness, and get over these little scruples, the commissioners framed an oath, of a most extraordinary nature under a free government, which they obliged every clergyman to take who had a cure of souls in the city of London. By this oath they were to swear obedience, not only to all injunctions and letters patents of the queen, but to all letters from the privy council, to the articles and injunctions of their metropolitan, to the articles and mandates of their bishop, archdeacon, chancellors and their officers: and to give them no opportunity of escaping the high commission, four or more censors, spies, or jurats, were appointed for every parish, who were sworn to take cognizances of all offences against the act of uniformity, and to give in their presentments when required. With this unrelenting rigour did the archbishop carry on the severity against the puritans, and almost he alone. The queen herself appeared to be at a stand; the secretary, and the council, declared they could not keep pace with PARKER; the bishop of London did nothing but as he was forced; and the bishop of DURHAM declared, that he would throw up his bishoprick rather than permit such proceedings in his diocese. Many of the churches in the city of London were shut up for want of their clergy to officiate; serious people exclaimed aloud against this want of preachers in the infancy of the reformation, when the necessities of the church were so great and pressing; and the papists rejoiced with inexpressible pleasure, to see the reformers thus weakning their own hands, by silencing such numbers of their best divines. But the archbishop was not to be moved: and when CECIL wrote to him to supply the churches and release the prisoners, his grace acquainted him, that when the queen first put him on this work, she willed him to imprison such as were obstinate, but that he was fully tired. He then calls upon the secretary to spirit up the bishop of LONDON to do his duty, having spoken himself to his lordship to no purpose; and concludes with lamenting, that he should have the oversight of the London parishes which were the charge of another, and that the burden should be laid on his neck when other men drew back. The truth is, that GRINDAL was weary of the unpleasant work; and having a real concern for the interests of religion more than any thing else, he would not act against the clergy but as he was forced; always relaxing in his proceedings, as the council refrained giving him orders.

The university of Cambridge did not escape the confusion which this controversy about the habits occasioned in other parts of the kingdom. Secretary CECIL was then their chancellor; and several members wrote to him desiring his intercession with her majesty, that they might not be forced to receive a popish ceremony, against their consciences, which they had laid aside. But the secretary admonished them to return to the habits; and ordered the vice chancellor to call the heads together, and to acquaint them, that as they tendered God's honour, the favour of the queen, and his own good will, they should see the use of the habits observed in all the colleges. This did not prevent an address from several of the heads, and many others, to CECIL, to procure a dispensation for the university; which they apprehended would be attended with no inconvenience to learning and religion. But this application gave great offence at court, and especially to the high commission; and they were all obliged to make their peace with submissive letters. The university however remained for many years a sanctuary for the puritans. The members of the high commission, complaining to the privy council, that notwithstanding the queen's injunctions the differences in the church were kept open, by the printing and publishing seditious libels, a decree of the star-chamber was procured to restrain the liberty of the press, to forbid all books against the queen's injunctions, ordinances or letters patents, or against the meaning of them, and to give authority to the wardens of the stationers company to search all suspected places for such books, and to bring the offenders before the ecclesiastical commissioners. The puritans being thus silenced, were at a great loss what to do; being very unwilling to separate from a church where the faith and essentials of religion were uncorrupted, tho they thought the word and sacraments defiled with popish superstition. Of this number were COVERDALE, SAMPSON, HUMPHRYS, FOX and a few more, who continued preaching up and down as they had opportunity, and could be dispensed with for the habits, tho they were excluded all parochial preferment whatsoever, and they went no further. But the others were not so peaceable nor judicious, and finding no hopes of procuring the establishment to be reduced to their own narrow platform, they held a debate with all their friends about a separation from the established church and in which they came to this agreement; " that it was their duty in their present circumstances to break
 " off from the public churches, and to assemble as they had
 " oppor-

“ opportunity in private houses, or elsewhere, to worship God
 “ in a manner that might not offend against their consciences.”
 Here it is then that we are to fix the æra of the separation from the church of England: and tho the breach might easily have been made up at first, yet it grew wider by time, and by degrees; the passions of the contending parties were craftily managed by those who intended to improve them to their own advantage, till the fire which for some years was burning underground, broke out into a civil war, and with unspeakable fury destroyed the constitution in church and state. The beginning of these sorrows is to be laid in some measure to the charge of both the parties, tho not with equal blame. For it was much more owing to the weakness and want of judgment in the puritans, who could think that such things were sinful about which the scriptures were wholly silent, and who desired a great majority to give way to the humour of a few, than to the superstition and want of temper in the queen and the archbishop, who could press such indifferent rites with that severity, before the minds of men had time to be reconciled to them.

The queen, being informed of the separate meetings of the puritans, sent an order to the high commissioners, to take proper measures for keeping the laity to their parish churches. Among other expedients, they were to threaten those who frequented any private conventicles, or broke thro the laws of the church, that for the first offence they should be deprived of their freedom of the city of London, and afterwards abide what further punishment she should direct. There was no law yet to disfranchise any man for not coming to church; and this order was a stretch of the royal prerogative, which plainly shewed ELIZABETH to be the true daughter of HENRY. Notwithstanding this order, the puritans continued meeting; and many of them were taken into custody, and committed to prison. But the bishop of LONDON pitying their condition moved the secretary that clemency might be used towards them, that so by giving them freely their liberty, only with an admonition, they might be more prevailed with to comply with the laws, than by severity. The lords approving of this counsel, an order was sent to GRINDAL to release them. At this time was published a folio edition of the bible, with a preface by PARKER, called the bishop's bible, as having been revised and corrected mostly by bishops from the translation which CRANMER published: and this was read in the churches, till the last translation took place

in the following reign. The pope, as I said, having excommunicated the queen, and laid the kingdom under an interdict, the Roman catholicks now separated openly from the church; and having some expectation from certain prophecies that had been spread about the queen's death, they began in many places to be in motion, harbouring in the inns of court, in some of the colleges at Oxford, and other places of public resort, and expecting her death with great impatience. In the North, they proceeded to open rebellion, but on the approach of the queen's army it mouldered away. Her majesty took hold of this opportunity, to require all justices of peace, and all officers in commission, to subscribe an instrument of obedience to the act of uniformity, and for due resorting to their parish churches to hear common prayer. The pope having sent abroad his thunder against the queen, at the meeting of the next parliament, an act was passed, to make it high treason to declare the queen to be an heretick, schismatick, tyrant, infidel, or usurper; to publish or put in use any bulls of the pope, to be reconciled to the church of Rome, or to receive absolution thence. At the same time, a protestation was drawn up to be taken by all reputed papists, acknowledging the lawful right of the queen, notwithstanding any sentence of the pope. Another protestation of the same kind was drawn up for the puritans, who were many of them now become factious and disorderly.

The controversy with the church, which had hitherto been chiefly confined to the habits, to the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's supper, began now to spread itself into many branches; and the party of the puritans encreased amongst the laity. In the parliament convened in April fifteen hundred and seventy one, Mr. STRICKLAND, a very ancient member of the house of commons, offered a bill for a further reformation in the church; asserting that the common prayer book, with some superstitious remains of popery, might easily enough be altered without any danger to religion. But the treasurer of the queen's household, stood up, and said, "that all matters of ceremonies were to be referred to the queen, and for them to meddle with the royal prerogative was not convenient." Her majesty was so displeased with STRICKLAND's motion, that she sent for him before the council, and forbid his attendance again in parliament: but the members were so alarmed at this attack upon their privileges, and made so many warm speeches against the queen's tyrannical abuse of their submission,

that she thought fit to restore STRICKLAND to his place immediately. As soon as he got there, he made another motion, that a confession of faith should be published, as it was in other protestant countries, and confirmed in parliament. A committee was appointed accordingly to confer with the bishops on this head; who drew up certain articles according to those which had passed in the convocation nine years before; omitting those for the homilies, for the consecration of bishops, and some others relating to the hierarchy. The archbishop asked the committee why these articles were not inserted; to which MR. WENTWORTH replied, because they had not yet examined how far they were agreeable to the word of God, having confined themselves to doctrines. His grace expecting then that they would refer themselves in those things wholly to them the bishops, MR. WENTWORTH added with some warmth, "that they would pass nothing before they understood what it was, for that were to make the bishops popes, which the commons would not do." The articles relating to discipline being accordingly left out, an act was passed enjoining every ecclesiastick under the degree of a bishop, who had been ordained by any form different from that set forth in king EDWARD's time and now in use, to declare their assent before the bishop of the diocese to all the articles of religion, "which only concern the confession of the true faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments," comprized in the book of articles agreed upon in convocation already mentioned, and to subscribe them. This assent and subscription were to be testified by the bishop of the diocese under his seal, and his lordship's certificate was to be read publicly with the said articles, in the church, on a Sunday in time of divine service: for default in this they were to be deprived, as well as for maintaining any doctrine repugnant to the said articles: None were to be admitted to any benefice with cure, except he was a deacon of three and twenty years of age, and would subscribe and declare his assent, nor might any administer the sacrament under the age of twenty four. It appears from the words of the statute which I have quoted, that those articles which relate to discipline were not designed to be the terms of admission into orders, or benefices, by the parliament: and if the queen and her bishops had governed themselves by the act, as they most certainly ought to have done, the separation from the church had been stifled in its infancy. But the queen assumed her prerogative, and the bishops were servile in their compliance with it: thus many were deprived of their ecclesiastical preferments in the sequel of this reign, for refusing a sub-

a subscription to what this law did not require. Tho the commons were forbid to meddle with the affairs of the church, yet they presented an address to the queen in the same session, complaining of the want of discipline and of ministers of abilities and good lives, by which the protestant religion was become in danger: they therefore beseech her majesty, that if this parliament was not to continue long enough to make a provision by law for a supply of these wants, and a reformation of some abuses in the church, a perfect redress of the same may be had by such other means as in her majesty's wisdom may seem meet. But the queen put an end to the session, without taking any notice at all of this address.

The convocation which sate at this time, were so far from inclining to give any ease to their own body in the article of subscription, that they did what they could to encrease their burden. Several canons were passed in it which went beyond the statute law. The bishops were required not only to call in all the licences for preaching, and to give out new ones to such as were best qualified, but in requiring a subscription from the clergy, they were to insist upon a subscription not only to the articles according to the above statute, but to the book of common prayer and of ordering of bishops priests and deacons, as containing nothing contrary to the word of God. The convocation granted a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, and were dissolved the day after the parliament. The canons were subscribed by the bishops of both provinces, but thro some accident or other, which we are ignorant of, the royal assent was not given in form. When the archbishop therefore desired GRINDALL to execute them in the diocese of York, to which he was now translated, and going his visitation, GRINDALL refused to do it, as it might involve him in a premunire. The other bishops had not his scruples, or else relied on the queen's approbation, and executed the new canons in their several dioceses with the greatest punctuality; suspending and depriving many eminent divines, who made no objection to the subscription which the statute law required. Tho all the bishops stood in awe of the queen's imperious temper, and generally went into the measures of the court, yet some of them were so sensible of the want of discipline and of able preaching, that they connived at associations entered into by their clergy for promoting both. The ecclesiastical commissioners, who had a special order from the queen to enquire into all novelties, were acquainted with this combination; but finding the principal
design

design of it was to stir up an emulation in the clergy to study the scriptures, they gave them no check nor disturbance for some time.

At the opening of the next parliament, the lord keeper recommended to the two houses, "to see that the laws relating to the discipline and ceremonies of the church were put in due execution; and if any further laws were wanting, that they should consider of them; and so the civil sword will support the ecclesiastical, as before time has been used." But the commons having observed the use which the queen and bishops had made of their spiritual power, were so far from making new laws to support or strengthen it, that they ordered two bills to be brought in, to regulate the ceremonies of the church in favour of the puritans. The bills passed the commons very smoothly, and they were referred to a select committee of both houses: but the queen was in a rage to find her supremacy thus invaded. She sent a message to the commons by their speaker, "that it was her pleasure no bills concerning religion should henceforth be received, unless the same should be first considered and approved of by the bishops, or convocation: and she commanded them to deliver up the two bills read last in the house relating to rites and ceremonies." Notwithstanding this was such an high strain of the prerogative, and struck such a blow at the root of the freedom of parliaments, yet the commons were so intimidated by the haughty manner in which she delivered herself to the speaker, that they were servile enough not only to send her majesty the bills, but to beg that she would not conceive an ill opinion of the house if she should not like them. The queen, two days after, sent the commons word that she seemed utterly to dislike the first bill, and him that brought the same into the house. This awakened a noble spirit of liberty among some of the members, and many bold speeches were made. Among others MR. PET. WENTWORTH stood up, and said, that it grieved him to see how many ways the freedom of debate in parliament had been infringed: one while a rumour runs about the house, "take heed what you do, the queen liketh not such a matter, and she will be offended with them that prosecute it;" another while a message is brought from the queen herself, commanding, or inhibiting our proceedings. Her majesty has forbid us "to deal in any matter of religion unless we first receive it from the bishops.

“ This was a doleful message and there is then little hope of a reformation.” When the little retailers of sedition in news papers and pamphlets, are endeavouring to disturb our quiet, under the mild and legal administration of king GEORGE the second, let this instance of the lawless tyranny of ELIZABETH, whose praises they affect to sound invidiously upon all occasions, stare them full in the face as it ought to do; and if they have any modesty left it will cover them with confusion. But to return.

As soon as the sessions of parliament was at an end, the late act for subscribing the articles, according to the interpretation of the bishops, was put in execution all over England, together with the queen's injunctions; and upon STRYPE's computation, above an hundred clergymen were this year deprived for refusing to subscribe. But this was not all. The commissioners, not content with exceeding the law in what they required, exceeded also the punishment which it inflicted; by detaining many of them in prison, several months beyond the time which the statute limited, to the ruin of their healths, and impoverishment of their families. In short, the cruelties exercised in this reign by the high commissioners to worthy divines of the same faith, on account of subscriptions not required by the statute, fell little short of those which BONNER shewed the reformers in the time of MARY. The particulars are too many to be here inserted, and they would be very disagreeable to relate. Enough however will be related to convince the reader of the truth of what I say. But yet this persecution was not entirely owing to the zeal and bigotry of the commissioners: whenever they grew tired, or seemed to cool and slacken, the queen quickened them with fresh orders every time more severe, and they had not the courage to resist her. Even CECIL, who was now made lord Burleigh and lord treasurer, tho he certainly was in his heart for moderate measures, and now and then stood in the gap to screen the puritans from the rigour with which the queen pursued them, yet in the general was so much afraid of the queen's displeasure, that he did them but little service. He made a speech to the commissioners in the star chamber, by her majesty's order, complaining of their neglect in not enforcing her proclamations, and telling them, that the queen could not satisfy her conscience, without crushing the puritans, whom she thought unworthy of her protection: she was therefore resolved that her orders and
injunctions

injunctions should not be contemned, and that there should be an absolute obedience to the public rule, upon which the safety of her government depended.

The commissioners, being thus pushed forward by her majesty, sent letters to all the bishops; exhorting them to command their archdeacons, and other officers, to exert themselves among the clergy and church wardens, in order to get a presentment of all the non-conformists in their several parishes. In consequence of this order, so strict a search was made, that a prodigious number, being returned unconformable, were silenced and suspended. The liberty of preaching and printing, which had been turned into licentiousness, having been denied, the puritans challenged their adversaries to a public disputation. This had been allowed in the reigns of EDWARD, and MARY, and in the beginning of this reign, between the papists and the reformers, as it has been related in the proper places: and SANDYS, who had succeeded GRINDALL in the see of London, was much inclined to give this satisfaction to the puritans. He sent a list of the divines, whom he thought capable of conducting the controversy on the side of the church, to the earl of LEICESTER, and the lord treasurer: but the queen would not permit what was now established by law, and by her own injunctions, to be exposed to the cavils and freedom allowed in a dispute. Instead therefore of a conference, several of the leading divines, among the puritans, were brought before the council, and the high commissioners, who examined them on several articles; and according to the answers given, suspended and silenced some, and sent others of them to Newgate. The associations of the clergy, which I have already mentioned, and which had been carried on above three years in several dioceses, under the title of prophecyings, with great success, began now to give offence. The queen was told by the archbishop, that these meetings were no better than seminaries of puritanism; that they tended to popularity; and made the people so inquisitive, that they would not submit to the orders of their superiors, as they ought to do. The diocese of Norwich had more of these associations than any other, as being most favoured by that bishop; and there several of the clergy had disused the habits, and made the discipline of the church the subject of their discourses. Upon this information, her majesty ordered the archbishop to suppress these meetings of the clergy in every diocese, and to begin with Norwich, which his grace complied with.

One of the last public acts, in which archbishop PARKER was employed, was a metropolitical visitation of the diocese of Winchester, and particularly of the isle of Wight; in which he exercised such severities as lessened his reputation amongst all impartial people. The island having been chiefly a place of resort for foreign protestants, and for sea-faring men of all countries and religions, it was judged expedient not to be so strict about the habits and ceremonies, as in other places, lest it should interrupt their commerce. But when the archbishop came thither, he turned out all the clergy who refused a strict conformity, and shut up their churches. The inhabitants being greatly concerned at this rigour, which they apprehended would be of fatal consequence to the island, sent a complaint against it to the earl of LEICESTER. The earl had received some personal ill usage from the archbishop just before; and we may be sure therefore that in the report which he made of this visitation to the queen, his lordship did not soften the account in favour of the archbishop. The bishop of WINCHESTER also complained, that many of his clergy had been examined by his grace, after the merciless manner of an inquisition. The queen, upon these complaints, gave orders, that every thing should return to the former chanel in the isle of Wight; and when the archbishop came next to court, her majesty not only received him very coldly, but declared herself displeased with his visitation. Whether his grace laid this displeasure of the queen's to heart, I cannot tell; but in a few weeks after, he sickened and died, in the seventy second year of his age, and the sixteenth of his consecration. There is no giving a general character of this prelate, which will agree to the former and latter part of his life; he was so different a man in those two periods. Having married in the reign of EDWARD the sixth, when the celibacy of the clergy was annulled in parliament, and wrote a book in defence of their marriage, he was obliged to conceal himself and live privately, during the reign of MARY. Under these circumstances, he had behaved with remarkable good temper, as a modest humble man: and there was something so great in his refusal of the primacy, as was scarcely ever heard of but in ancient times; resisting for a great while all entreaties from his friends, and even a threatening of imprisonment from the queen herself, till his compliance was unavoidable. He must certainly have had then a very primitive sense of the duty of the episcopal office, and had neither avarice, nor ambition. But when he was invested with this high dignity, he lost all his former

former humbleness of mind, and assumed high notions of authority both in church and state. He became as rough and uncourtly in his behaviour to all about him, as he was slavish in his obedience to the prerogative, and supremacy. The queen had once told him, that he had a supreme ecclesiastical authority in himself; which seems to have fired him with ambition, to see what great things he could do for the service of the church. We must place to this account his bitter enmity to the puritans, and the arbitrary manner in which he persecuted them; even sometimes beyond the limits of the law. For in the last letter which he wrote to the lord treasurer, upon his ill reception at court when he returned from the isle of Wight, his grace tells him, "that he was not so much concerned for the tippet, cap, and surplice, or such like ceremonies, as for the authority which enjoined them." Thus his whole religion seems to have been swallowed up in a servile submission to the queen's injunctions, and regulating the public service of the church: for whilst he was laying out all his zeal, and all his time, and pains, in suppressing puritanism, he took no sort of care, that we read of, to reform the lives and manners of the established clergy; of which many complaints were made in parliament, as well as in pamphlets, and conversation. Indeed the great blemish in the character of this prelate, was his preferring the laws of the queen, to the laws of God; being rigid to a degree of cruelty in procuring an obedience to the former, and neglecting to promote the latter with an amazing indifference and disregard. He had so little concern for public virtue, and the real interests of religion, that his entertainments to the nobility were generally given upon a Sunday; nor are we told of his diligence in preaching, at a time when preaching was so much wanted, or of his pious example in his devotion. His grace was naturally of a warm temper; but till his head was turned by his exaltation, he gave no instances of haughtiness, or ill nature. He continued to the last to be always affable and easy of access; and did many kind and benevolent things to private people, as well as for public uses. The regulation of his family was extremely laudable; he assigned all his domesticks some business or other, and kept no idle people about him. Those who were not employed in learning, in the management of his revenues, or the affairs of his household, employed their time some other way. Thus several were entertained, for binding books, engraving, painting, transcribing manuscripts in fine hand writing, for drawing, and illuminating. He founded a school at Rochdale in Lancashire;

gave an estate for two fellowships, and thirteen scholarships, in Bennet college at Cambridge, where he was educated; built a library for that society, and besides a considerable value in printed books, deposited there all his manuscript papers relating to the reformation, which have been of great service to our history; he gave to the college likewise above three hundred ounces of gilt plate enchased, and the advowson of a church in London. He made a new street from the west end of St. Mary's to the public schools; and left legacies in plate, to the city of Norwich, to Caius college, and Trinity-hall, where he likewise founded a scholarship. Notwithstanding these benefactions, the appearance of his family, and the hospitality of his table, were always suitable to his dignity; nor is the reader to imagine from the considerable sums which were thus expended, that the archbishop left no children. He had two sons married; but his grace's love to his children was not exerted in hoarding up an heap of wealth for them out of the revenues of the church in order to raise a name, and to give his family the rank of quality. Besides the book which he published in defence of the marriage of the clergy, he published an edition of the historys of MAT. PARIS, MAT. WESTMINSTER, WALSINGHAM, and the four gospels in the saxon language. A little before his death, he finished the *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, containing the lives of all the archbishops of Canterbury; in which he had the assistance of JOSCELYN one of his chaplains. Upon the whole, I think it may be said of archbishop PARKER, that if he had never been promoted to so great a station, he had qualities good enough to have made him a very worthy useful ecclesiastick, which he would perhaps have persevered in, and descended to his grave with a great character: and even in that high station, had he been placed under a queen of another stamp, he would in all probability have looked more after the service of God, than after the service of his prince; and might have taken something from the statesman, to add to the lustre of an archbishop.

Soon after the death of this prelate, some Dutch enthusiasts were apprehended, who held opinions fitter for Bedlam than a stake; nine of whom were banished, and two burnt in Smithfield. The Dutch congregation interceded earnestly for their lives; and Fox, the martyrologist, wrote an elegant latin letter to the queen to entreat her to mitigate their punishment. But the queen had neither the bowels, nor the goodness of heart, of her young brother; and the writ for burning hereticks, which

had been hung up in terrorem for almost twenty years, was taken down, and put in execution upon these unhappy men. It was not till after a vacancy of nine months, that GRINDALL was translated to the see of Canterbury; for the queen, with all her zeal for the church, made no scruple of plundering the revenues of it. The parliament was sitting at this time; but did nothing more in ecclesiastical affairs, than pass an act for reserving the third part of the rent of college leases to be paid in corn; and in default of bringing it, the lessees were to pay for it in money, according to the price which the best wheat and malt were sold at, in the public market of the two universities: it was likewise enacted, that where there were two concurrent leases upon church lands or livings, the latter should be void; in case it was made three years before the expiration of the former. This provision was made for the benefit of the successor, and to prevent the alienation of the church revenues. There was no business done in the convocation, till after the new archbishops had passed the usual forms in compleating their character. Several articles were then read, and debated, which were afterwards subscribed by the two houses. They related chiefly to the admission of the clergy, their testimonials, age, and qualifications; and most of them are the same with our present canons on that head, and so need not be here inserted. The last article, which allowed that marriage might be solemnized at all times of the year, the queen would not assent to, and it was not therefore published with the rest: neither had they the broad seal, or any other authority than the queen's licence. This was the last business transacted in this convocation, or any other, for four years, and we must therefore turn to other affairs.

In the summer, the archbishop made a metropolitical visitation of all the cathedrals in his diocese; and by the good articles of enquiry which he issued out, shewed a zeal of another kind from that of his predecessor. His grace had a very different opinion too of the exercises of the clergy, which had the name of "prophecyings," from what archbishop PARKER had entertained of them. He apprehended the design to be very serviceable to the interests of religion, by improving both the clergy and the people in the knowledge of the scriptures, and the defence of the reformation. In order therefore to prevent the disorders which had been complained of in those meetings, the archbishop drew up a regulation under the following heads; That the exercises should be only in such churches as the bishop
of

of the diocese should appoint under his hand and seal: That the archdeacon, or some other grave and learned divine, approved of by the bishop, should be moderator: That a list of the clergy, supposed properly qualified to assist at such exercises, should be given in to the bishop, who should appoint the parts of scripture which they should treat of: That those clergymen who are judged not fit to speak publicly, should be assigned some other task by the moderator, for the encrease of their learning: That if any one glance at affairs of state, the moderator should silence him immediately, and give notice to the bishop: That if any man should inveigh against the law for rites and ceremonies and the discipline established, he should be immediately silenced, till he had obtained a new admission and approbation from the bishop: That no suspended or deprived ministers should be suffered to be speakers, except they first conform to the public order and discipline of the church by subscription and daily practice: and above all, That no layman be permitted to speak publicly in the exercises. I have given the reader these regulations at length, that he may judge between the queen and the archbishop. Her majesty having sent for GRINDALL, and exclaimed against the prophecyings, as illegal, and of a dangerous tendency to the state as well as the church, for which she said it was good to have but three or four preachers in a county, commanded him peremptorily to put them down.

The queen was vehement in giving her orders, and refused to hear the prelate's answer, with apparent tokens of great displeasure. But the archbishop, tho he had complied with her injunctions, and now and then, as he was in a manner forced, assisted in the high commission, yet could not go this length against his judgment. Instead therefore of giving directions to his archdeacon, and vicar general to execute the queen's command, his grace wrote her a letter, becoming the rank he held in the church, in order to inform her majesty, of the usefulness and necessity of preaching in all churches, and of the subserviency of the exercises to qualify the clergy for this purpose, which were not illegal as her majesty had apprehended. The letter is too long to be here inserted, but it does so much honour to the archbishop, that I cannot omit a short extract from it, in order to give the reader a clearer idea of this prelate's integrity, and of the arbitrary humour of this queen. After making an excuse for the length of his application, he humbly desires her majesty to afford some consideration to the two following requests
which

which he has to lay before her. The first was, that she would not interpose her prerogative in ecclesiastical matters, nor carry her supremacy so far into the church, as to decide, in her own person, points of doctrine and discipline, without the advice and approbation of her bishops. The other was, that when she did interpose in matters of faith and religion which touch the church of CHRIST, she would not pronounce so resolutely and peremptorily, as she might do in secular business. By this means, he tells her, she would not only consult her own repose, the service of GOD and the benefit of her people, but would also avoid many instances of erroneous conduct on the subject of religion. He calls upon her to remember her mortal state, and not to be too much dazzled with her crown and purple; and that in things of this nature the will of GOD, and not that of any earthly creature, is to govern. He assures her, that it was owing to his conscience only, that he had not executed her commands in this affair; and he was very willing to resign his see with all humility if it was her majesty's pleasure. There was a spirit in this letter which ELIZABETH had not been used to see in any subject, and which she would not bear from any of them. Even the primate of all England should not dare to write to her with that honest freedom, to give his advice in affairs merely religious, or to dispute her all-wise commands. Enflamed therefore with this letter, she determined to make an example of the archbishop, as a terror to all others; and the honest prelate, when he was proceeding in his metropolitical visitation, was by an order of the star-chamber confined to his house, and sequestered from his jurisdiction for six months. Here was a display of the royal supremacy with a vengeance; when the head of the church, who was a woman, thus took upon her to decide so peremptorily in an affair merely spiritual, without consulting the bishops or the clergy in convocation, and to imprison and tie up the hands of the primate, because he disapproved her decision; tho he is the first director under the prince in all ecclesiastical administration. Before the six months were lapsed, the archbishop was advised to make his submission to the queen, which he did as far as was consistent with his station and integrity: but not being willing to retract his opinion, or to confess his sorrow for the counsel he had given her majesty, there was some talk of depriving him, which being thought too severe, his sequestration was continued. Thus ended the religious exercises of the clergy, so well calculated to promote useful knowledge and piety, at a time when not only they were both at a low ebb in England, but when the popish

missionaries from abroad were very busy, and with great success, in drawing many people from church. The truth is, the queen, whose piety has been founded very high, apprehended the people would be put upon making enquiries into every thing, and to see and judge for themselves, in consequence of these meetings; and she was of opinion that knowledge and learning in the laity, would indispose them for an absolute submission to her will in the business of religion. Notwithstanding all her piety therefore, she would not permit the exercises to be continued, wisely regulated as they were by the archbishop; and when there were daily complaints made in the city of London, and almost every county in England, of the scarcity of the word of God.

At the beginning of the next sessions of parliament in fifteen hundred and eighty, the house of commons agreed to meet in the Temple church on the Sunday fortnight after the motion; “there
“to have preaching, and to join together in prayer, with fast-
“ing and humiliation, for the assistance of God’s spirit in all
“their consultations, and for the preservation of the queen’s
“majesty and her realm:” and in order to guard against offence, and prevent any suspicion of improper doctrine, the house referred the nomination of the preacher to such members as were of her majesty’s privy council. The reader probably will see nothing in this vote that was contrary to law, or to the queen’s prerogative: but before the day came, the speaker informed the house, that they had committed a great error in this resolution, and that her majesty was much offended at their presumption. At the same time, the vice chamberlain delivered the following message; “that the queen was much surprized
“with the rashness of the house of commons, in thus invading
“her supremacy in all ecclesiastical affairs, without her privy,
“and her pleasure being first made known.” This message occasioned many warm debates, as an infringement of the liberties of that house; but at length it was carried by the majority, that the vice-chamberlain should carry their submission to her majesty, and humbly crave her forgiveness. When he made his report to the house of the queen’s accepting their submission, he told them, that her majesty had ordered him to let them know, that she did not dislike their inclination to prayer and fasting; but she was disobliged at their presuming to appoint their own devotions without acquainting her with it, and receiving her orders for it. When this matter was thus passed over, which will give the
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the reader no great idea of the English liberty under ELIZABETH, it was moved by one of her council to bring in a bill, for the further security of the government against the papists. It was entitled "an act to retain the queen's subjects in their due obedience;" and it makes any priest or jesuit seducing any member of the church of England to that of Rome, guilty of high treason, as well as the person so seduced: it makes the saying of mass liable to a year's imprisonment and a forfeiture of two hundred marks, and the hearing mass liable to the same imprisonment and an hundred marks. But that the act might cut both ways, and reach the puritans who had used their liberty to the disturbance of the state, as well as papists, every person above sixteen years of age who did not come to church or chapel, where common prayer was said, according to the act of uniformity, was to forfeit twenty pounds a month to the queen, and to suffer imprisonment till it was paid. In the same sessions of parliament, an act of still greater severity, limited to the life of the queen, was passed by her direction; by which the writer or publisher of any book, or ballad, or letter, containing false, seditious, or scandalous matter, to the defamation of the queen, or the stirring up of rebellion, was to suffer death without benefit of clergy. It is impossible to reflect upon this act, without wishing that the present set of scriblers of false and scandalous defamation of the best of princes, who never invaded or stretched a law in favour of his prerogative, had lived in the reign of ELIZABETH; and that they did not enjoy the happiness of such a mild administration, of which they seem to have no other sense, than that they may defame it with impunity.

There was such a general zeal for their metropolitan at the meeting of the convocation, that it was moved not to enter upon any business, nor so much as to grant a subsidy to her majesty, till the sequestration of the archbishop's jurisdiction was taken off. But the majority were too much in awe of the queen, to carry their zeal for him to this length. However, having granted the subsidy which was asked, they unanimously presented an address to the queen to restore the archbishop to his authority; which the queen would not comply with. But this was not the only exertion of her ecclesiastical prerogative at this time, which gave great offence to the clergy. Her majesty granted "a commission of concealments" to some of her hungry courtiers, by which they were empowered to enquire into the titles of church lands and livings: and all forfeitures, concealments, and

and lands, for which the parishes could not produce a legal title, were given to them. This commission which would have made strange havock with the patrimony of the church, awakened the bishops from their complaisance: they fell on their knees before the queen, and begged if she had any regard to them, to the church, or to religion, that she would withdraw this commission; and tho her majesty, it is plain, had no scruple of conscience about plundering the revenues appropriated to the church, she complied with this request. The papists were now active all over the country; some jesuits came over from the seminaries abroad, in defiance of the laws, and had their private conventicles in almost every town in England; preaching openly against the title and authority of the queen. The government was much alarmed at this bold step of the catholicks, and having apprehended three of them they were executed for an example.

The archbishop being informed by some of his friends about the queen, that her majesty expected further submission from him than he had shewn, his grace drew up a paper, importing his grief for having fallen under her majesty's displeasure, and entreating her not to interpret his incomppliance, to any motives of obstinacy, but to a pure regard for religion, and the dictates of his conscience. However, that he might acquit himself of his duty to her, he acquainted her majesty, that he had not permitted any exercises to be set up, in his diocese, or peculiars, since she had given orders to suppress them. Upon this submission, the sequestration was taken off, but he was never restored to the queen's favour. Indeed in a short time after, he was disabled from his function by blindness, and was offered an honourable pension, and her majesty's favour if he would resign. The archbishop acquainted the lord treasurer, that he should be ready to quit in a few months, and sent him a rough draught of his resignation. But WHITGIFT, bishop of Worcester, who was intended for his successor, refusing to enter upon the see whilst the primate lived, the broken hearted prelate held it till his death; which was not later than the following year. Thus died EDW. GRINDALL, in the sixty third year of his age, after filling the sees of London, York, and Canterbury, from the beginning of this reign till the fifth of July fifteen hundred and eighty three. He was a very popular preacher in the time of EDWARD the sixth, and was nominated by CRANMER to a bishoprick, when he was little more than thirty years of age:

but the king dying soon after, he went into exile for his religion 'till the accession of the present queen; where he imbibed some prejudices against the habits and ceremonies, which he so far got over, that he thought it better to support the reformation on that foot, than to hazard it back into the hands of the papists. He was a man of a very mild and moderate temper, easy of access, and affable even in his highest exaltation. In all the severities which he was concerned in against the puritans, he acted evidently by compulsion, against his natural temper which was cool and gentle, against his principles as a Christian, and against his sentiments as a bishop. But it happened to fall to his lot, to live under a queen who would not permit her orders to be disputed; and he must have lost all his usefulness in the church, which was very great, if he had not complied with her in the manner he did. He had a real concern for the interest of religion in the vital parts of it, and did his utmost to promote it with the queen and her council, whom he thought too much taken up with the outlines and appurtenances. He made a sacrifice of his eye-sight, and his health, to the study of learning and religion, and was an amiable example of all christian virtues. Having given several benefactions to both the universities in his life time, he had no great wealth to leave behind him. The greatest part of what he had was bequeathed to the poor of Canterbury, Lambeth, and Croydon, and of the place where he was born in Cumberland. The short character of archbishop GRINDALL is, that he was a good natured, friendly, inoffensive man, a learned, useful prelate, and a sincere, pious christian.

WHITGIFT, bishop of Worcester, was in a few months translated to the see of Canterbury: and as he had distinguished himself in the controversy against the puritans, the queen charged him upon his advancement, "to restore the discipline of the church, and the established uniformity, which thro the connivance of some prelates, the obstinacy of some puritans, and the power of some noblemen, was run out of square." The new archbishop, accordingly, had not been confirmed a week, before he published some directions to the bishops of his province, to oblige their clergy to wear the habits; to suppress all preaching and catechizing in families, to which others, not of the family, resorted; to admit none to preach who were not ordained according to the manner of the church of England; and to allow none to preach or catechise, who did not read the whole

service, administer the sacrament four times a year, and subscribe to the queen's supremacy, the book of common prayer, and the thirty nine articles of religion. But the great zeal of this primate to shew his devotion to the queen, and that she was not mistaken in her choice of him, hurried him beyond the bounds prescribed by law: and his very first act as archbishop, in imposing articles on the clergy without the authority of the great seal, incurred the penalties of a premunire. But not restrained by such considerations, his grace insisted in his first metropolitcal visitation on the subscription abovementioned; which suspended above two hundred and thirty clergymen, and turned most of them out of the church. The poor sufferers wrote to the queen, to the archbishop, to the lords of the council, and to the parliament, for a friendly conference, or a public disputation; but without success. Many gentlemen of reputation appeared for them in behalf of religion; it being impossible to fill so many vacancies in the church as were made upon this occasion. The inhabitants of the vacant parishes sent up complaints to the treasurer and the council, that men of occupation, without abilities or common honesty, of notoriously profligate and offensive lives, were the only clergy that they had left. But the archbishop wrote to the council, that the cause of the clergy did not lie before them, and that he could not do his duty to the queen if he might not proceed without interruption. Finding his metropolitcal jurisdiction not sufficient for this purpose, his grace solicited the queen for a new ecclesiastical commission, which her majesty readily granted; tho she exceeded the power, which the law had given her, in it: and the proceedings of the commissioners were for the most part contrary to the act of submission of the clergy, contrary also to the statute laws of the realm, and little better than a spiritual inquisition.

I have given the reader a view of the first commission of this kind under ELIZABETH; I shall not therefore repeat it here, tho this, procured by the archbishop, gave a great addition of power to the court. To make good the character I have given it, it will be only necessary to relate, that if any parishioner bore an ill will to his minister, he might inform the commissioners by letter, that the clergyman was a suspected person; upon which, a pursuivant, paid ten pence a mile, was sent with a citation to summon him before the commissioners, and till a court fate he was imprisoned: as soon as he was brought to the bar, he took an oath to answer all such questions as should be asked him to the

best of his knowledge ; by which he was obliged not only to accuse himself, but perhaps to bring his relations and acquaintance into trouble. He was not to be informed of the interrogatories before hand, nor to have a copy of his answers, which were lodged with the secretary of the court, against the day of his trial : and if he was not convicted upon his own confession, they then examined their witnesses, but never cleared him upon his own oath. If they could not convict him upon any statute, they had recourse then to the old obsolete ecclesiastical law, and the prisoner seldom knew by what he was to be tried, or how to make his defence. The four and twenty articles, which the archbishop drew for the service of the high commission, are too long to be inserted here ; but they were enough to entangle, and bring into danger, all the honest men in the kingdom. When the lord treasurer read them, and saw the execution they had done upon the clergy, he wrote a letter to the archbishop ; in which, after acknowledging that his grace doth nothing, but, being duly examined tendeth to the maintenance of the established religion, and to avoid schism in the church, which is now, he sees by his grace's papers, fully furnished with preachers, and that it is but a small number that contend for their singularity, he tells his grace, " that he was daily charged by the privy council, and public " persons, with neglect of his duty in not staying his grace's vehement proceedings against the clergy, whereby papists are " greatly encouraged, and the queen's safety endangered." He tells his grace further, " that he has read his four and twenty ar- " ticles in a Romish stile, of great length and curiosity, and so " full of branches and circumstances, that he thinks the inquisi- " tion of Spain, used not so many questions, to comprehend and " to trap their priests." Many other severe expressions are added ; but in conclusion he desires the " archbishop to excuse him, " that he has directed the clergy not to answer these articles, ex- " cept their consciences may suffer them." His grace was so far from being discouraged with this letter, that he wrote the lord treasurer a long vindication of his articles, and of the manner of proceeding ex officio ; which gave his lordship no other satisfaction, than to know that the archbishop had not done any thing in this matter, which his grace did not think himself in duty and conscience bound to do.

The lord treasurer finding it to no purpose to deal singly with this prelate, the privy council took the cause into their hands, and wrote a joint letter to the archbishop and the bishop of LONDON, acquainting

acquainting them, “that tho they had had many complaints
 “from several counties of their proceedings, yet, hoping their
 “lordships would have staid their severity against the clergy, they
 “had not given them any trouble. But hearing of such great
 “numbers suspended lately, and that there is no divine service
 “of any kind in the vacant places, that where cures are supplied
 “it is chiefly by men without learning, and chargeable with
 “great and enormous faults, against whom there are no pro-
 “ceedings or inquisition, they therefore pray their lordships to
 “have some charitable consideration of their clergy, that the
 “people may not be deprived of their diligent, learned, and
 “zealous ministers, for a few points ceremonial with which their
 “consciences were entangled.” This letter was signed by eight
 of the lords of the council; and to support their charge against
 the bishops, it was accompanied by a list of learned ministers
 deprived, in one column, of unlearned and vicious ones con-
 tinued, in a second, and of pluralists and non residents, in an-
 other. But this remonstrance it seems was grounded on false sur-
 mises; and the archbishop in his answer vindicated the clergy
 from those aspersions, and himself and the rest of the commis-
 sioners in shewing no favour to such as deserved censure for their
 ill behaviour.

The affairs of the church were in this situation, when the
 parliament met in November fifteen hundred and eighty four:
 and the puritans, despairing of any other relief, applied to the
 house of commons. We are told by FULLER, “that their agents
 “were soliciting at the door of the house all day, and making
 “interest in the evening at the chambers of parliament men;
 “nor would they have failed of being made easy, if the queen
 “would have taken the advice of her two houses.” Three pe-
 titions were delivered to the house of commons in one day by
 three several members; one to restore liberty to godly preachers,
 the second to exercise and continue their ministry, and the third
 for a speedy supply of able men for the vacant churches. On
 the same day, DR. TURNER stood up, and put the house in re-
 membrance of a bill and book which he had formerly offered to
 their consideration, concerning the subscription of the clergy,
 that it might be no other than what was required by act of par-
 liament, and that no ecclesiastical jurisdiction should extend fur-
 ther than heresy condemned in scripture, and immorality. The
 book, which related chiefly to the admission and qualification
 of the clergy, to the restraint of the high commission, and the
 censure

censure of excommunication, to the permission of religious exercises, and to pluralities and non-residence, by advice of the house, was reduced into a petition of sixteen articles; which the commons imparted to the house of lords, that they might be exhibited jointly by way of humble suit to the queen. The lord treasurer, and the archbishop of YORK, brought an answer from their lordships, that in their opinion many of the articles which the commons had proposed were quite unnecessary, that provision was made for the rest, and that uniformity in divine service had been settled by parliament. The bishop of WINCHESTER, in the name of his brethren, drew up a full and distinct reply to every article in this petition: and the commons finding that they should not carry every branch of it, ordered a bill immediately against pluralities and non-residence, and for appeals out of the spiritual courts. The bill passed that house without any difficulty; but when it was sent up to the lords, the two archbishops, and the bishop of WINCHESTER, made long speeches against it, and affirmed that neither cathedrals, nor professors in the universities could subsist without them. To support their arguments against the bill, they produced a list of the small value of most ecclesiastical benefices: and this, with the weight of the bench of bishops, and the court interest, we are told, threw out the bill. But the commons were so exasperated at this, that they resumed the debate of the sixteen articles, and ordered several other bills to be brought in, to lessen the power of the spiritual courts, and to restrain the episcopal jurisdiction. One was, for the bishops to take an oath in the courts of Westminster hall, that they would act nothing contrary to the common law of the land; another was, to reduce their fees; a third, for liberty to marry at all times of the year; a fourth, for restoring discipline in the church; and another, for the qualification of ministers. The last bill, and that for marrying at all times of the year, passed the house of commons; which made the archbishop so uneasy, that he wrote a letter the next day to the queen, to inform her of their disobedience to her majesty's orders; and besides other inconveniencies in the bill of qualifications, that it had this also, that if it passed by parliament it could not hereafter be altered but in parliament, let the necessity be ever so great; whereas if it was but as a canon from the convocation by her majesty's authority, it might be observed, or altered, at pleasure. His grace informs her majesty likewise in this letter, that they had passed a bill for marrying at all times of the year without restraint, contrary to the old canons continually ob-

served among them, and containing matter which tendeth to the slander of the church, "as having hitherto maintained an error." This, it must be owned, is a very extraordinary reason to come out of the mouth of a protestant archbishop, whose church has disclaimed infallibility, and which says in one of her articles, "that general councils may err, and sometimes have erred, even "in things pertaining to God:" And if a general council may err, it can be no slander surely to say, that a synod or convocation may have committed a mistake, in forbidding to marry at certain times of the year. But the queen however was so pleased with the archbishop's advice, of making alterations by canon, and not by statute, which would reserve the power in her own hands, that she sent a message immediately to the commons by the lord treasurer, reprimanding them for encroaching upon her supremacy, and for attempting what she had forbidden, at which she was highly offended; commanding the speaker at the same time in her majesty's name, "to see that no bills concerning a "reformation in ecclesiastical causes should be exhibited, and if "they were exhibited, not to read them." This did not prevent the two houses from passing an act, "for the better and "more reverent observation of the sabbath;" which was much profaned at this time, by the encouragements of gaming, and sports, on the evenings of those days. The speaker recommended this bill to the queen in a very elegant speech; but her majesty refused to pass it, under a pretence of not suffering the parliament to meddle with matters of religion, which was her prerogative. The commons now saw their mistake, in vesting the whole power of carrying on the reformation, in the single person of queen ELIZABETH; who knew how to act the sovereign, and display her prerogative as well as her father; but they saw it too late. In the same session of parliament, an act was passed against Roman catholick priests, who had been very busy, since the queen's excommunication, to persuade the people to depose her. They are ordered by the statute to depart the kingdom within forty days, and not to return under the penalty of high treason: those who knowingly support and entertain them are made guilty of felony: and all English priests in seminaries, or religious houses abroad, who do not return within six months, submit themselves to her majesty, and take the oath of supremacy, are adjudged traitors: those who make any remittances to seminaries incur the penalty of a premunire; and those who know any priests or jesuits, and don't discover them within twelve days, are to be fined, and imprisoned at the queen's pleasure.

At

At the prorogation of the parliament, her majesty made a short, but an extraordinary speech to the two houses. She takes notice
 “ that some people had been very busy in finding fault with the
 “ clergy, which was a censure that reflected upon herself: for
 “ since God had made her an over-ruler of the church, her neg-
 “ ligence could not be excused, if any schism or heresy was con-
 “ nived at. Some misbehaviour and omission there might be
 “ amongst the body of the clergy, and such miscarriage is com-
 “ mon to all considerable offices: all which, says she, if you my
 “ lords of the clergy do not amend, I mean to depose you. Look
 “ you therefore well to your charges.”

The convocation met the day after the parliament; and were prevailed on by the archbishop, to present the reasons which he had drawn up against the bill concerning pluralities in the house of commons, in an address to the queen. They stile themselves “ her majesty’s poor distressed supplicants now in danger
 “ from this bill; which not only impeacheth her majesty’s pre-
 “ rogative, and lesseneth the revenues,” they say, “ of the
 “ crown, but overthrows the study of divinity in the two uni-
 “ versities, will deprive men of the livings they lawfully possess,
 “ will beggar the clergy, introduce a base and unlearned minis-
 “ try, lessen the hospitality of cathedrals, be an encouragement
 “ to students to go to foreign seminaries where they may be better
 “ provided for, and in a word will make way for anarchy and
 “ confusion.” But in order to give some satisfaction to the public, upon the complaints in the petitions to parliament, and which had occasioned high debates in this session, the convocation presented six articles to the queen, as the whole matter of abuse or grievance which wanted amendment in the church. They were in substance as follows: That none should be admitted into holy orders under twenty four years of age, who should have a presentation to a cure, and bring testimonials of their good life and conversation: That a bishop might refuse whom he would, without the danger of a “ quare impedit:” That the commutation of penance should be restrained (except on great consideration, of which the bishop should be judge) and licences to marry without banns: That the abuses of excommunication should be redressed: That pluralities of livings should be restrained: and That fees to ecclesiastical officers and their servants should be regulated. These articles were offered the queen, and nothing further at this time was done with them. The convocation which had sate above six weeks after the par-
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 liament,

liament, were prorogued from time to time by the queen's writ, till their dissolution. At this time SIR FRAN. WALSINGHAM, secretary of state, founded a divinity lecture at Oxford. The reader was to discourse upon the fundamentals of religion and the holy scriptures, by way of common place; in order that the controversies arising from thence might be more particularly discussed. This lecture, we are told by the historian of that university, was set up on purpose to widen the breach, and enflame the difference between the churches of Rome and England. Be this as it might; the lecture was much commended and thronged by the young students, but some people censured the foundation, as a colour to convey the sacrilege of the founder out of sight, under a pretence of propagating the true religion. The censure was uncharitable and impertinent; and there are never wanting men of malignity enough, tho it is a diabolical disposition, to put the worst construction upon the best and most useful actions. The queen had granted her secretary some of the lands of the vacant bishoprick, and if he founded a lecture in divinity out of them, when knowledge of that kind was become extremely scarce, he shewed a generosity which he was not obliged to from any other motive but the propriety of it.

At the latter end of October fifteen hundred and eighty six, the parliament was summoned, soon after the trial of MARY queen of Scots. Tho the case of that unhappy queen was a principal transaction in the reign we are now upon, yet having no relation to the church or to religion, it does not come within my design to say any thing of it. The indisposition, and affairs, of her majesty queen ELIZABETH, not permitting her to go to the parliament house, the archbishop, and some of the lords, had a commission under the great seal to open the sessions, and to hold, adjourn, or prorogue it, as long as they thought fit. The puritan ministers made another effort for parliamentary relief, and presented an humble supplication to the house of commons; complaining of the absolute power of the bishops in giving or taking away licences to preach; of the proceedings of the high commissioners without regard to law; of the oath "ex officio;" and of not allowing an appeal to any other court. A bill was offered at the same time, by one of the members, for a further reformation of the church; annexing to the bill another form of common prayer than what was now established. Many warm speeches were made in the house upon this occasion, in defence of their privileges to debate every thing religious as well as civil, and

and against the arbitrary proceedings of the bishops; for which the speakers were sent to the Tower. The house was so intimidated with that restraint, that they would not permit the bill to be read: and the queen sent for the bill, and the petition of the puritans, out of the house; ordering the speaker to acquaint them, “that she was already settled in her religion and would “not begin again; that changes in religion were dangerous; “that she had considered the objections which were frivolous, “and that the platform itself was prejudicial to her crown, and “the peace and good order of her government.” She was so much incensed indeed at last with the bold and repeated attempts of the puritans to subvert the establishment of the church, that when a general pardon was drawing up to be passed now in parliament, she ordered an exception to be made of such as committed any offence against the act of uniformity, or were publishers of seditious books. The convocation did nothing more than grant a subsidy to the queen, and were prorogued by the archbishop.

On the fourth of February fifteen hundred and eighty eight, after the Spanish armada had been destroyed, the queen summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster; in order to defray the expences of the year, and to make some new laws against the papists. There was little done in this sessions relating to the church, except an act for punishing bribery in the elections of fellows and officers in colleges and cathedrals, and for preventing simoniacal presentations. The statute likewise enacts, that those who receive money for conferring orders, or for licences to preach, should forfeit forty pounds, and the party ordained, ten pounds, and whatever preferment he should procure within seven years after. The puritans, having expressed their zeal for the queen and the protestant religion, by enlisting themselves in the fleet and army during the late attempt from Spain, imagined they had now a title to some favour from the two houses of parliament, in the article of subscription. They sent up a petition therefore to the house of commons on that head; which was no sooner delivered, than one of the members got up, and moved, that an enquiry might be made how far the bishops had exceeded the laws in the prosecution of her majesty's protestant subjects. Another member moved, for reviving the bill against pluralities and non-residence; which was accordingly brought in, and again passed the commons without any difficulty. But the queen forbid the house of lords to proceed upon it; and commanded the members of the other house to be taken into custody, who had

dared to break thro her orders. The convocation having granted two subsidies to her majesty, and being alarmed at the bill against pluralities, addressed her to protect the church: having flattered her with the title of a goddess, they assure her, "that the passing of such a bill will be attended with the decay of learning, and introduce confusion and barbarism into the church." Upon this remonstrance, the queen interposed, as I have just now mentioned. The archbishop presented some orders to be observed throwout the province, which he hoped the convocation would approve of, and confirm. The first related to the constant residence of those who had but a single benefice, with an exception to prebendaries, chaplains, and those who were allowed non-residence by act of parliament; compelling them however in these cases to keep a licensed preaching curate. The second obliged those, who had two benefices, to reside an equal proportion of time on their respective livings, and provide a licensed curate on each whilst they were absent. Whoever was absent an hundred and twenty days, was to keep a licensed curate. The fourth order directs all scandalous clergymen, guilty of notorious crimes, to be removed, and never admitted to any cure again. Unlearned ministers, not qualified to catechize, are barred admission to any cure. Lastly, no clergyman is allowed to entertain, or displace a curate, without authority from the metropolitan or bishop, of the diocese. These seasonable and prudential orders were agreed to by both houses of convocation, who promised to obey them in every part.

Whilst there were any hopes on either side of compromising the difference, the controversy between the church and the puritans was carried on with some decency; but when these hopes were vanished, the contending parties loaded each other with the most abusive language. The puritans led the way in this personal slander; and the queen issued a proclamation to suppress all such books. The archbishop of CANTERBURY being now on his visitation, had set forth two and twenty articles of enquiry, upon which the church-wardens of every parish were to be examined upon oath; which, when they were read by SIR FRAN. KNOLLYS one of the council, were sent by him to the lord treasurer, with this character; "that they were articles of inquisition, highly prejudicial to the royal prerogative." The reader may remember, that by a late act of parliament in this reign, it was made felony under the pains of death, to write, or publish any book, or ballad, to the defamation of the queen: and

by the construction of her judges it was determined, that the libels abovementioned against the bishops, who were her officers, and acted by authority under her, tended to defame the queen herself. Some of the puritan clergy suffered death upon this construction; and one of them, who was no otherwise proved to be the writer of such a libel upon the bishops, than by the evidence of a man who had seen papers of that sort in his study but refused to appear in court to give his testimony, and by the hearsay evidence of two others taken in examination, who had afterwards absconded and wrote word that they were sorry for what they said, was in this manner condemned to die. Tho the moderate puritans publicly disowned the libels abovementioned, yet they were brought before the star-chamber; which was a court made up of noblemen, bishops, counsellors, and judges, of the queen's nomination, to the number of twenty, or more, with her majesty at the head as sole judge; but in the absence of the sovereign, the determination was by a majority, the lord chancellor, or keeper, having a casting vote. The determinations of this court were not according to any statute law of the land, but according to the queen's will and pleasure; and yet they were as binding upon the subject as an act of parliament; which the whole nation exclaimed against as a mark of the vilest slavery.

A new parliament was summoned to meet in February fifteen hundred and ninety two; when the famous COKE, then solicitor general, was chosen speaker of the house of commons. One of the first motions in this parliament, was to address the queen to name her successor; and her majesty being informed of it, she sent for MR. WENTWORTH, and the three other members who had seconded his motion, and committed them to prison; where the former remained for several years. I suppose the reader who is most partial to the memory of ELIZABETH, will acknowledge that this was an exertion of her prerogative contrary to law, as well as to the freedom of speech in parliament. But what follows in this case, was still more extraordinary. When it was moved to address the queen for the release of their members, it was answered by those of the privy council who were in the house, "that her majesty had committed them for causes best known to herself; that the house must not call the queen to account for what she did of her royal authority; that the causes of their restraint might be high and dangerous; that her majesty did not like such questions, nor did it become the
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“house to deal in such matters.” After this arbitrary and tyrannical step, it was a noble attempt in favour of religious liberty made by MORRICE another member, who moved the house to enquire, how far the high commissioners could justify their inquisition, their subscriptions, and binding the queen’s subjects to their good behaviour, contrary to the laws of God, and the realm; their compelling men to take oaths to accuse themselves, and upon their refusal to degrade, deprive and imprison them at pleasure, and not to release them till they had complied. He then offered two bills to the house; one against the oath ex officio, and the other against illegal imprisonments, which last he prayed might be red immediately. His motion was seconded by SIR FRAN. KNOLLYS, who exclaimed very warmly against these abuses, and said that the prelates by acting against law had brought themselves into a premunire. BEALE another member, and if I mistake not a clerk of the privy council, spoke on the same side: he affirmed that as the statute required subscription to articles of faith only, and that no councils nor canons gave authority to bishops to frame articles and require subscriptions at their pleasure, their lordships had incurred a premunire. The queen, for this speech, forbid BEALE the court, and commanded him to absent himself from parliament.

These debates awakened the civilians in the house, who were in her majesty’s service, and particularly DALTON, who opposed the reading of the bill; “because the queen had often forbid them to meddle with the reformation of the church;” which, SIR ROB. CECIL, one of her majesty’s secretaries, confirmed. No sooner was ELIZABETH acquainted with these proceedings, than she sent for the speaker, and commanded him to tell the house of commons, “that the calling and dissolving of parliaments, the assenting and dissenting to any bills passed there, was part of her prerogative; and that the calling this parliament was only that such as neglected the service of the church might be compelled to it with some sharp laws, the better to provide for the safety of her person and the realm; that it was not meant that they should meddle with matters of state or causes ecclesiastical; that she wondered they should attempt a thing so contrary to her commandment; that she was highly offended at it, and that it was her royal pleasure that no bill, touching any matters of state and causes ecclesiastical, should be there exhibited.” This was the message of a queen to the house of commons, whose reign affords such subjects of panegyrick, to those

those who would be thought patriots, and patrons of liberty, in the present age. Had the majority of that house had the spirit of Englishmen, they would not have submitted so tamely to the insults of an arbitrary woman; who arrested their members, and committed them to prison, for speaking only of oppressions contrary to law; who forbad their redressing the grievances of church or state, and sent for their bills out of the house, and cancelled them. At the same time that the speaker delivered this memorable message, Mr. MORRICE was taken into custody of the serjeant at arms, discharged from his office of chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster, disabled from any practise in his profession as a common lawyer, and confined for some years a prisoner in Tutbury castle. But no provocation could induce this parliament to bring the queen to reason. Instead of asserting their own rights, and the liberties of the people, this parliament stands on record for one of the severest acts of cruelty and oppression, that was ever made by the representatives of a free and protestant nation. They passed an act, that if any person above sixteen years of age should refuse to repair to some church or chapel or usual place of common prayer, to hear divine service, for the space of a month without lawful cause, or go about to persuade any of her majesty's subjects, to deny, withstand, or impugn her power and authority in causes ecclesiastical; or shall dissuade them from coming to church, or shall be present at any conventicle, or unlawful assembly, under pretence of any exercise of religion, that every person so offending, and convicted, shall be committed to prison without bail, till they shall conform and yield themselves to come to church, and make such open submission and declaration of their conformity, as by this act is appointed. In default of this submission within three months, they were to abjure the realm and go into perpetual banishment; from which if they returned without her majesty's licence, they were to suffer death without benefit of clergy. Thus in some measure were renewed the days of HENRY the eighth; when it was a crime against the state, to depart ever so little from the religion of the sovereign: but in some part of this act, she exceeded her father's tyranny. For absolute as he was, he contented himself with punishing such as opposed the established religion by some overt act; but by this new statute, the subjects were obliged to make an open profession by a constant attendance on the established service. The former act of parliament against the writers or publishers of defamation of the queen, which by the judges had been extended to the bishops, had brought several

of the puritan ministers to the gallows; where they gave such testimonies of their loyalty to the queen, praying earnestly for her long and prosperous reign, that the court was struck with this behaviour, and began to be ashamed of hanging men for sedition against the state, who died with such strong professions of loyalty to her majesty, and the government. It is said that the queen herself was displeased when she heard of the devotion and fidelity of the sufferers; and it was therefore resolved for the future to proceed on the last act, and instead of putting them to death, to send them into banishment. The queen being exasperated afresh against the catholicks by their plotting against her life, besides this act which banished them as well as the puritans, another passed in this session against popish recusants; by which they were confined within five miles of their respective dwellings, and in default of such confinement to abjure the realm for ever, as in the former act. The convocation which met the day after this parliament, did little or nothing besides giving two whole subsidies to the queen; and were dissolved on the eleventh of April, the day after the parliament.

All the protestant divines in England, as well puritans as others, had hitherto appeared to be of one opinion about the doctrines of faith: but now there arose a party which were first for softening, and then for overthrowing, the received opinions about predestination, perseverance, free-will, effectual grace, and the extent of CHRIST's redemption. The articles of the church of England, tho they do not countenance the severest notions of zealous Calvinists, yet had hitherto been thought to favour the Calvinian system; on the side of which all the puritans to a man declared, as well as the greatest number of the established clergy. The Arminian tenets, as they were called afterwards, were looked upon at first as bordering upon popery, which made them much disliked: but as they grew into repute, the Calvinists were reckoned old fashioned divines; whilst they in return looked on the others as little better than novelists. The controversy began at Cambridge; where one BARRET, fellow of Caius college, declared himself against CALVIN's doctrine of predestination and falling from grace; for which he was called before the vice chancellor and some of the heads, and obliged to retract his opinion in St. Mary's church. An application having been made by both parties to the archbishop, BARRET was sent for to Lambeth, and having been reprimanded for his errors, and exhorted to confess his ignorance and mistakes, he chose rather to quit his fellow-

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ship; and soon after turned papist. To put an end to these disputes, the university sent WHITAKER the queen's professor, and some other eminent predestinarians, to the archbishop, who calling in some bishops and divines to his assistance upon these points, they concluded upon some propositions strictly Calvinistical, called the Lambeth articles, to which the scholars in the university were to submit. When the queen was informed of what they had done, she was extremely disobliged at so public a resolution: and had it not been for the interest of some of the archbishop's friends, and the particular regard which her majesty had for this prelate, she had ordered all that met on this occasion to be prosecuted to a premunire. However she ordered SIR ROB. CECIL to acquaint his grace by letter, "that she very much disliked that any allowance had been given by him and his brethren, for any such points to be disputed, being a matter tender and dangerous to weak ignorant minds; and thereupon commanded him to suspend the urging them publicly, or suffering them to be debated in the pulpit." The archbishop excused himself by alledging, that they were not intended as any new laws or decrees, but only as an explication of certain points, which they apprehended to be true, and correspondent to the doctrine professed in the church of England. But if this had been the general doctrine of the English reformation, the homilies on CHRIST'S nativity, and the resurrection, would have spoke another language than they have, about the extent of his redemption, and falling finally from grace. The Calvinistical system however, it must be owned, seems at that time to have been the general and governing persuasion of both the universities, and of the greatest part of the clergy, tho the church reformed upon different principles, and tho the articles were compiled with a latitude to admit subscription by persons of other sentiments.

In October fifteen hundred and ninety seven, the parliament met at Westminster, modelled in a great measure by the care and management of the archbishop. For we are not to imagine, that when once the method of practising at elections under the crown had been introduced, that it was ever totally neglected. Even in this reign of ELIZABETH "of blessed memory," I have seen an original letter under the hand of the earl of LEICESTER, to a corporation of which he was high steward, wrote at a time when the queen's affairs were chiefly transacted thro him, to desire them to execute and transmit him a blank indenture, at an election

election then approaching, that he might nominate their representatives; and if they would oblige him so far he would take the burden of paying the wages of the members upon himself: but if they would not grant him the nomination of them both, he hoped they would permit him to recommend one of their members upon these terms. The archbishop probably trod in the same steps; for the summer was employed by him, Mr. STRYPE says, in securing the elections against the winter. His grace however could not prevent some members from being elected, who brought in bills to regulate abuses in spiritual courts, against licences to marry without banns, against frivolous citations ex officio, against unjust and excessive fees, and excommunications for trifles. But these bills, according to custom, were quashed by a message from the queen; forbidding the commons to touch her prerogative, and assuring them, that she would take these grievances into her princely consideration. The archbishop had given her the hint, and she improved it into a maxim of government from which she never afterwards departed, not to proceed in the affairs of the church by statute law, which none but a parliament could repeal, but by canons, which she could confirm, or dispense with, at her pleasure. But still the ecclesiastical courts were an insufferable grievance; the oppression that people underwent from the canon law, obliged them to remove their causes into Westminster hall, by getting prohibitions to stop proceedings in the bishops courts, or the high commission. The archbishop was alarmed at this; and drew up certain queries, to be considered by the lords and judges, concerning prohibitions; to which he annexed a list of divers cases, wherein the spiritual courts had been interrupted by the temporal jurisdiction, as well as the high commission, and the court of delegates. But the prohibitions notwithstanding increased every year; the nobility and gentry were too wise to subject their estates and liberties to civilians, versed in a code of laws of uncertain authority, and strangers to the laws of the land, without the relief of a prohibition; especially when it was notorious, that the canon law had been always controuled, since the reformation, by the statute laws of the realm. In this sessions of parliament, an act was passed, to confirm the deprivation of the popish bishops, and to declare all bishops and deans promoted by the queen to their respective dignities, during the first four years of her reign, lawfully constituted. The parties deprived who were now living, had made secret appeals, it seems, and used other clandestine methods to support their claims, in hopes of a revolution. This was all the business

business done by the parliament relating to the church; except a private act for establishing the revenues of the see of Norwich.

The queen had referred the grievances complained of in the house of commons to the convocation; upon which they revived the canons made about thirteen years before which have been already mentioned, and which she confirmed at this time by her letters patents, authorizing them to be published. Having given the queen three subsidies, from the apprehension of an invasion, and on condition it should be made no precedent for the future, they were dissolved with the parliament on the ninth of February. From this time we hear no more of the prosecution of the puritans, or of their perverse and clamorous opposition, during the residue of this reign. The secret of it is, they were quiet in hopes of better times, on the change which could not be far distant by the death of the queen; who was now far advanced in years, and could not have long to live. On the other hand, this circumstance being considered, and the next heir to the crown being a puritan, the governours of the church were a little cautious of carrying on their severities against a party for whom the king of Scotland had declared; not knowing what revenge he might take upon themselves when he was fixed on the English throne. Indeed it was high time that these contests subsided; for whilst each side was thus busied in disputing about the form, the power of godliness in this kingdom was almost at an end. The established clergy generally lost ground; the diligence of the popish missionaries, who took advantage from these disputes, revived the catholic religion with great success; and in the remoter countries and villages the people were either papists, or had no religion at all. Thus whilst the two parties were striving for victory, they were inattentive, or rather they sacrificed willingly the common interest of religion; and let in popery, and immorality, to destroy them both. I believe I do not censure them more severely than they deserve, when I say that both parties were striving for the victory; the governors of the church in the beginning, and the puritans in the progress of this controversy. The queen and her bishops had set out upon right and undoubted principles; that where there is no contradiction to the laws of God, the church, like other societies, has a power to make what laws she apprehends to be decent and necessary for her well being and government; and where the scripture is silent human authority may interpose. Upon these principles, the form of

worship, and the rites and ceremonies of the church of England, were established; and they were established rightly. But these principles, in the reason of things did not carry them, and in fact should not have carried them, the lengths they went, in not tolerating or conniving at tender consciences. Had they not contended for the victory and to procure an universal submission, the way at first was short and plain; and to have dispensed only with a few indifferent things, during the lives of the incumbents who had been exiles, taking care that none of the rising generation should have been tainted with these prejudices, would have prevented this flame, which has had such fatal consequences, and which will probably be never quite extinguished but together with the church itself. This lenity and indulgence was granted afterwards, but it was then too late to become a remedy and to prevent a separation already formed. The puritans on the other hand, in getting far enough from popery, ran weakly and enthusiastically into the other extreme; and with their prejudices, which were not to be overcome with severity, they had their passions and perverseness in common with other men. When the governours of the church had divested themselves of their understanding, and intended to compell the judgment, the puritans, by a natural consequence, grew more obstinate; and the same men, who at first had but few objections to the establishment, were not satisfied till they had wholly separated from it, framed a wild tyrannical system of government and discipline of their own, which they wanted to get established, and at the hazard of their lives maintained it. Their notions of the civil and religious rights of mankind, were dark and confused, and too much derived from the theocracy of the Jews: and if they had once got their system established, there is no doubt to be made, that they would have imposed it upon others with an unrelenting fury. In short the one side was uncharitable, the other was perverse, and both sides were weak. I take this to be the candid, impartial, state of the case between them. But I must turn now to give an account of the last parliament of this reign.

In October sixteen hundred and one, the parliament met at Westminster; and notwithstanding all former repulses, the house of commons renewed their attack against the spiritual courts, against bishops leases and fines, against the proceedings of ordinaries "ex officio" without due presentments, and against their frequent courts: but the queen would not suffer them to proceed upon these grievances, and referred them to the archbishop. A
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bill however was brought in again to restrain pluralities and non-residence. It went as far as a second reading, when it was objected to by several members, and thrown out. One of them proposed, that the laity should lead the way in this reformation, and restrain themselves from plurality of offices in the first place, before they began to reduce the only subsistence which the clergy had; whose revenues were in a great measure already lessened by taking away so many impropriations, and their expences encreased by allowing them marriage. There was another bill brought into the house to punish voluntary absence from church, with the forfeiture of a shilling for every Sunday; to be levied by a warrant from a justice of peace, on the information of two witnesses: but there being a law already for this purpose, which made the forfeiture twenty pounds a month, it was thrown out as needless and unreasonable; tho not till after it had had a third reading, and with a majority only of a single vote. The commons did nothing further in this session relating to the church; and having passed a few bills for the better government of the state, and given the queen the largest subsidy they had ever given her during her reign, the parliament was dissolved on the nineteenth of December. The convocation likewise gave four subsidies to her majesty, to be collected in four years; and the archbishop exhorted them, to be very careful in observing the canons passed in the last convocation, and to reform the grievances which had been complained of in this sessions of parliament; which if they had not been prevented, he said, with good circumspection, and a promise of careful reformation, either all, or the greatest part of the ecclesiastical courts might have been taken away. Nothing material besides was transacted in this convocation; and the queen's writ dissolved it on the same day with the parliament.

Her majesty, who had hitherto been very happy in her health, began now to decline apace; and was not only infirm, but under a visible decay of natural spirits. Whether this was owing to conscience or constitution, whether her mind affected her health, or her ill habit of body brought on a dejection of her spirits, it is impossible for us to say. Her cruel and extraordinary usage of the queen of Scots; her severity towards the puritans, who had an inviolable attachment to her person and civil government; her embroiling the neighbouring kingdoms with artifice and dissimulation to promote her interests; and the apparent neglect of her own ministers, who began, if not to be weary of her majesty,

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yet to worship the rising sun, these were things perhaps which might not please her much in the reflection. But whatever might be the cause, the last scene of the life of this magnanimous queen, was clouded and disconsolate. On the last day of January sixteen hundred and three, she went to Richmond for retirement, and the benefit of the air; where her inauguration ring, which was grown into the flesh and become painful, was obliged to be filed off. In the beginning of March, she was seized with a drowziness, and an heaviness in all her limbs; and could neither move them, nor even speak, without great difficulty. This made her extremely froward and unapproachable, to almost every body but the archbishop, who frequently attended, and prayed with her. When it was perceived she was near her end, the lord keeper, the lord privy seal, and secretary CECIL, were sent to her by the council to desire her to name her successor. The queen answered with some difficulty, "that her throne" "was the throne of kings, and she would have no mean" "person to succede her." The secretary representing to her, that these words were very obscure, and that the council desired an explicit intimation of her pleasure, she said, "that the king" "of Scots, her nearest relation, should succede her." The archbishop then reminding her, that having now done with this world she should turn all her thoughts to the other, and commune with God alone, she replied, "that I do, nor does my" "mind wander from him at all;" and when she could pray no longer with her tongue, she lifted up her hands and eyes to heaven, till she expired.

Thus died the great and renowned queen ELIZABETH, in the seventieth year of her age, and in the forty fifth year of her reign. If the reader was to know no more of this queen, than what he has seen of her in this history, he would be at a loss to account for the great encomiums with which she is always spoke of, to the present day; when flattery cannot be supposed to have any share in the veneration paid to her memory. I shall discuss the pretensions which she had to these encomiums, when I have given a general description of her allowed by all historians. Tho she was not very handsome in her youthful days, yet there was something great and majestick in her mien, which denoted her qualifications for the royal station to which she was born: and she had learning, sense, and courage, in a very unusual degree for one of her sex. Having a command of the several languages in which ambassadors made their speeches, and being

able to talk upon government, and the state of foreign kingdoms with propriety, she appeared to great advantage in giving audiences, and on all public occasions; which did not a little contribute to raise an idea of her abilities among foreigners. These abilities have been magnified by many of her historians; and the surmounting all the difficulties and troubles which were created by her enemies, enemies too the most powerful, artful, and least scrupulous in Europe, had been attributed by many writers entirely to her own address. But tho ELIZABETH, as I have allowed, had great and uncommon talents as a queen, yet her own abilities would have served her but a little way in such important undertakings. She had the good fortune to have very able men in her kingdom, equalled scarcely by any and exceeded by none of their countrymen in any age for political skill: and the queen had discernment enough to find them out, and sense enough to employ them in the administration of her affairs. In this consisted her greatness; and in this alone, in my own opinion, did she shew her talent for governing. Her own personal abilities, separate from those of her ministers, of which she availed herself cunningly enough as tho they had been her own, consisted in a frugal management of her treasure and her honours, in courting the affections of her people by a seeming affability in her manner and conversation carried almost to an excess, in a strict regard to justice, and in the most profound dissimulation that ever filled the heart of a woman. These were properly her own abilities, to which she was not obliged to any minister; and as far as these could carry her in the art of good government, the success of her administration may be attributed to herself. But tho the wisdom and prosperity with which ELIZABETH governed, is not entirely to be ascribed, as all her historians do ascribe it, to the queen's own address, yet all the weakness and misrule which is to be charged upon her reign, which I am not partial and fashionable enough to say was inconsiderable, were the weakness and misrule of the queen herself; in these her ministers had no share; neither had they power or interest enough to prevent them. She came to the crown with the same high notions of her prerogative, and of making her will a law to the people as well as her ministers, that her father had: and if she did not carry her tyranny to as great a length, it was not owing to the tender affection and excessive love for her subjects, which she always talked of to them, but to the conjuncture in which she was placed, and to the need in which she stood of her peoples love to support her against her enemies. Lest the reader should

think I charge her with weakness and misrule unjustly, when other historians only found her panegyrick, I must remind him of her impoverishing the vacant bishopricks, and giving unequal impropriations in the lieu of manors and estates; of her keeping the fees of Ely, Oxford, and Bristol, vacant twenty years, and enriching herself with their revenues; of her sending so frequently to the house of commons, to forbid their proceeding upon bills before them, of committing the members to prison, and even forbidding their coming to parliament, for speeches which they made in support of their laws and liberties, without any reflections upon her majesty. To this must be added the severity with which she treated her protestant subjects by her high commission court, against law, against liberty, and against the rights of human nature. If these are not flagrant instances of weakness and misrule, to which her ministers never encouraged, but oftentimes dissuaded her as far as they durst, and which were not owing to sudden starts of passion but to her own tyrannical disposition, then all arbitrary power may be defended as just and necessary. The ruling passion of ELIZABETH was to preserve her crown and her prerogative, and every measure which she herself directed, or approved of when projected by her ministers, was subservient to these two purposes. To the account of the former is to be placed, her unjust and cruel treatment of CATH. GRAY, under a pretence of her marrying without the queen's consent, but in reality because she had some right to the crown, and might be set up as a rival. To the same account we are to place her continual jealousy, and manifold dissimulation with the queen of Scots, the injuries which she did her against the laws of hospitality and the law of nations, and at last the putting her openly to death with a profligate prevarication. To the account of the latter we are to place her frequent compulsive imperious treatment of the house of commons, in open violation of the privileges of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the subject. To the same fondness of her prerogative, we are to place all the measures which she directed, and she alone, against the disturbers of the uniformity which was established. To her alone it was owing at first, and not to her bishops, that no concession or indulgence was granted to tender consciences. She understood her prerogative, which was as dear to her as her crown, and life, but she understood nothing of the rights of conscience in matters of religion; and like the absurd king her father, she would have no opinions in religion, acknowledged at least, besides her own. She restored the reformation, it is true, and I believe restored it
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upon principle: She was likewise at the head of the protestant religion abroad, in assisting those who professed it, in France, and the Netherlands, as well as Scotland, and it was her interest to do so; but where her interest called upon her to neglect the reformed religion, she did it without scruple. She differed from her sister in this, that she would not part with her supremacy upon any terms; and as she had much greater abilities for governing, so she applied herself more to promote the strength and glory of her dominions, than MARY did: but she had as much of the bigot, and the tyrant in her, as her sister, tho the object of that bigotry, was prerogative, and not religion. Her tyranny indeed was not to the hurt and damage of her people; for if it had she could not have held the crown. The enemies which she had abroad obliged her to consult the ease and interest of her subjects; and happy it was for them that it did so. Thus I am very ready to own, that with the help of her ministers she made a great figure abroad as well as at home, and that her ministers could not have procured this figure for her majesty, without her own co-operation, or perhaps with any other queen but herself. She stands therefore upon record, and I think so far very justly, as a wise and politick princess, for delivering the kingdom from the difficulties with which it was involved at her accession, for preserving the protestant reformation against the potent enemies which attempted to destroy it, and for advancing the renown of the English nation beyond any of her predecessors. To sum up in a few words what may serve to form the character of queen ELIZABETH, it may be said, that if we consider her as a woman, and a sovereign, bred under HENRY the eighth her father, she had extraordinary qualifications; that the greatest errors of her reign were owing to her education; and if she had not herself the principal merit of that felicity which her subjects enjoyed under her, as I think she had not, yet she had the good fortune to have it generally thought so, both during her life and since her death.

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THE
ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK XIV.

THE king of Scotland having been proclaimed with the usual ceremonies by the name of JAMES the first, the council sent to acquaint him with the death of queen ELIZABETH, and with his own accession to the crown of England. The people in general lamented the loss which the nation had sustained; and a king of Scotland on the throne of England was not the most pleasing prospect in the world. Besides, since JAMES had become of age and had taken the reins of the government into his hands, he had given no very advantageous idea of himself from any part of his conduct. Tho' born a papist, yet having been taken from his mother when very young, he had been educated in the strictest protestant principles among the puritans, and had all thro his life professed them. It was certain nevertheless, that he had on several occasions given great room to suspect, that he was far from being an enemy to the Roman catholicks. On the one hand therefore, the puritans were in hopes, that as the king had been educated among those of their religion till his accession to the crown of England, that his majesty would promote a reformation of the church according to the plan in Scotland; at least that they should have a redress of all their grievances. On the other hand, the papists, presuming not only on the natural right they had to his favour on account of his birth and parentage, but on the many marks he had given in the course of his reign in Scotland of his inclinations to their religion, persuaded themselves they should have gentler treatment under his

his majesty, than they had met with from the queen ; and even were not without hopes of something further. The members of the church of England, who were much the greatest part of the nation, expected, notwithstanding the birth and education of his majesty, that he would make no innovations in favour of either papists or puritans, but conform himself entirely to the church established by law. But amidst all their hopes, each side had its fears ; whilst JAMES himself, had properly speaking no other religion, than what flowed from a principle which he called “ kingcraft.” The sequel of his reign will illustrate, and prove, what I say. As soon as the queen was dead, the archbishop of CANTERBURY sent NEVILL, his dean, express to Scotland in the name of all the bishops and clergy of England, to congratulate the king on his accession, to assure him of their steady and unfeigned loyalty, to receive any commands he might have for them, and to recommend the church of England to his royal countenance and protection. The king received this application very graciously ; and ordered NEVILL to assure the English bishops, that he would maintain the government of the church as the queen had left it. This, which at that time was a secret to the other parties, raised the spirits of the archbishop and his brethren before the king’s arrival ; and served to dissipate the “ Scotch mist,” which they had spoke of very often with great uneasiness.

Whilst his majesty was on his progress by slow steps to London, the puritans presented a petition signed by eight hundred ministers of the church of England, desiring a reformation of certain ceremonies and abuses. It was called the millenary petition, because in the preamble it was said, that they to the number of above a thousand ministers did groan under the burden of human rites and ceremonies, and did with one consent throw themselves at his majesty’s royal feet for relief. The abuses complained of in this petition, related to many particulars in the service ; such as the sign of the cross, the cap, and surplice, the ring in marriage, confirmation, church songs, and musick, the prophanation of the sabbath, holy-days, and apocrypha ; to the constant preaching in churches, the removal of weak and illiterate ministers, non-residence, and subscription ; to commendams, and impropriations, annexed to bishopricks and colleges ; to excommunications, church censures, popish canons, spiritual courts, the oath ex officio, and marriage licences. Many other petitions of this sort were presented to the king in the counties thro which

he passed. But the two universities being alarmed at this early attack on the ecclesiastical constitution, it was resolved in a congregation called at Cambridge for this purpose, "that whosoever
 " opposed by word or writing, or any other way, the doctrine or
 " discipline of the church of England, or any part thereof,
 " should be suspended "ipso facto" from any degree already taken,
 " and be disabled from taking any degree for the future." About the same time, the university of Oxford published an answer to the millenary petition, accusing those who signed it of a factious spirit, and as enemies to monarchy; and commending the present government of the church, as the great support of the crown, and calculated for unlimited subjection to it. The king was determined from the first moment what part to take in church affairs; as we have seen by his answer to the address sent by the bishops. But that he might part with his old friends with some decency, that he might put on an appearance of impartiality between the parties, and what I believe swayed him more than any thing else, that he might give his new subjects a taste of his talents for disputation, of which he was always extremely fond and conceited, he ordered a conference to be held at Hampton-court, of which he would be moderator; and in the mean time commanded by a proclamation, that both sides should be quiet, till he should have informed himself of the state of the church, and his pleasure was farther known.

The conference which was in January sixteen hundred and four, and continued for three days, was managed by nine bishops, and as many dignitaries of the church on one side, and four puritan divines on the other, all nominated by the king; in the presence of the lords of the council, and a numerous croud of courtiers. On the first day, in which the puritan ministers were not present, the king opened the conference with a speech; not only to acquaint them with his reasons for consulting the bishops and dignitaries by themselves, but with "the happiness which he
 " felt in being brought into the promised land, where he was
 " not as formerly a king without state and honour, nor in a place
 " where order was banished, and beardless boys would brave him
 " to his face." Tho he did not convene this assembly, he said, out of any desire of innovation, yet many complaints having been made, he had a mind to remove the occasion of them, and to be satisfied as to some usages in the worship and discipline of the church himself. For instance, he had an objection to the ceremony and name of confirmation, if it imported a confirming

of the sacrament of baptism, as tho it was not compleat without it. His majesty had likewise an exception to the absolution of the church, as having too great a resemblance of the pope's pardon: neither did he approve of private baptism, and the administering this sacrament by midwives, and lay persons. The king then desired to be informed whether the censure of excommunication was executed very frequently, and upon light and frivolous occasions, as it had been suggested; and why lay chancellors and commissaries, and not the bishops with their chapter, did exercise this solemn act of church authority? The king having dilated upon these several scruples with an air of great understanding for some hours, the archbishop fell on his knees, and suggested to the assembly, what vast obligations the church and kingdom were under to the bountiful hand of providence, in setting at the helm a prince of such admirable learning and great abilities! His grace then turned to the king, in order to satisfy him on the points in question. He shewed him the antiquity of the practise of confirmation in the Christian church from the earliest ages; but assured him it was a false suggestion, that the church of England thought baptism not compleat without it, as it was evident by the rubrick before the office. Some of the other bishops seconded the primate; and in order to make it clear, that confirmation was not understood in the church of England, as a sacrament, or corroboration of baptism, it was referred by his majesty to the bishops, whether the office standing as it did, it might not be called an examination of children with a confirmation. As to the point of the absolution, the archbishop cleared the form from all abuse and superstition, by appealing to those forms of confession and absolution in the beginning of the communion service; which the king, upon a perusal, acquiesced in. However it was concluded, that for the sake of explanation, the words "remission of sins" should be added to the rubrick of absolution. The archbishop then endeavoured to satisfy his majesty, that the administering baptism by midwives, and other lay persons, was not allowed by the church; nor did the words in the office infer any such latitude. BANCROFT bishop of London opposed this, and said, that the compilers of the common prayer did really design a permission to private persons to baptize in cases of necessity, and that it was agreeable to the practise of the primitive church. Much debate arising on this article from the king, and several other bishops, it was resolved to deliberate afterwards, whether the rubrick for private baptism should not be restrained to curates or lawful ministers. As to the business of excommunication

nication in the spiritual courts for little crimes, it was agreed on the king's motion, that the name might be changed, and the censure still retained, if an equivalent correction could not be substituted in the room of it. The reader has here the substance of the first day's conference. But we are told by Mr. GALLOWAY who was present at it, and whose account of it to the presbytery of Scotland was mended in some parts by the king's own hand, "that the bishops craved with great earnestness on their knees, "that nothing might be altered, lest popish recusants punished "by penal statutes for their disobedience, and the puritans punished by deprivation from their livings for non-conformity, "should say they had just cause to insult them, as men who "had travailed to bind them to that, which, by their own "mouths now, was confessed to be erroneous." But I think it necessary to acquaint the reader that this account is taken from Mr. NEAL in his history of the puritans, who is not to be read without the utmost caution, and making great allowances for his unfairness and partiality.

On the second day of the conference the four puritan ministers were called in; who were to be answered by two bishops, and the other dignitaries first appointed. The king having made a speech to the same effect with the former, Dr. REYNOLDS, professor of divinity in the university of Oxford, who was the head of the delegation from the puritans, reduced their remonstrance to four heads: "That the doctrine of the church might be preserved in its purity according to God's word: That good pastors might be planted in all churches to preach the same: That "the church government might be sincerely ministered according "to God's word: and, That the book of common prayer "might be fitted to more encrease of piety." It would be very tedious to give the reader the particulars disputed under these general heads for four hours together; as they contain nothing which he is not already acquainted with on each side of the question. The king took more than the part of a moderator, and very frequently left the bishops nothing to do, but to admire his parts and learning in answering the objections made by the puritan divines; concluding his arguments very often with a maxim which he had taken up with the crown of England, "no "bishop, no king." At the end of the conference on the second day, his majesty getting out of his chair said aloud to those who stood near him, "if this be all they have to say, I "will make them conform, or I will hurry them out of the land,

“ or do worfe.” The king was much flattered by the lords, who had found out his foible, calling him “ the SOLOMON of the “ age,” for the quickness of his apprehension, his skill in controversy, and his dexterity in disentangling difficulties: the lord chancellor in particular said, he had often heard that the king and the priest were united in one person, but he had never seen an instance of that truth before: and BANCROFT, bishop of London, falling down upon his knees, “ protested that his heart melted “ for joy, because GOD Almighty of his singular mercy had “ given them such a king, as since CHRIST’s time had not “ been.”

The bishops and deans were first called into the privy chamber, with some civilians, on the third day of the conference, in order to satisfy the king about the high commission, and the oath ex officio: and these being branches of his prerogative, the archbishop soon made him easy about the complaints against them; making it appear that they were useful, and necessary, in several cases. In this he was seconded by the lord chancellor, and the lord treasurer: and the king, in order to shew, not only how open he was to conviction, and how much inclined to adopt every thing already established, but also with what a wonderful facility he could comprehend the wisdom and design of any measures, resumed the arguments made use of by the lords, went thro all the circumstances of the subject, and applauded the policy of the constitution, and the invalidity of the objections to it. His noble audience were not wanting on their part to extol the great abilities of their sovereign; and the archbishop was so transported to find him thus warm and resolute in favour of the high commission, that at the end of his harangue, he told the king, “ undoubtedly your majesty speaketh by the special assistance of GOD’s spirit.” A committee of bishops and privy councillors was then appointed to consider of the quality of persons and causes in the high commission, to punish recusants, and to provide a sufficient maintenance for the clergy, as well as learned incumbents in every parish. The four divines were then called in; and the few trifling alterations, which I have mentioned in the first days conference for the satisfaction of his majesty, were red to them, to which they assented: but they were not satisfied with the result of the conference. They pressed extremely that the surplice, and the cross in baptism, might be dispensed with in some particular ministers; because their credit in the country, where they had so often preached against them, would be much impaired, if they were forced to

use them. The king told them, that it was neither his own intention, nor that of the bishops, to come to any sudden rigours, 'till admonition and arguments had been tried upon them; and therefore a time should be assigned within which conformity should be expected. But he added, very shrewdly, "we have
 " taken pains here to conclude in a resolution for the unifor-
 " mity, and you will undo all by preferring the credit of a few
 " private men to the peace of the whole church. This is just
 " the Scotch argument: for when any thing was there settled
 " which crossed upon the fancies of some people, the only rea-
 " son for their disobedience was, because it would not consist
 " with their credit to change their opinion. But I will have
 " none of this arguing; therefore let them conform, and that
 " quickly too, or they shall hear of it." In this manner ended the conference; which convinced the puritans they were mistaken in depending on the king's protection; which convinced the king that they were not to be won with a few insignificant concessions; or indeed with any thing less than their own establishment; and which if it did not convince the privy council, and the bishops, that they had got a SOLOMON for their king, yet they spoke of him as tho it did.

In the latter end of February, the king issued a proclamation, commanding all priests and jesuits having orders from foreign powers to depart the realm. But the proclamation was worded in such a manner, as to shew they were not banished out of hatred to their religion in general, but only on account of their attachment to the doctrine of the pope's unlimited power over crowned heads. This is what he observed thro the whole course of his reign: and tho he had too much reason afterwards to be convinced that he was taking false measures, yet he would never alter his conduct. The proclamation against the jesuits, was soon followed by another, giving an account of the conference; that he had found strong remonstrances supported with such slender proofs, that both himself and his council perceived, there was no ground for any change in those things, which were most loudly clamoured against; that the book of common prayer, and the doctrine of the established church were both unexceptionable, and the rites and ceremonies had the practise of the primitive church to plead in their defence: and that notwithstanding, with the consent of the bishops and some other learned men, a few passages were rather explained than altered, yet with a reasonable construction every thing might very well have stood in

in its former condition. The proclamation then proceeds to require and enjoin all men, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, to conform to the book of common prayer, as being the only public form of serving God established and allowed in this realm: and all the bishops and other public ministers are commanded to see the proclamation executed, and to punish all offenders according to the laws. This proclamation might serve to shew, that the king had not the same regard to the tender consciences of the puritans, as he had to those of "the catholicks who could not comply with the received doctrines of the church of England;" but it could not alter a form of worship established by law, without consent of parliament, or convocation.

Notwithstanding all the precautions that were taken to secure the election of members for the ensuing parliament, yet the archbishop wished he might not live to see it, for fear of some alterations in the church; and his wish was granted: for being struck with a dead palsy soon after the conference, he languished for some days, and died. In the reign of queen MARY when a visitation of the university of Cambridge was intended, in order to suppress heresy, and enforce popery on the fellows and scholars of that university, WHITGIFT, foreseeing his danger, resolved to leave the college, and join the exiles abroad. But the master being informed of his intention, dissuaded him, and engaged to conceal him, without his incurring any danger to his conscience in that visitation. In the following reign he became a zealous and able champion for the establishment, against the innovations and cavils of the puritans. His performances in that controversy recommended him so much to queen ELIZABETH, that she made him her professor in the university, and then preferred him to the mastership of Trinity-college. His next promotion was to the deanry of Lincoln, and from thence to the see of Worcester, where he brought over many Roman catholicks to the church. He was a man of quick abilities, of great good nature, of a peaceable temper, and a general scholar: and if he had not lived in those times of contention about conformity, he would scarcely have had a single objection made to his character. But being preferred to the primacy for his zeal in that controversy, and being supported and encouraged in it by the queen, who knew no other merit in a churchman than obeying her orders, he regarded neither the entreaties of the clergy, nor the intercession of the courtiers; but pressed conformity with great rigour, as we have seen, even sometimes it may be beyond all other law but that

that of her majesty's pleasure. This was the only blemish of his administration; and towards his latter end, he grew weary of the prosecutions, which the factious attempts of the puritans had made necessary in some degree. His house was a sort of academy, where young gentlemen were instructed in languages, mathematicks, and other respectable sciences: and besides the indigent scholars which he entertained in his family for this purpose, he exhibited to several in the universities, and encouraged them in proportion to their merit and necessities. As he lived in a time of some public disturbance, when invasions were often threatened, and insurrections at home attempted, his domesticks were trained to military exercise, his palace was well furnished with arms, and he kept a stable of managed horses. He was very considerable for his hospitality; in which every thing spoke the generosity, and the largeness of his mind: and as he was a great lover of pomp, beyond what perhaps should have bounded the temper of an ecclesiastick, besides the constant figure in his family, which was princely, he usually travelled with a grand retinue. He went once to Canterbury with a train of five hundred horse, one hundred of which were his own domesticks. He lived in too much splendour, to be able to do much good in works of charity, tho these were not overlooked. Besides his usual benevolence to the poor at his house, he founded an hospital at Croydon, which affords a settled maintenance for eight and twenty brothers and sisters; and a free school, endowed with lands of twenty pounds a year. In short, archbishop WHITGIFT had learning, courage, and greatness of mind, suitable enough to the high rank he held in the church; and if his predecessor exceeded him as a true christian prelate, his successor was far behind him in every amiable and every useful virtue.

In the writs and proclamation to call the first parliament of this king, his majesty takes upon him to describe what sort of representatives the people should elect: as conditions without which they should not be admitted into the house. This was directly striking at the privileges of the commons: but he was persuaded, that the privileges of the parliament, and the people, were, if not so many usurpations, yet at best only concessions of the kings his predecessors, which might be revoked: and thus he assumed a power to enjoin penalties by this proclamation, on such as should offend against the statute concerning elections, which the statute had not enjoined, the authority of which he rendered equal to that of the laws. At the opening of the parliament

on the nineteenth of March, the king sent for the commons as usual, and made a long speech to both houses; in which there are many strokes, which discover the genius, character, and intentions of this monarch. This speech which was probably every word his own, for he was above being dictated to by any minister, is much too long to be inserted here. It is necessary however, that I should lay before the reader, an extract from the part which concerns religion, and which displeased every body.

“ Altho at my first coming I found but one religion, and that
 “ which by myself is professed, publicly allowed, and by the
 “ law maintained, yet found I another sort of religion, besides
 “ a private sect lurking within the bowels of the nation. The
 “ first is the true religion; the second is the falsely called ca-
 “ tholick, but truly papish: the third which I call a sect, rather
 “ than a religion, is the puritans and novellists, who do not so
 “ much differ from us in points of religion, as in their confused
 “ form of policy, and purity; being ever discontented with the
 “ present government, and impatient to suffer any superiority,
 “ which makes their sect insufferable in any well governed com-
 “ monwealth. But as for my course towards them, I remit
 “ it to my proclamation made upon that subject. As for the
 “ papists, I must put a difference between my own private pro-
 “ fession of my salvation, and my politic government of the
 “ realm. Altho my profession be according to my education--
 “ I was never violent nor unreasonable in my profession. I ac-
 “ knowledge the Roman church to be our mother church, tho
 “ defiled with some infirmities and corruptions; nor am I an
 “ enemy to their church, because I would have them reform
 “ their errors:---nay my mind was ever so free from persecution,
 “ or enthralling my subjects in matters of conscience, as I hope
 “ those of that profession have a proof since my first coming,
 “ that I was so far from encreasing their burdens, as I have so
 “ much, as either time, occasion, or law could permit, lightened
 “ them: And even now at this time, have I been careful to re-
 “ vise and consider deeply upon the laws made against them, that
 “ some overture might be made to the present parliament for
 “ clearing these laws by reason, in case they have been in times
 “ past further or more rigorously extended by judges, than the
 “ meaning of the law was, or might tend to the hurt, as well
 “ of the innocent, as of the guilty persons.” After making
 some distinction between the clericks and the laicks of that pro-
 fession, and subdividing the latter into two ranks; after pointing
 out a particular of the doctrine and practise of the former which

were not sufferable, such as the supremacy of the pope over all kings and emperors whom he may dethrone at his pleasure, and the murder and assassination of their natural sovereign, when he is excommunicated, his majesty then goes on to say -- "I could wish from my heart it would please God to make me one of the members of such a general christian union in religion, as laying wilfulness aside on both hands we might meet in the midst which is the center and perfection of all things. For if they would leave and be ashamed of such new and gross corruptions of theirs as themselves cannot maintain, nor deny to be worthy of reformation, I would on my part be content to meet them in the midway, so that all novelty might be renounced on either side. For as my faith is the true, ancient, catholic, and apostolic faith, grounded upon the scriptures, and the express word of God, so will I ever yield all reverence to antiquity in the points of ecclesiastical policy: and by that means shall I ever with God's grace, keep myself from either being an heretick in faith, or schismatick in matters of policy."

There never was a speech of such excessive length delivered from the throne before: and as much conceited as JAMES was of his talent, for making speeches, and for kingcraft, he did not succeed in pleasing the members, or in deceiving them; both which he hoped to do. The two houses were disgusted with such a tedious verbose harangue, so full of himself, and his own praises, of his prerogative, and his power; and turned the greatest part of it into a jest. The catholicks were by no means satisfied with his distinctions, and with the bare toleration that he allowed them for their religion. The puritans were extremely offended at his affirming, that they could not bear with monarchy in the state, and at his declaring that their sect ought not to be tolerated in a well regulated government. The members of the church of England, and all the protestants, were displeased, at his great condescension for the papists, and at the absurdity of what he said at the last about them. On the one hand he affirmed, that he was of the church of England, and that his faith was grounded on the scriptures: on the other hand, he was ready to lay aside all prejudice, and to meet the catholicks half way: he declared himself a mortal enemy to their errors, but he took care to insinuate, that he confined these errors to the pope's supremacy, and the deposal of sovereign princes. In this very first parliament therefore, a suspicion and jealousy of the king began to

to arise in the minds of his subjects: and this determined the house of commons to be upon their guard against his majesty, who they saw was a great master in the art of choosin^g words with a double meaning, by which he could equivocate, and say, and unsay, as he pleased. The parliament began with a very important act relating to the church, by passing a bill to disable the crown, or any other person, from receiving conveyances of lands belonging to bishopricks; which prevented any further impoverishing of the church for the sake of needy courtiers, or to enrich the crown. They revived also a statute of EDWARD the sixth, which directed all processess, citations, and judgments in the spiritual courts, to be issued in the king's name, and under his seal of arms. The marriages of the clergy were also legitimated, by repealing the statute against them in the reign of MARY. These, together with an act for the better executing the laws against recusants, were all the proceedings of this session, which a church history has to do with: and the parliament having sate till the seventh of July were prorogued to the February following.

The convocation was summoned, and met the day after the parliament; and as the see of Canterbury was vacant by WHITGIFT's death, the chapter appointed BANCROFT bishop of London to preside as their commissary in the synod; and he produced a licence from the king, to make, and publish canons. In a few days after, the president delivered a book of canons to the prolocutor, containing one hundred and forty one articles, which his lordship had collected out of the articles, injunctions, and synodical acts, passed and published in the reigns of EDWARD the sixth, and queen ELIZABETH. While these canons were revising, a petition for reforming the book of common prayer was brought in by some of the members of the lower house; but it was not received. The president, and some of his brethren, admonished the petitioners to be obedient and conform, together with their adherents, before Midsummer day, or otherwise they should undergo the censures of the church. The book of canons passed the lower house without any dispute; but in the upper, there was a warm debate; to which the president put an end, by saying, "that he was determined to use the best means he could, to draw others to unity and conformity with himself, and the rest of the reverend company." When it had passed both houses it was ratified by the king's letters patents under the great seal; it contained all the canons that are now
in

in force, besides some others which have been set aside, by an act of parliament, for indulgence to protestant dissenters. Having finished this affair the convocation was prorogued to February; but did no more business, besides giving four subsidies to the king, till six years after.

The see of Canterbury having been vacant about nine months, BANCROFT bishop of London was translated to it: and as he had been the first man who had preached up the divine right of episcopacy in the church of England, so he was the first subject who attempted to raise the prerogative above the law; by advising the king, to make the redressing of grievances, which was undeniably within the jurisdiction of the parliament, to be dependant entirely on his majesty's will. To this purpose he exhibited to the king and council, "articles of abuses which are desired to be reformed in granting prohibitions." It is said, that the intention of the archbishop by presenting these articles, was not only to take prohibitions out of the king's courts, and to lodge the power of them with his majesty, but also to shew others the way of applying directly to the king, without any regard to parliament, or convocation. Whether this was his design, or not, it is certain that he was a most zealous asserter of the prerogative, and that he laboured to inspire the king with a resolution, which his majesty was but too much inclined to, of making himself absolute. Nay he had already told the commons, that he was an absolute king: "an epithet, we may imagine, says Mr. HUME, not very grateful to English ears, but one to which they had already been somewhat accustomed, from the mouth of ELIZABETH." But amidst the court flattery which JAMES was surrounded with continually, there were some of the council honest enough to tell him, that the redressing of grievances was the proper business of the parliament; and that in case he granted the archbishop's request, he would plunge himself into such difficulties, as he would find it almost impracticable to get out of. As desirous as the king was to exalt the prerogative, he took time to cool upon this advice, and ordered the articles to be laid before the judges. The judges were unanimous in their opinion, that the king could not decide upon these articles; and this opinion was signed by them all, and delivered to the privy council. The archbishop, being defeated in this project, set immediately about another, in which he was sure to meet with no controul; which was pressing a conformity to the rubrick and canons, without the least abatement on any account.

MR. COLLIER calls this conduct in his grace, "an unrelenting strictness which gave a new face to religion;" by enforcing an observance of the fasts and festivals of the church, by the use of copes, surplices, caps, and hoods, and all the other rites and ceremonies directed in the first service book of king EDWARD; "tho some ministers of consideration lost their livings to preserve their conscience."

In order to countenance and support the proceedings of the archbishop, the king ordered the twelve judges to attend his majesty and the council in the starchamber, that they might give their opinion upon some questions which he had to ask. The first question was, "whether the deprivation of puritan ministers by the high commissioners, for refusing to conform to the ceremonies appointed by the last canons, was legal?" The judges replied to this question, that as the king had the supreme ecclesiastical power which he had delegated to the commissioners, they had the power of deprivation by the canon law, and the statute of the first of ELIZABETH, which appoints commissioners to be made by the queen: and therefore they held it clear, that the king, without parliament, might make orders, and constitutions, for the government of the clergy, and might deprive them if they did not obey, and so the commissioners might deprive them. The king's second question was, "whether a prohibition be grantable against the commissioners, upon the statute of the second of HENRY the fifth, if they do not deliver the copy of the libel to the party?" To this the judges answered, that that statute was intended where the ecclesiastical judge proceeds "ex officio, et ore tenus." The third question which his majesty put to this learned bench, was not more strange and extraordinary than the answer: "whether it be an offence punishable, and what punishment they deserved who framed petitions, and collected a multitude of hands thereto, to prefer to the king in a public cause; as the puritans had done, with an intimation to him, that if he denied their suit, many thousands of his subjects would be discontented?" The judges declared, that it was an offence fineable at discretion, and very near to treason and felony in the punishment; for it tended to the raising sedition, rebellion, and discontent among the people: and to this opinion all the lords agreed. Thus by the determination of all the judges of England, the whole body of the clergy were thrown out of the protection of the statute law of the land;

the king without parliament might make what constitutions he pleased; the high commissioners might proceed upon these constitutions *ex officio*, without the forms of common law, and the subject might not open his complaints to the king, nor petition for relief, without being fineable at pleasure, and coming very near the punishment of treason and felony. This was making the king absolute in all ecclesiastical affairs, without any limitation, or redress; and it was intended probably as a step to make him so in the state.

Whatever was the design of taking the opinion of the judges upon these articles, the archbishop resumed fresh courage upon the determination, and pursued the puritans with great rigour. The whole clergy of London were summoned to Lambeth to subscribe over again to the three articles of *WHITGIFT*, according to the terms of the new canon, "that they did it willingly and from the heart;" but so many absconded, or refused to subscribe in such explicit terms, that the churches were in danger of being once more shut up for want of preachers. This alarmed the court to a great degree, which had been told that the number of nonconformists was inconsiderable: and the bishops were obliged for some time, to relax the rigour of the canons, and to accept of a promise only to use the cross and surplice with the common prayer; nay even to accept of a confession from some that they might be used, without any promise on their own parts that they would ever comply with them. The design of this indulgence was to serve the church at present by these ministers, till the universities could supply them with a succession: and had this method been taken in the first year of *ELIZABETH*, as I have already suggested it ought to have been, there would have been no separation from the church of England. The archbishop directs his brethren in a letter, that as to ministers who are not already placed in the church, they are to admit none to execute any ecclesiastical function without subscription: as to those who are placed in the church already, which are of two sorts, those who promise conformity but are unwilling to subscribe again, they may respite their subscription for a time; but the others who will neither yield to conformity nor subscription, if they are curates and lecturers are to be silenced, and if beneficed men to be deprived. The puritan clergy who still adhered to the church offered a public disputation upon the lawfulness of imposing ceremonies in general, and in particular on the surplice, the cross in baptism, and kneeling

kneeling at the sacrament; but it was refused. Upon this an apology was drawn up "for those ministers who were troubled" for refusing subscription and conformity," and presented to the king. I purposely omit a detail of the particular severities shewn by BANCROFT and the high commissioners against the puritans, and of the restless and encroaching spirit of that party, as not essential to this history. It may be sufficient to say, that they were not only deprived and driven from their habitations, but when they would have transported themselves abroad, to Virginia, and other places, for the free exercise of their religion, the archbishop obtained a proclamation from the king, forbidding any of his subjects to cross the ocean, without a special licence from his majesty; which was not more severe than it was impolitick, considering the malevolence with which they endeavoured to inspire the commons against the king.

Whatever might be the ground of the hopes which the catholicks had entertained, when they saw king JAMES ascend the English throne, it is certain that they expected such a toleration from him at least, as might in time enable them to restore their religion. But his majesty's speech to the parliament had convinced them, that it was his intention to divide the catholicks, and whilst he tolerated those in the kingdom who would renounce the doctrine of the pope's supremacy, the others should be expelled. Hence, as it is supposed, arose the famous gunpowder plot in the year sixteen hundred and five, so well known already as to require no recital; nor would this history be the proper place for the reader to expect it in. On the ninth of November, four days after the plot was to have been executed, the parliament met. The king, according to custom, made a long and wordy speech; setting forth the heinousness and horrible consequences of the plot, and magnifying God's mercy in the miraculous discovery that had been made of it. But before he went any further, he was at great pains to clear the catholick religion; ascribing the plot only to such as were truly papists, and who allowed of the pope's authority to depose and murder princes. Let the reader hear him in some of his own words. "However
 " the blind superstition of their errors in religion, has been the
 " only motive in this desperate attempt, it must not be thought,
 " that all who profess the Roman religion are guilty of the
 " same.---- For it is true that many honest men, blinded per-
 " haps with some opinions of popery, as if they be not found
 " in the real presence, the number of their sacraments, and
 " some

“ some such school questions, do either not know, or not believe at least, all the true grounds of popery, which is indeed the mystery of iniquity: and therefore we justly confess that many papists, especially our forefathers, laying their only trust upon CHRIST and his merits, may be saved; detesting in that point, and thinking that cruelty of puritans worthy of fire, that will allow no salvation to any papists.”

The courtiers, who see thro different organs from other people, saw in this speech of the king's, not only wisdom, and equity, but his majesty's greatness of soul; who, at the time that he had so much reason to complain of the catholicks, took care to excuse their religion, and to hinder the innocent from being confounded with the guilty. The greatest part of the king's subjects were of another mind. They saw, with grief and astonishment, the tender regard which his majesty expressed for the catholicks in general, under colour of a distinction, which, if it was not imaginary, must be useless; and they observed the difference which he put between the Romish religion, and that of the puritans, to the advantage of the former. But they none of them found out, that the king by this plot was frightened out of his senses: and it is pleasant enough to see MR. HUME in his history of this monarch, ascribing that to his moderation and magnanimity, which was wholly owing to his fear. Magnanimity was a quality to which the soul of JAMES was a perfect stranger, but fear was natural to him. He saw by this what the papists were capable of; and from this time all thro his reign he shewed a great tenderness for the Roman catholicks. Thus tho upon the first discovery of this plot, a general prosecution of the papists was set on foot, yet his ministers in Spain having assured him, that the priests were determined to get rid of him, if he went on against them, his majesty ordered the prosecution to be let fall. Thus also from this time to the day of his death, says bishop BURNET, he continued always writing and talking against popery, and acting for it. As soon as the king had finished his speech the parliament was prorogued to the latter end of January. He delayed giving the people the satisfaction they desired in the punishment of the conspirators, till he found that the parliament would address him upon that subject, and then he gave up eight or ten, tho many more were concerned in it, to public justice.

At the meeting of the parliament in January sixteen hundred and

and six, in order to prevent the designs of the popish recusants, and more easily to discover who they were, the two houses agreed in the form of an oath of allegiance to his majesty, as sovereign independent of any power upon earth, which all his subjects, without exception, should be obliged to take. It contained nothing repugnant to the principal articles of the Romish faith; and concerned only the unlimited power of the pope, to depose kings, and give away their dominions. Nay the king was so very careful to give no just offence to the catholicks, that he did not approve of this expression in the draught sent up by the commons, "that the pope has not a power to excommunicate the king," as what, he said, might offend his good catholick subjects; and it was sufficient, he thought, to assert, that the pope's excommunication could not authorize the people, to murder, and depose their sovereign. As soon as the act was past, almost all the English catholicks, with their superior, took the oath. The pope however forbid it, in two briefs, under pain of damnation: and cardinal BELLARMINE wrote against it in a fictitious name. This gave the king an occasion to write and publish an apology for himself, with a preamble addressed to all christian princes; in which after clearing himself from the charge of persecuting the papists, he reproaches his holiness with ingratitude, "considering the free liberty of religion he had granted them, the honours he had conferred on them, the free access they had at all times to his person, the general jail delivery of all jesuits and papists convicted, and the strict orders he had given his judges not to put the laws in execution against them for the future." His majesty said nothing more in all this than the truth: but an apology surely was necessary to his own subjects, in order to excuse this great condescension for the papists, and screening them from the laws, whilst some of his protestant subjects not half so culpable, were fined, imprisoned, or obliged to fly their country. The parliament and convocation having sate till May, and granted the king one of the largest subsidies that had been ever given to his predecessors, on the most urgent occasions of the state, were both prorogued to the November following, and after that to February.

The archbishop apprehending that the king's prerogative and arbitrary rule had gained ground since his last attempt, was determined now to make another push about the prohibitions of the courts in Westminster hall; and therefore once more offered his articles to the king and council. But the judges, who were

again consulted, opposed this attempt so strongly, that the king durst not go any further, how much soever he was inclined to the archbishop's system. His grace's system indeed was only to make the will of the king the law of England: and at this very time, his vicar general published a book, which his majesty licensed, with these three extraordinary propositions: That the king was not bound by the laws, or his coronation oath: That he was not obliged to call a parliament to make laws, but might do it by his own absolute power: and That it was a great favour to admit the consent of the subjects in giving subsidies. The behaviour of the king grew every day more and more displeasing to the English people. The regard he had for the Roman catholicks whose cause he espoused on all occasions, the access and credit they had at court, even to fill the most important offices in the state, begot fears and jealousies that some plot was formed against the reformation.

The parliament therefore which met in February sixteen hundred and ten, met with no very good dispositions to supply his majesty's wants. The earl of SALISBURY opened the session with an eloquent speech; in which, according to the custom in that reign, he flourished a great deal on the vast knowledge, and the noble endowments, of their gracious sovereign, who was not only, he said, the wisest of kings, but the very image of an angel who had brought good tidings to the English, and secured them in the enjoyment of perfect happiness. But the commons were not to be persuaded out of their feelings by the lord treasurer's eloquence. They immediately poured out their complaints against this angel of a king, for his prodigal and extravagant bounty to the Scots, for his encroachments on their privileges which he was undermining by degrees, and for his design of setting aside the common law. I only just mention these particulars, as having no relation to the church, or to religion: I shall enlarge on those which have. The spirit and judgment of the house of commons appeared not only in defence of their own privileges, but they ventured to consider the prerogative of the crown in matters ecclesiastical; where they saw a very large province of government, possessed by the king alone, without being communicated to the parliament; and which admitted of no exact boundary or circumscription. This branch of the prerogative had been several times attacked in the former reign: but the commons were so over awed by the authority of ELIZABETH, that they always submitted to her reprimands. The first parliament

ment of this king however was not so obsequious; and the lower house having passed a bill in the last session, which the lords rejected, against the establishment of any ecclesiastical canons without consent of parliament, they now complained aloud against the proceedings of the spiritual courts, in depriving, disgracing, and imprisoning the clergy, for not extending their subscription beyond what the statute law required: they complained also of the high commission court, and the oath *ex officio*, as hateful, arbitrary, and illegal; and that those who would not acknowledge the king's authority to be as extensive as his flatterers were pleased to make it, were blended with the puritans, by the commissioners, in order to have a plea to exercise their power over both.

The king being informed of these attacks upon his prerogative, sent for the two houses immediately to Whitehall, and endeavoured to let them see that he was complained of without cause. But at the same time, he gave them to understand, that if he did not rule with an absolute sway, it was not for want of power, but entirely owing to his own moderation. Let the reader judge from his own expressions. "I never meant to govern by any law but the law of the land; altho it be disputed among the people, as if I had an intention to alter the law, and govern by the absolute power of a king. I know the power of kings, is like the power divine. For as God can create and destroy, make and unmake at his pleasure, so kings can give life and death, judge all, and be judged of none. They can exalt low things, and abase high things; making the subjects like men at Chess, a pawn to take a bishop, or a knight:" (But his majesty omitted the power of a pawn to take a queen, or give check to a king.) "And as it is blasphemy to dispute what God may do, so it is sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power. I will not be content that my power may be disputed upon; but I shall ever be willing to make the reason appear of my doings, and rule my actions according to my laws." But the commons, not terrified with this high language, went on in steadily asserting their rights. They presented a remonstrance by twenty of their members; in which they declare, that whereas they had at first received a message, and since by his majesty's speech had been commanded to refrain from debating upon things relating to the chief points of government, "they do hold it their undoubted right to examine into the grievances
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“ of the subject, and to enquire into their own rights and properties, as well as his majesty’s prerogative :” and they most humbly and instantly beseech his gracious majesty, that without offence to the same, they may, according to the undoubted right and liberty of parliament, proceed in their intended course against the late new impositions. In another petition they beseech him to put the laws in execution against papists ; that the clergy deprived on account of not subscribing to the articles added to those in the statute law may be restored to their employment, demeaning themselves peaceably without impugning things established by authority ; that pluralities and non-residence may be restrained ; that the abuse of excommunication for trivial things may be reformed ; and that a law may pass for reducing the high commission court within reasonable and convenient limits. To this they annexed reasons not only to shew, that the statute which authorized it had been found dangerous and inconvenient, but also why the commission itself, and the execution of it, were great grievances to the subject. But the king was extremely dissatisfied with the conduct of the parliament, and after another short session at the latter end of the year, in which no act was passed, but this spirit of English liberty was resumed, his majesty dissolved the parliament which had now sat near seven years ; and seemed resolved to govern without one, if possible, for the future. The convocation met some few days before the parliament, but all the business they did was granting a subsidy.

About this time died BANCROFT archbishop of Canterbury, after filling that see with no extraordinary reputation about six years. He was naturally of a rough uncourtly temper, which was heightened by his great authority in the high commission. It is observed of him by CLARENDON, “ that he understood the “ church excellently well, that he had almost rescued it out of “ the hands of the Calvinian party, and subdued the unruly “ spirits of the nonconformists ; that he countenanced men of “ learning, and disposed the clergy to a more solid course of “ study than they had been accustomed to.” He had extreme high notions of government in church and state ; and was strongly suspected of having cherished the king’s disposition, to assume a power above the laws and constitution of his country. He was most certainly a greater friend to prerogative than to liberty : and what with the want of an hospitality that becomes a bishop, what with the roughness of his temper, and his high and arbitrary notions, he was but little regarded in his station as head

head of the church. He persuaded the king to found a college at Chelsea by his letters patents, for a certain number of learned divines, under the name of the provost and fellows of the college of king JAMES at Chelsea, with an ample allowance of lands and privileges, "for the defence of the religion established within the realm against the errors and heresies repugnant to it." But this foundation, tho strongly countenanced at first, miscarried afterwards, and came to nothing. But if we read of no extraordinary virtues in this prelate, it is certain there are no vices laid to his charge, by those who did not esteem him, but cruelty and covetousness; which, when they are examined narrowly into, appear not to deserve those opprobrious names in the strictest acceptation. In short there have been archbishops who have been much worse than BANCROFT, who by their good humour and generosity have been more esteemed when living, and more lamented at their death. He was succeeded in the primacy by ABBOT bishop of London, who had likewise followed him in that see; a man of a very different temper, and of much more moderate principles in church and state.

A new translation of the bible having been agreed upon in the first or second year of this reign, and the several parts being assigned to fifty four of the most eminent divines in the two universities, divided into six companies, it was finished and published in this year, dedicated to his majesty; and is the same which is now used in the church of England. Except in the sessions of parliament, the history of this reign may more properly be called the history of the court, than that of the nation; and therefore the reader can expect but few transactions relating to religion, and the church of England. These few were left to the bishops, and state affairs to the civil officers; whilst the king himself sunk into a most indolent and inactive life, being governed by a favourite, who had neither merit nor virtue, nor any thing else to recommend him, but youth, and beauty, and fine clothes. At the same time, his majesty was extremely lavish to his hungry courtiers, which exhausted his exchequer, and obliged him to have recourse to arbitrary and illegal methods of raising money by the prerogative: this lost him the hearts of his people, which all his kingcraft could never recover, and laid the foundation of those calamities which in the next reign overturned both church and state. About this time, his majesty had an opportunity to shew his learning, and his zeal against heresy; in first conferring with a man accused of arianism

whom he could not convince, and then signing a warrant for him to be burned in Smithfield. In about a month after, another was convicted of the same heresy by the bishop of LICHFIELD, and underwent the same cruel fate. There was a third not long after, condemned to the fire on the same account; but the constancy of the other two having moved the compassion of the spectators, and having taught the king, perhaps, that the punishment consisted as little with policy, as religion, it was thought better to let him linger out a miserable life in Newgate.

Whilst the king and his ministers were weakning the protestant religion and the liberties of England, it pleased God to lay the foundation of their recovery, by the marriage of the king's daughter to the elector PALATINE; from whom his present majesty is descended. The solemnity of these nuptials was retarded for some months by the death of HENRY prince of Wales, who died in the nineteenth year of his age: and yet notwithstanding his youth he possessed more dignity in his behaviour, and commanded more respect, than his father, with his age, and all his learning, and experience, ever did. HENRY had every virtue which could fill the heart of a prince, without a single vice: and it is said, his father was so jealous of him, as to ask one day with some emotion, "whether his son intended to bury him "alive?" It is certain from the testimony of all historians, that the prince had a natural greatness of mind, generous thoughts in government, a warlike genius, a dislike to all who were not men of honour; and in short, was as much displeased with trifles, as the king was fond of them. It is a common thing to attribute the deaths of beloved princes to unfair practises, and it was the rumour of that time that the prince was poisoned. Even the king his father was not spared in the accusation: but little grounds as there might be to accuse the king, except a suspicion which arose from malice, the presumptions that he was poisoned, by the means of the king's favourite, are neither weak, nor groundless; when we consider the violent contests between his royal highness and that favourite, and an open declaration from the former, that, if ever he was king, he would not leave one of the earl's family unpunished. But we are told by bishop BURNET, that he was assured by COL. TITUS, who had it from the mouth of CHARLES the first, that his brother was poisoned by the earl of SOMERSET's means.

It was a great comfort to the king to have no disputes with an
house

house of commons; ever ready to complain of grievances, and to take occasion from thence to examine the conduct of the sovereign, or his ministers. He liked much better to command absolutely, and without controul. But this was attended with a great inconvenience. He was forced continually to invent new methods to raise money, and these methods, grounded upon absolute authority, caused loud murmurs among the people. Neither did these ways and means bring in sufficient sums for the king's occasions; and all extraordinary means being exhausted, his ministers proposed the calling a parliament, which had now been discontinued for four years. The king consented to it with great reluctance; and a parliament was summoned to meet in April sixteen hundred and fourteen. At the opening of the sessions, the king demanded an aid of money, and told the commons after they had dispatched that affair, he would give them leave to examine the grievances of the nation. But this house of commons shewed the same, or a stronger spirit of liberty, than the former; and instead of entering on the business of the supply, as the king directed, they disputed his prerogative. This harsh language of the parliament, was so different from that of the courtiers, who never spoke to the king but with admiration, that his majesty dissolved them with great indignation, after a session of two months, in which not one statute was enacted. Not content with shewing this mark of his displeasure, he committed several of the members to prison, who had spoken the most freely, without admitting them to bail.

In the summer of the year sixteen hundred and seventeen, the king went to Scotland, and returning from thence thro Lancashire, observed that the great scruples of the magistrates and clergy, and their tying people up from all sorts of diversions and sports on Sundays, had given the papists an occasion to object against the strictness of the church of England. Wherefore to prevent their gaining proselytes upon this colour, his majesty published a declaration the following summer, called "the book of sports; in which he maintained by several arguments, that pastimes on Sundays after evening service were allowable: and commanding that his good people should not be disturbed or discouraged from any lawful recreations without impediment or let of divine service, a restraint was annexed to this indulgence, that it should not be granted to papists, nor such as did not keep to their own parish churches. The publishing this declaration, as we may well imagine, made a great noise: and tho it was ordered

dered to be read only in the parish churches of Lancashire, which abounded with papists, yet it was intended by the king, that it should be read in all the others, till archbishop ABBOT forbade it at Croydon. Several other bishops declared their dislike of the book of sports; and had the king persisted in ordering it to be read publicly in all the churches, under the penalty of suffering from the high commission, it would probably have produced much greater convulsions than it did in the following reign. The new favourite's mother being a papist, and ruling her son, who had properly no religion, with the same ease as her son governed the king, the catholics conceived great hopes of re-establishing themselves, and swarmed in vast numbers over the kingdom. This was a notorious cause of public discontent; and this was not all. It was said, that the court gave a very ill example to the rest of the nation: nothing was to be heard there but oaths, and language bordering upon blasphemy, from which the king himself was not free; one of the secretaries of state was a professed papist; and the intended marriage of CHARLES, now created prince of Wales, with a daughter of Spain, plainly shewed how little the king concerned himself about the interest of the protestant religion.

In this ill situation towards the king stood the affections of his protestant subjects, when he was under a necessity of calling a parliament to get large supplies, from a pretence of supporting his son in law, the elector PALATINE, who was chosen king of Bohemia. The parliament met in January sixteen hundred and twenty one; and they met under the distinction of church and state puritans on the one side, and of papists and arminians on the other. Those who stood by the laws of the land, in opposition to the arbitrary government of the king, tho as well affected to the church as any one, were called puritans in the state; and those who scrupled the ceremonies and adhered to the doctrines of CALVIN were puritans in the church. The latter were comparatively very few; but joining themselves to those who contended for the freedom of the constitution, this party became the majority of the nation. In order to balance these, and preserve the regal authority and prerogative, the king was obliged to drop his calvinistic system, and to take in the arminians and church papists, who inculcated the doctrine of an unreserved submission, and obedience, to the civil magistrate. The parties being thus formed, grew up into an hatred of each other; and sowed the seeds of those factions which have ever since continued, more or

less, under the various denominations of High and Low church, Whig and Tory, and of the Court and Country party. The king opened this parliament with a very long and tedious speech: but the whole of what he said about religion, was only this; “that there are laws enough already, provided the true intent and execution follow: that the maintenance of religion consisted in persuasion and compulsion, and tho the latter method ought never to be used but where the first is unsuccessful, yet error should be under restraint, and neither the Jesuits nor the Puritans be allowed to range at discretion.” He takes notice of a rumour that had been spread to his disadvantage, about his tolerating popery, in respect of his son’s marriage: but he assures the two houses, “that he will do nothing which shall not be for the good of religion, else he was not worthy to be their king;” with some other expressions of that kind dictated by his kingcraft, and by which he meant nothing but to amuse the parliament.

The occasion of calling this parliament was so plausible, that the commons seemed determined to sacrifice every thing at first, in order to maintain a good correspondence with the king: and before they went upon any grievances, they voted him two entire subsidies, and the clergy gave him three. But proceeding afterwards to examine grievances, and not intending to give any further supply to the king, who they saw made no preparations to aid his son in law, his majesty ordered the lord treasurer to go in his name, and adjourn the parliament. The commons looked on this as an innovation, and desired the lords to join with them in a petition to the king to wave it: but the king having sent word to the peers, that he would not permit his power, to call, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve parliaments, to be disputed, the lords would not join the commons; but they moved the king to continue their sitting fourteen days longer, which, at their lordships request, his majesty complied with. The king, on his side, published a proclamation, “that the commons had thought it convenient to continue the same session in course of adjournment, to November:” and the commons, on their part, drew up a declaration on the day of their adjournment, “that they should be ready to the utmost of their power, both with their lives and fortunes, to assist his majesty, so as that he may be able to do that with his sword, which by a peaceable course shall not be effected.” When they met again in November, the commons resolved to make a remonstrance to the king, and

to represent what they thought necessary in the present juncture. But this history is not a place to lay these transactions before the reader; and I can only acquaint him, that the king, being informed of the tenour of the remonstrance, sent a letter to the speaker of an extraordinary nature, "forbidding them to meddle
 " with any thing concerning his government, or his son's match,
 " asserting his power to punish any misdemeanors in parliament,
 " and that he would not hear nor answer this remonstrance." The commons, being enflamed with this letter from the king, drew up a very spirited answer; asserting it to be their ancient and undoubted right, transmitted to them by their ancestors, to possess entire freedom of debate in parliament, and to interpose with their counsel in all matters of government. The king was not appeased, but irritated, with this defence; and in return, avowed such pretensions to arbitrary power, as gave great alarm to the commons. They drew up therefore a protestation, renewing their former claim to freedom of speech and to interpose in state affairs; and asserting, "that the liberties, privileges, and
 " jurisdiction of parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birth-
 " right and inheritance of the subjects of England;" and this protestation was entered in their journal. The king, being informed of it, called a council, and sending for the journal, tore it out with his own hand; in respect, he said, of the manner by which it was gained, and of the matter which it contained. In a few days after, the parliament was dissolved; the leading members were imprisoned; and a proclamation issued forbidding all his majesty's subjects to talk of state affairs. Many reflections occur here, were this a proper place to insert them, which would tend to make us more pleased and happy with the government we live under, than it is to be feared we generally are; but the reader cannot fail to make these reflections for himself.

The king having parted with his parliament, was now at liberty to give that indulgence to the papists, which the Spaniards had solicited, and which his majesty, notwithstanding what he said to the parliament, had promised. Accordingly, an order was sent to all the judges, "that in their several circuits, they
 " should discharge all prisoners for church recusancy, for refus-
 " ing the oath of supremacy, for dispersing popish books, for
 " hearing and saying mass, or for any other point of recusancy
 " which concerned religion only." Upon this, great numbers of jesuits, and other missionaries, flocked into England; the mass was celebrated openly in the country; and in London their
 private

private assemblies were greatly crowded. The arminians, having joined with the royalists, were as much careſſed now at court as they had been hated before; and thus LAUD, tho at the head of what the king had declared an hereſy, was promoted to the ſee of St. David's. In ſhort none but papists and arminians, or ſuch as were thought to have no concern for religion, were admitted to places under the government; and ſuch only paſſed for proteſtants with the court, as were for the royal prerogative in its utmoſt extent: every body elſe was puritan; and the archbiſhop of CANTERBURY himſelf was reckoned of that number, becauſe he did not approve of the king's arbitrary meaſures. Whilſt the papists were countenanced, the court and the new biſhops bore hard upon the puritans; filling the pulpits with men of arbitrary principles, and puniſhing thoſe who preſumed to preach in favour of the rights and privileges of the ſubject. A ſermon however was preached before the univerſity of Oxford, in which it was declared, “ that ſubordinate magiſtrates might lawfully make
 “ uſe of force and defend themſelves, the commonwealth and
 “ the true religion, againſt the chief magiſtrate when he turns
 “ tyrant, when he forces the ſubjects upon blaſphemy or ido-
 “ latry, and when reſiſtance is the only expedient to ſecure their
 “ lives, their fortunes, and the liberty of their conſciences.” The vice-chancellor having ſent for the preacher, to demand his notes, and to know what authority he had for theſe aſſertions, his anſwer was, that he followed the opinion of PARAEUS on the thirteenth chapter of the epiſtle to the Romans, but that his principal authority was king JAMES himſelf, who was ſending aſſiſtance to the Rochellers againſt their natural prince. The vice-chancellor tranſmitted this account to biſhop LAUD, who laid it before the king; and the preacher, being examined by his majeſty and the council, was committed priſoner to the Gate-houſe. The commentary of PARAEUS was cenſured very fully by all the biſhops then in town; and was publicly burnt by the king's order at the two univerſities, and at London. But this was not enough to ſatiſfy the abettors of the prerogative. The univerſity of Oxford paſſed a decree in convocation, “ that it was
 “ not lawful for ſubjects to appear offeniſively in arms againſt
 “ their king, on the ſcore of religion, or on any other account,
 “ according to the ſcripture.” Moreover, to bind the nation down for ever as far as they could in ſuch ſlaviſh principles, all the graduates in the univerſity were obliged to ſubſcribe the cenſure paſſed on PARAEUS, and the above decree: and all perſons to be hereafter promoted to any degree, were not only to ſub-

scribe them, but to take their corporal oath, "that they do not only at present condemn and detest the propositions of PARAEUS abovementioned, but that they will always continue of the same opinion." Was there ever so unreasonable and so absurd an oath devised? But such, among other mischiefs, was the effect of party rage, and of a slavish submission to the king's arbitrary measures!

At the same time, the controversy between the Calvinists and Arminians grew so very warm, that his majesty thought fit to restrain all the preachers in England, under the degree of a bishop, or dean, from preaching upon any subject, not comprehended in the articles or homilies; from any sermons on Sunday in the afternoon, but upon some part of the catechism, the creed, the Lord's prayer, or the ten commandments; from presuming to preach in any popular auditory, on the deep points of predestination, election, and reprobation, or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility, or irresistibility of God's grace; from presuming to declare, limit, or set bounds to the prerogative, power, or jurisdiction of sovereign princes; and finally, from using railing speeches against papists, or puritans. Those who offended against any of these injunctions were to be suspended from their office and benefice for a year and a day, 'till his majesty should prescribe some further punishment, with advice of convocation. The setting forth these injunctions under such a penalty, and restraining the clergy from preaching on one of the articles confirmed by parliament, was much complained of: but the king had changed his theological system, when he found the puritans, who would not abet his prerogative, adhered to Calvinism, and that the Arminians were as zealous for his arbitrary power as he could wish. The way therefore now to rise in the church, was to preach up the absolute power of the king, to declaim against the rigid Calvinian principles, and not to shew any zeal or bitterness against the papists.

My design does not permit me to relate any of the transactions about the prince's match with the Infanta of SPAIN, which were drawn out to a length of seven years, and at last, thro the caprice of the duke of BUCKINGHAM the favourite, came to nothing. It may be necessary however to acquaint the reader, that besides the privileges allowed the Infanta in the article of religion in this treaty, with regard to her children and domestics, the king, and the prince of Wales took an oath, "that no law
2 " against

“ against papists should hereafter be put in execution ; that no
 “ new laws should be made against them ; and that there should
 “ be a perpetual toleration of their religion in private houses
 “ which his council should swear to ; that he would never per-
 “ suade the Infanta to change her religion ; and that he would
 “ use all his influence and authority to have these conditions ra-
 “ tified in parliament, that so all penal laws against papists may
 “ not only be suspended, but legally disannulled.” But the
 king, having broke with Spain, was obliged to concert new
 measures, and once more to call a parliament, notwithstanding
 his resolution never to summon another. The parliament met
 in February sixteen hundred and twenty four, to which the king
 made a speech so totally different from those he had made be-
 fore, that one should scarcely believe it came out of the mouth
 of the same prince. This speech however, like the rest, was
 liable to many censures, which bore hard on the king’s sincerity.
 Let the reader see what he said on the article of religion in his
 own words. “ It hath been talked of my remissness in mainte-
 “ nance of religion, and suspicion of a toleration : but as God
 “ shall judge me, I never thought, nor meant, nor ever in
 “ word expressed any thing that favoured of it. It is true that
 “ at times, for reasons best known to myself, I did not so fully
 “ put those laws in execution, but did wink and connive at
 “ some things which might have hindered more weighty affairs :
 “ but I never in all my treaties, agreed to any thing to the over-
 “ throw and disagreeing of those laws, but had in all a chief
 “ preservation of that truth which I have ever professed.” It
 is impossible to read this without wondering, how the king
 could take God to witness, that he never so much as thought,
 or intended to grant a toleration to the papists, when it was one
 of the secret articles of the marriage. But the parliament being
 willing to take things as the king had represented them, made
 him an offer of three subsidies and three fifteenths, and the cler-
 gy granted him four subsidies after the rate of four shillings in
 the pound, as soon as he should put an end to the treaty with
 Spain, and endeavour to recover the Palatinate for his son in law.
 In a few days after, the two houses joined in an address to his
 majesty, “ that all jesuits and priests might be commanded to
 “ depart the realm, that the laws may be put in execution against
 “ popish recusants, and that all such might be removed from
 “ court, and from within ten miles of London.” To this ad-
 dress the king made a gracious, and condescending answer ; but
 an answer so void of truth, and of such solemn prevarication, that

it is impossible to read it without astonishment. To many strong expressions denoting his firm adherence to the reformed religion, his majesty added, "I protest before God, that my heart hath bled when I have heard of the encrease of popery: God is my judge, it hath been such a grief to me that it has been as thorns in my eyes, and pricks in my sides.---It hath been my desire to hinder the growth of popery; and I could not be an honest man, if I should have done otherwise.---I will command all my judges to put the laws in execution against recusants, as they were wont to do before these treaties; for the laws are still in force, and were never dispensed with by me. God is my judge, they were never so intended by me." What solemn appeals are these to heaven, against the strongest and plainest facts! Facts, which could not be explained away by any secret evasive interpretation, and which were notorious to the whole kingdom. For tho he told his parliament, that his heart bled within him when he heard of the increase of popery, yet this very parliament presented him with a list of seven and fifty popish lords and knights, who were in public offices; many of them, of great trust, and power. But it does not appear, that the king took any notice of it; notwithstanding this parade of zeal, and sincerity, in his speech. For a treaty of marriage between the prince and a daughter of France being then negotiating, the same articles in favour of popery, agreed upon with Spain, were not only granted, but several popish recusants were released; and the archbishop of AMBRUN, with his majesty's leave, confirmed several thousands in the French ambassador's house.

It is certain, that king JAMES had always a good opinion of the catholick religion, which he thought favourable to the prerogative and arbitrary power of princes; when it was stripped of its slavish dependance on the pope, and of that damnable maxim of deposing, and murdering kings. Nay we are told by this archbishop of AMBRUN, that the king had communicated a project to him, when the marriage of his son had taken place, of granting a full toleration to the catholicks in his dominions. But he had not time to carry this into execution; for in the following spring, he was seized with a tertian ague, which in a few days brought him very unexpectedly to his grave; not without a suspicion of poison. The character of this prince is given so differently by different writers, that if we look no further than the excessive praises of the one, and the invectives of the other party,

party, we shall think him, to have been absolutely either the wisest, and the best, or the weakest, and worst of kings. I shall form his character upon nothing that has been said of him, by his friends, or enemies; but according to the rule I have invariably pursued in this history, I shall make use of no other evidence, either for, or against him, than his own words, and actions: neither shall I consider these any further back, than from the time of his accession to the throne of England. As to the natural temper of JAMES, it was really mild, humane, and affable without affectation, easy of access, and persuasion, without pride, and without cruelty; and in all these respects he had the advantage over ELIZABETH. His generosity, which was to a degree of profuseness, considering the circumstances he was in, seemed not however to flow from reason, or judgment, but from whim, or mere benignity of humour; because the objects of it were not such, as were endowed with merit, or who possessed talents of popularity which could strengthen his interest with the people, but such as could make themselves agreeable to him in his loose and jovial hours. These hours he certainly had; in which he generally forgot his dignity, and let himself down not only with freedom and familiarity, but with great indecency of language and behaviour. He neither affected splendid equipages nor costly furniture; but he was immoderately fond of fine clothes in all about him, to a degree of childishness. Hunting was his favourite exercise and amusement, which was cheaper than any other; and indeed all his expences were rather the effects of liberality, than of luxury. As he was entirely void of avarice, so he was not in the least ambitious of military glory; which tho it sometimes adds to the lustre of a monarch, is more frequently fatal to the ease and happiness of the people. I am not ignorant that this pacific disposition, which seemed invincible in this prince, has been attributed to pusillanimity, and the want of personal courage: but at the same time that this reflexion appears to be unjust, it cannot be affirmed, as some historians do affirm, that he cultivated peace above all things, out of the affection he bore his subjects. The truth is, king JAMES was passionately fond of ease and quiet; and he sacrificed the foreign, and domestic affairs of his government, to this predominant disposition. Tho he was very far from being the SOLOMON of the age for wisdom, yet he certainly did not want good natural parts. They were parts indeed of an odd sort; and not at all adapted to the purposes of government, in the royal station to which he was destined. He understood the general

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maxims

maxims of state, and might be able perhaps to form the plan of a good government; but he had not capacity or application enough to perceive, that the English constitution required particular maxims of its own. There was nothing which shewed his want of abilities so much, as the extravagant conceit which he himself had entertained of them, and his swallowing the grossest flattery which his courtiers could invent, as what was only due to his parts, and learning. If we consider him as a prince, his learning indeed was not contemptible: and yet it may safely be affirmed, says MR. HUME, "that the mediocrity
 " of JAMES's talent in literature, joined to the great change in
 " national taste, is the chief cause of that contempt under which
 " his memory labours." But yet his learning, such as it was, was not the learning of a prince, but of a pedant; and made him more fit to take the chair in the public schools, than to sit on the throne of kings. MR. POPE, I remember told me, that he thought his majesty's version of the Psalms, the very best in the English language: and this opinion is more to his honour, as an author, than any thing else that can be said. Whatever is to be said however as to his learning, it is certain that he derived no other advantage from it, than to talk fluently, tho' for the most part impertinently, on all sorts of subjects. The whole extent of his political principles, reached only to the preservation of the prerogative royal; and whilst he imagined that he was only maintaining his own authority, he was encroaching apace on the liberties of the people. As to his religion, he may be said to be neither papist, nor protestant; it was a motley faith, peculiar, I believe, to himself. He certainly had a religion in speculation; and thus he looked upon all religion as good, provided it taught obedience to the sovereign, which was his first principle. The Roman catholic religion was therefore much in his favour; and as he thought the distinguishing doctrines of transubstantiation, invocation of saints, the number of the sacraments, and such like, to be school questions, so he had little other objection to it, than on account of the exorbitant power which it gave the pope over emperors and kings, and had formed a chimerical project of reconciling them. The toleration however which he gave the papists, in opposition to the repeated desires of his parliament, was merely thro' fear, and to keep peace with the kings of France, and Spain: but he had sense enough to see, that if he should throw off the protestant religion, he must lay aside his crown; and that the subjects of England would never submit to the government of a popish king. But tho' he
 had,

had, as I said, a religion in speculation, and the protestant religion too for the reasons I have given, yet it went no further. The religion which he practised, was only kingcraft; to say, and unsay, to do, and undo, just as he thought it was for his interest. It is strange, but it is true, that JAMES valued himself extremely upon this profligate dissimulation; and tho it was almost always detected to his dishonour, yet he persisted in it to the day of his death. If we consider him, in short, as a king, he made a despicable figure thro the whole course of his reign, and brought the nation into contempt. He committed the most arduous and important affairs of the government, to the sole direction of his favourites; whom he chose not for their genius, abilities, or experience; but for their youth, and beauty, and fine clothes: and with the same weakness with which he raised up these worthless minions, he permitted himself to be as much under their management, as the meanest subject was under his own. As a man, he had virtues and qualities enough to make him very respectable. He was of a companionable nature, a friend to justice, indulgent to his servants, and easy to all about him. Upon the whole, it may be said of JAMES, that if he was not as bountiful, as wise, as learned, as peaceable, and as religious a prince as had ever sat on the English throne, he had the appearance of being so: thus he was spoke of in his life time, in the speeches of his ministers, and in the sermons of his bishops; and thus many historians have wrote of him since his death.

No sooner had JAMES paid the last debt to nature, which we are told he did with great complacency, than his only son CHARLES, prince of Wales, was proclaimed his successor, with the usual ceremonies. The death of the late king made no alteration in the ministry, the council, or the favourite; except that the latter had a greater ascendant, if it was possible, over the new king, than his father. The first thing that we meet with relating to the church in the reign of CHARLES, was the regulation of his chaplains; of which, LAUD, bishop of St. David's, whom the duke of BUCKINGHAM had made his privy councillor for the church, was ordered to make a list, distinguishing the Arminians who were called orthodox, and the Calvinists who went under the name of puritans. At the same time, LAUD had orders to consult with bishop ANDREWS, in what manner to manage with respect to the five distinguishing points of Calvinism, in the ensuing convocation: and that wise prelate ad-

vifed him by all means to be quiet and to keep the controverfy out of the houfe; fuggesting that the truth on thefe points was not yet fo generally received amongft the clergy, and particularly the bench of bifhops, as to make it prudent to venture the decifion in convocation. The king's marriage with the princefs HENRIETTA of France, having been concluded before the death of JAMES, the new queen was brought to England, in June fixteen hundred and twenty five; and in a few days after, the firft parliament of CHARLES met for the difpatch of bufinefs. The king had neither the talent, nor the inclination, for fpeaking which his father had; and after a fhort fpeech, in which he expreffed himfelf with much apparent cordiality, he told the two houfes that he intended to bring up the fafhion of his predeceffors, to have the lord keeper fpeak to them for him in moft cafes. What his majefty faid with regard to religion was in the following words. "Because fome malicious men may, and as I
 "hear, have given out, that I am not fo true a keeper and
 "maintainer of the true religion that I profefs, I affure you that
 "I may with St. PAUL fay, that I have been trained up at GA-
 "MALIEL's feet: and tho I fhall never be fo arrogant as to af-
 "fume unto myfelf the reft, I fhall fo far fhew the end of it, that
 "all the world may fee, that none hath been, nor ever fhall be
 "more defirous to maintain the religion I profefs, than I fhall be."

The two houfes of parliament having taken his majefty's fpeech into confideration, agreed in a joint petition againft popifh recusants, which the king received very graciously; affuring them that he was glad to fee their zeal for religion, and fhould be ready to concur with them in whatever they fhould propofe on that head; but deferred a particular answer till he had examined every article of the petition. A zeal for religion carried the commons ftill further: they appointed a committee to examine into the errors of a book lately published by one MOUNTAGUE, chaplain to the king, calculated to promote arminianifm, to attempt a reconciliation with the church of Rome, and to advance the king's prerogative above the law. The book was voted to be contrary to the articles of religion eftablifhed by the parliament, and the author was bound in a recognizance of two thoufand pounds. The king was much difpleafed with thefe proceedings of the commons againft his chaplain, which he looked upon as an unprecedented ftretch of their jurifdiction againft the royal prerogative, and therefore declared he would bring the caufe before the council. The plague raging furiously at

at this time in London, the parliament was adjourned till August to meet at Oxford. Hither MOUNTAGUE was summoned, according to the condition of his bond to make his appearance, before the house of commons; and being severely reprimanded, was dismissed. The commons renewed their eternal complaints against the growth of popery, and demanded a strict execution of the penal laws against catholicks; remonstrating with great freedom upon some late pardons which had been granted to priests. The king finding all their time was spent in these complaints, without taking any care of raising the supply so necessary for the war to which the last parliament had advised his father, sent for both the houses, and condescended to make entreaties to them for kind and dutiful usage. But as soon as the commons returned to their house, they not only refused any further supply than the two subsidies they had voted him at London, but suggested many complaints against the duke of BUCKINGHAM, who had involved them in this war upon false pretences. They complained also that popery was not only tolerated, but even countenanced, tho contrary to the king's solemn promise.

Upon these murmurs in parliament, his majesty thought himself obliged to return a particular answer to the petition, which the two houses had presented to him at London. It will be necessary to give the reader the substance of this petition, with the king's answer to each article, when I have laid before him the principal causes of the encrease of papists, which they first suggested to him before they pointed out the remedies. The causes, they tell his majesty, were the want of a due execution of the laws against them; the interposing of foreign powers in their favour; the great concourse of papists, and their frequent conferences and conventicles in the city; their open resort to the chapels and houses of foreign ministers; the education of their children in seminaries abroad; the want of sufficient instruction in true religion in many places of the realm; the licentious printing and dispersing of popish books; and the employing men in places under the government, ill affected in religion, who countenance the popish party. The remedies against this disease, which are the subject matter of their petition, were digested in the following articles, and had each a particular answer from his majesty which I shall give. I. That the youth of this realm be carefully educated by able and religious schoolmasters; in the choice and admission of which, great care should be taken, and whose conduct should be well attended

attended to by their several ordinaries. This his majesty allowed well of, and promised to issue letters to the two archbishops accordingly. II. That the ancient discipline of the universities be restored, being the famous nurseries of literature and virtue. This was approved by his majesty, and a due execution of it was promised. III. That care should be taken to enlarge the word of God, by his majesty's advising the bishops to reduce to the peaceable and orderly service of the church, by fatherly entreaty and tender usage, such able ministers as have been formerly silenced; and that non-residency, pluralities, and commendams, may be moderated. The king's answer to this was, that his majesty liked it well, so as it be applied to such ministers as are peaceable, orderly, and conformable to the church government: As to pluralities, no man was allowed above two benefices, which were to be within the distance of thirty miles; the canon for non-residence should be put in execution, and commendams should be sparingly granted; but his majesty recommended it to the care of parliament, that there should be a competent maintenance for an able minister in every parish. IV. That there may be a strict provision against transporting children to foreign seminaries, and for recalling those who are there already; punishing those who maintain those seminaries, and their scholars. This his majesty promised should be put in execution, by letters, proclamation, and an exertion of the law. V. That no popish recusant be permitted to come within the court, unless called thither by his majesty on some special occasion. His majesty's answer to this article was, that if he should find or be informed of any concourse of recusants to the court, the law should be strictly followed. VI. That the laws now standing in force against all those who have taken orders, by authority derived from the see of Rome, be put in due execution; that a certain day may be fixed by proclamation for their departure for ever out of the realm; that all who are now imprisoned for recusancy may be so restrained that no one may have conference with them; and that no one suspected of popery should be a keeper of any of his majesty's prisons. All these particulars the king promised without exception. VII. That no natural born subject, nor strange bishops, nor any other by authority from the see of Rome, confer any ecclesiastical orders to exercise any ecclesiastical function within these dominions. His majesty answered, that it was fit to be ordered according as is provided, and it should be so published by proclamation. VIII. That the king's counsel may be ordered to consider of all former grants of recusant's lands,

that

that such of them may be avoided as are voidable by the law. To this his majesty consented, and promised to do as it was desired. IX. That all judges, and ministers of justice, may be ordered to execute the laws against popish recusants; and that the censure of excommunication be declared and certified against them. The answer to this was, his majesty leaves the laws to their course, and will order in the point of excommunication as is desired. X. That all popish recusants, or such as are justly suspected, may be removed from places of authority, and government. His majesty answered, that he thought this fit, and would give orders for it. XI. That all popish recusants legally convicted, or justly suspected, be disarmed. To this his majesty answered, that the laws should be followed and duly put in execution. XII. That in respect to the great resort of recusants to and about London, his majesty would be pleased to command forthwith, upon pain of his indignation and severe execution of the laws, that they retire to their several countries, there to remain confined within five miles of their habitation. For this, said the king, the laws in force shall be forthwith executed. XIII. That no natural born subjects of England repair to the hearing of masses, or other superstitious service, at the chapels of foreign ministers, or other places, according as his majesty hath commanded. The king gave his assent to this article, and promised to see that what he had commanded should be observed. XIV. That all such insolences, as any that are popishly affected, have, or should commit, to the dishonour of the protestant religion, or the wrong of its true professors, should be exemplarily punished. His majesty promised that this should be done as was desired. XV. That the statute of ELIZABETH, for the payment of a shilling every Sunday, by such as were absent from divine service, may be put in due execution. The king allowed it was fit that this statute was executed, and promised that the penalties should not be dispensed with. These gracious answers of his majesty, to the several articles of the petition presented to him by both houses of parliament, wanted nothing but the performance of the promises which he made, to gain him the love of all his protestant subjects. But if we may judge by the continual complaints of the parliament throwout this reign, about these very points on which the king had given this satisfaction, we shall find reason to think, that his promises were observed no better than JAMES his father observed his. It is indeed a little surprizing, that the king should make these promises to his parliament, within six months after he had signed the marriage articles,

articles, in which he had engaged to set the recusants at liberty, and to permit no molestation to them for their religion. Thus tho he sent a letter to the archbishop to proceed against them, and issued a proclamation to recall the English youth from popish seminaries, the next day he released eleven Romish priests out of prison by a special warrant, and continued many of the nobility and gentry of that religion in offices of trust.

The king perceiving that the parliament was resolved to grant him no supply, and would furnish him with nothing but empty protestations of duty or disagreeable complaints of grievances, took advantage of the plague which began to appear at Oxford, and immediately dissolved them. But his majesty's treasury being exhausted, and the war with Spain still open, he was obliged to call a new parliament in February sixteen hundred and twenty six; which met with the same desire to examine into grievances, and with the same ill dispositions towards the duke of BUCKINGHAM, which the former parliament had entertained. The first thing they did, was to thank his majesty for his gracious answer to the petition presented to him at Oxford against popish recusants; and that they might examine the grievances with the greater order, they appointed three committees. MR. PYM was chairman of the committee for religion, which was the first that we read of in the house of commons; and upon his report of the erroneous opinions contained in the books of MOUNTAGUE, the house came to this resolution, "that he had in these books endeavoured to reconcile England to Rome, and to alienate the king's affection from his well affected subjects." In what manner the commons intended to prosecute an impeachment of this author, or how far they went in it, we are not informed. The king intimated again to the house his displeasure at these proceedings; and assured them that he would take the cause into his own hands. A proclamation was accordingly issued out, commanding all persons that had any of MOUNTAGUE's books in their hands, to deliver them to the bishop of the diocese: and if any by preaching, reading, or making books, concerning such unnecessary questions, should revive the difference, his majesty would take such order with them as they shall wish they had never thought upon such needless controversy. It belongs not to this history, to give the reader a detail of the mutual uneasiness and discontents of the king and parliament, on account of the impeachment of the duke of BUCKINGHAM. These are related by the civil historians with great exactness; and they were the foundation

foundation of all that ill will and misunderstanding, which proved fatal to the king and kingdom. It was necessary therefore just to mention them; but I can do nothing more, and must return again to religion. The commons being wantonly irritated by the court, claimed again the execution of the penal laws against catholicks; and notwithstanding his majesty had promised, as we have seen, a redress of this religious grievance, yet they presented to him a long list of persons, entrusted with offices, who were either convicted or suspected papists. In this particular, they had certainly great reason to blame the conduct of his majesty: and he was too apt, in imitation of his father, to consider such promises as temporary expedients, which after the dissolution of a parliament he was not obliged to regard. But it must be considered on the other hand, that it was not easy for him to withstand the solicitations and intrigues of the queen, of the duke of BUCKINGHAM whose mother was a professed papist, of WESTON his chief councillor, and the lord CONWAY secretary of state, both of them papists; since these were the people nearest his person, and by whom he was in a manner beset. The commons, in a short time after, having enflamed the king with a petition, to remove his favourite from his presence, his majesty dissolved the parliament.

In a few days after the dissolution, a proclamation was published, containing express commands, not to preach, or dispute, upon the controverted Arminian points; because these disputes served only to breed contention. If we may judge from the complaint of the following parliament to the king, this injunction was procured by LAUD, and the Arminian party, in order to have an opportunity to oppress the Calvinists who should transgress it, whilst their own disobedience should be winked at. Had the king possessed at this time any military force which he could depend on, it is probable that he would at once have taken off the mask, and governed without any regard to the ancient laws and constitution. But his army was not sufficient to protect such violent measures; and yet he was obliged to have recourse to some extraordinary expedients for raising money. An open commission, directly contrary to his promise at Oxford, was granted to the archbishop of YORK, and some others, to compound with the popish recusants within ten northern counties, and to agree for the dispensation of the penal laws enacted against them. A general loan from every subject was ordered by an act of council, and commissioners sent to levy it over the
king-

kingdom, under severe and arbitrary penalties. But in order to convince the people, that it was their duty to submit to the loan, and supply the king, some of the clergy were employed to preach up the doctrine of passive obedience in its full extent, and to prove that an unlimited submission to the will of the king was the doctrine of holy writ. Among these was DR. SIBTHORP, a man very defective in his honesty, or his understanding; who, in an assize sermon at Northampton, advanced this extraordinary proposition; "that if princes command any thing which subjects may not perform, because it is against the laws of God, or of nature, or impossible, yet subjects are bound to undergo the punishment, without either resisting, or railing, or reviling, and so to yield a passive obedience where they cannot exhibit an active one." Incredible almost as it is, that such a doctrine could be preached in England by a man of any rank in the church, yet there were courtiers in this audience, as servile as the preacher, who recommended him to the king for his loyal and serviceable discourse. The king was so pleased with the sermon, that he sent it to the archbishop with an order for his grace to license it. But ABBOT had too much sense, too much honesty, and too much regard for the laws and liberties of his country, to obey the commands of the king in this instance, and to support the doctrine of the sermon by his own example. The sermon upon this was given to LAUD; who having qualified and corrected some crude assertions, it was licensed by the bishop of LONDON, and published under the title of "Apostolical Obedience." In the mean time, his majesty was so much incensed at the archbishop's refusal, that, without any further ceremony, he not only banished him to an house beyond Canterbury in a moorish unhealthy place, but he also suspended him from all his archiepiscopal jurisdiction, and put it into commission. I think none of his favourite historians have attempted to vindicate the king in this illegal oppression of a primate of the church of England, and therefore I shall make no reflexions upon it. Reflexions indeed upon this single instance of despotic arbitrary power, when the whole nation was treated like a conquered province, would be impertinent: and yet this is not a place to lay the melancholy tale before the reader.

The king being in the utmost distress for want of money, which the loans, oppressive as they were, did not furnish in any degree suitable to his wants, and having now had a rupture with France as well as Spain, was under a necessity once more of call-

ing another parliament: it met in March sixteen hundred and twenty eight, and it met with a resolution, notwithstanding all the provocations which had been given, to enter upon business with perfect temper and decorum. But having voted such supplies to the king as he had declared himself satisfied with, and having passed a bill, which was called "The petition of right," to which the king refused the royal assent, any otherwise than by a general declaration, the commons, to vent their indignation, brought a charge against DR. MANWARING, for preaching arbitrary doctrine in a sermon before the king at Whitehall; which upon enquiry they found was printed by his majesty's special command. Among other passages subversive of civil liberty, the Doctor had asserted, "that the king is not bound to observe
 "the laws of the realm, concerning the subjects rights and liberties, but that his royal will and command in imposing loans
 "and taxes, without common consent in parliament, doth
 "oblige the subject's conscience upon pain of eternal damnation; that those who refused to pay this loan, offended against
 "the law of God, and the king's supreme authority, and became guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion." The charge against the preacher, was carried up to the lords by MR. PYM; and their lordships sentence upon it was, that he should pay a fine of a thousand pounds, make a public submission at the bar of the two houses, be imprisoned during pleasure, be suspended for three years, with an incapacity to hold any ecclesiastical dignity, or secular office, and that his sermon should be called in and burnt. It may be proper to observe here, that no sooner was the session ended, than this man, so justly obnoxious to the two houses of parliament, not only received a pardon, but was promoted to a living of great value, and some years after was made a bishop. MONTAGUE, who had likewise given great offence, was promoted to the see of Chichester; and LAUD, who was not a favourite of the parliament, or people, was not only made bishop of London, but on the duke of BUCKINGHAM's assassination, in a month after was declared prime minister in all affairs of church and state. In order to make the last promotion less invidious, the archbishop was soon after restored to his jurisdiction: he was sent for to court to be reconciled to the king, and ordered to assist at the council twice a week: but tho he enjoyed the privileges of his station ever after, yet his principles were too much in favour of liberty to procure him any influence with the king.

At the meeting of the parliament in January the following year, the commons being exasperated at the promotion of these ecclesiasticks, began to enquire how the execution of the laws against papists came to cease; whence it was that they were countenanced and employed; how new ceremonies of crucifixes, altars, candles, and saints were introduced; and whence proceeded the great increase of Arminian tenets. In order to explain to the reader why arminianism was generally blended with popery by this house of commons, tho it has not the least connexion with it, it must be observed, that at this time, it lay under the reproach of innovation, and heresy: and as the appellation of puritan stood for three parties, for those who maintained the highest principles of civil liberty, who were averse to the ceremonies and episcopal government of the church, and who rigidly defended the system of predestination and absolute decrees, so the arminian denomination comprehended the court party, the zealous churchmen, and those who combated the Calvinian doctrines. Thus this house of commons, which for the most part were puritans of one sort or other, thought it proper to rank arminianism and popery together, in order to stigmatize their enemies more effectually: and it happened oddly enough, that the same men who were the champions of the church, were the leaders also in arminianism, and in the doctrines of passive obedience and nonresistance. So that if these could be got the better of, the three parties of puritans would all be gratified. Actuated therefore as they were by very different views and motives, they commonly united together in the complaints about religion; and in their invectives against their enemies they affectedly coupled popery and arminianism. Thus OL. CROMWELL, at that time a young man of no fame or consequence, being of the committee of religion in this session, reported to the house the great countenance which was given, by NEILE bishop of Winchester, "to divines who preached arminian and popish doctrines." Thus likewise the house of commons, at this time, entered into the following vow. "We the commons in parliament assembled, do claim, protest, and avow for truth, the sense of the articles of religion, which were established by parliament in the thirteenth year of our late queen ELIZABETH, which, by the public act of the church of England, and by the general and current exposition of the writers of our church, have been delivered unto us: and we reject the sense of the jesuits, and Arminians, and

“and all others, wherein they differ from us.” To impartial spectators surely, says MR. HUME, if any such had been at that time in England, it must have given sufficient entertainment, to see a popular assembly enflamed with faction and enthusiasm, pretend to handle questions, for which the greatest philosophers in the tranquility of retreat, had never hitherto been able to find any satisfactory solution.

The commons being more disposed, to enter into the grievances of religion, than to gratify the king with an act for tunnage and poundage, his majesty dissolved the parliament on the tenth of March, with the highest marks of his displeasure. Unhappily for the king, as well as the nation, bishop LAUD had acquired almost as great an ascendant over him, as BUCKINGHAM: and it was not one of the least causes of the misfortunes of this prince, that whilst he was inflexible in his purposes to a degree of obstinacy and perverseness, he was directed in them with the greatest facility, by men inferior to himself in morals and understanding. The murmurings of the people, on the dissolution of this parliament, and on the imprisoning some of the leading members of the commons, were great, and numerous. To quiet these in some measure, the king published a declaration, or rather apology, of great length, which did him rather more harm than good; especially as it was known, that he never intended to call another. There opens to us therefore a new scene at this time; a king of England governing by orders of council and proclamations, instead of a parliament and the laws. The administration of church affairs, which was entirely in the hands of bishop LAUD, was conducted, to say the best of it, without any discretion. Tho the general humour of the nation was then in the opposite extreme to superstition, and it was with difficulty that the ancient ceremonies, to which men had been accustomed, and which had been sanctified by the practise of the first reformers, could be retained in divine service, yet this was the time which the bishop chose, to introduce some new observances, which gave the English church an air of resemblance to the catholic superstition; and which he imposed with a pride and petulance, that were well nigh as offensive as the things themselves. The churches were ordered to be beautified with pictures, paintings, images, and altar pieces; and the forms of worship were to be set off with many pompous rites and ceremonies. Hence, not only the malignant and discontented puritans, believed the church of England to be relapsing fast into Romish superstition,

perstition, but the holy see itself had formed some hopes of regaining its authority in this island; and an offer was twice made to LAUD in private of a cardinal's hat, in order to forward his good intentions: but his answer was, as he says himself, "that something dwelt within him, which would not suffer his compliance, till Rome was other than it is." It is very certain, that it was the opinion of many people at that time, that this prelate's scheme was to lead the English by gradual steps back to popery. Thus the earl of DEVONSHIRE's daughter, having turned catholick, and being asked the reason of it by LAUD, she said "it was chiefly because she hated to travel in a crowd; she perceived his lordship, and many others, were making haste to Rome, and therefore in order to prevent her being crowded she had gone before them." There is no doubt but that the genius of this prelate's religion, was the same, tho in a less degree, with that of the Romish: the same profound respect was demanded to the sacerdotal character, the same submission required to the creeds and decrees of councils, the same pomp and ceremony affected in the forms of worship, and the same superstitious regard to days and postures, to meats, names, and garments. Thus the communion tables were removed from the middle of the chancel, where they had stood, to the east end of it, and were railed in, and called altars; the copes in administering the sacrament were rigorously insisted on; and the clergyman who officiated was usually to be called priest. But in all that has been said against this prelate, I find no evidence to convince me, that he had any design of re-establishing the Roman catholic religion in England; unless we confound, as many did in those days, high church with popery, thro a pure spirit of party. His conduct however afforded his enemies a great handle against him. Several divines of the university of Oxford were expelled, for preaching against arminianism; many others were silenced, suspended, or imprisoned by the high commission for the same offence, and for preaching against pictures and images in churches. Thus by the fatal policy and indiscretion of this hot and furious prelate, many people, well affected to the church of England, but enemies to arminianism, or to arbitrary power, were driven in spite of themselves to join with the puritans; in order to strengthen their party, and to enable them to oppose the illegal measures of the government. "The bishop's heart was set on the advancement of the church," says my lord CLARENDON; but his lordship did not add, what, to be impartial, he ought to have added, that this advancement was carried

carried on at the expence of the king's prerogative, and the liberties of the people. All the doctrines which the Romish church had borrowed from some of the early fathers, and which freed the spiritual from a subordination to the civil power, were now adopted by this prelate, and interwoven with his political and religious tenets. A divine and apostolical charter was insisted on, preferably to one that was legal and parliamentary. The sacerdotal character was magnified, as sacred, and indefeasible; and all right to authority, or even to private judgment, in spiritual subjects, was refused the laity.

A design having been formed by several gentlemen and clergy, to promote preaching in the country, by setting up lectures in market towns, they erected themselves into a sort of corporation, and bought up by voluntary contributions what impropriations they could meet with in lay hands; in order to parcel them out into salaries for the subsistence of the preachers. The trustees had laid out near six thousand pounds in these purchases, and the design in the beginning was looked upon by most people as very commendable: but as it was found in the progress of it, that the preachers had not these salaries annexed to them for their lives, and were entirely dependent on the good will and humour of their patrons, who were not very well affected to the established church, and as most of the lecturers were either non-conformists, or such as had been silenced for refusing a subscription to the articles, an information was brought against the trustees, by the attorney general, as an unlawful society formed into a body corporate without any grant from the king, and the impropriations were confiscated to his majesty's use. The puritans thought this an odious prosecution; and exclaimed against the bishops as designing to introduce arminianism and popery into the church. They unhappily imputed, to the whole church of England, the violences which should have been ascribed to the circumstances of the times; whilst some particular bishops who had great credit with the king, were continually representing to him all those as puritans, who were not entirely submissive to the regal power, and using severities in the high commission and the star chamber against them. In this manner, the breach grew wider every day between his majesty and the puritans: but the death of archbishop ABBOT, which happened at this time, putting LAUD into the possession of the primacy, the breach was drove on by this prelate with an irresistible fury, till it ended in

his own, and the destruction of the king, and the church of England.

As I have mentioned the archbishop's death, I must give the reader a view of his character ; not only in conformity to the rule I have prescribed myself in this work, but to rescue his memory from the injury done it by lord CLARENDON, with so notorious a partiality as does no honour to his history. The manners of this prelate, his lordship says, were morose, his aspect sour, his ignorance of the constitution of the church, and state, and interest of the clergy, very great all thro his life : he considered the christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled popery, and took no care of the observation of the discipline, or of a conformity to the articles and canons established : having made little progress himself in the ancient and solid study of divinity, he adhered only to the doctrine of CALVIN ; and if men prudently forbore a public reviling and railing at the hierarchy and ecclesiastical government, they were not only secure from any inquisition of his, but equally preferred by him. In short archbishop ABBOT, according to the noble historian, had too great a jurisdiction over the church, tho he was without any credit in the court from the death of king JAMES, and had not much in many years before. There is nothing which shews more the weakness of the human mind, and the power which the prejudice of education and party has acquired over it, than this character of ABBOT given by lord CLARENDON. It is not only very different from that which is given him by all other historians, but, I am sorry to say it, very wide of the truth ; if the truth is to be collected from all the facts related of this prelate in the history of his time. Even the noble lord himself, if we take off the false colouring which his party zeal has thrown over the life and actions of the archbishop, has given him a character which a good man need not be ashamed to own. Let us first hear what is said of him by other writers. WOOD, the Oxford historian, well known to be no favourer of puritannical principles, yet confesses that ABBOT " was a grave " and pious prelate, exemplary in his conversation, a plausible " preacher, a man of learning, parts, and vigilance, as his " writings shewed, an able statesman, and of unwearied study, " tho overwhelmed with business." Mr. COKE, and Dr. WELWOOD, speak of the archbishop thus ; " that he was a prelate of " primitive sanctity, who followed the true interest of his country, " try,

“ try, and of the reformed churches at home and abroad ; that
 “ he was a divine of good learning, great hospitality, and won-
 “ derful moderation ; shewing upon all occasions an unwilling-
 “ ness to stretch the king’s prerogative, or the act of uniformity,
 “ beyond what was consistent with law, or necessary in his
 “ opinion for the church’s peace.” Here it is that we find the
 cause of the noble lord’s injustice to the archbishop’s memory :
 let us now tear off the false colouring of party prejudice, from
 which this illustrious historian was not free, and examine the
 character which he himself gave of ABBOT. Moroseness of man-
 ners, and a sour aspect, are put in the room of gravity and piety
 described by WOOD, and of primitive sanctity by the others : the
 parts, the learning, and the vigilance employed in his writings
 which the former asserts, and in following the true interests of
 his country and the reformation according to the latter, lord
 CLARENDON calls a total ignorance of the constitution of the
 church, and interests of the clergy, and as considering the
 christian religion no otherwise than abhorring popery. If he did
 not take care of a strict observation of the discipline of the church,
 or of a conformity to the articles and canons, for which this his-
 torian reproaches him, it was because he thought it imprudent
 to stretch the prerogative above the law, or to make use of se-
 verities which the peace of the church did not require. In short,
 if we compare the state of the church under ABBOT’s jurisdiction,
 with what it was under his successor till it fell down with the
 monarchy, it will appear that his grace understood its constitu-
 tion, and pursued the interests of the clergy at that time, much
 better than LAUD did who ruined it, or than CLARENDON him-
 self who accuses the archbishop of a total ignorance in it. It is
 not to be wondered at, that a prelate of ABBOT’s principles,
 should have little credit in the court of two such kings, who
 were carrying the prerogative above the law, to the destruction
 of civil and religious liberty : neither will that stain upon his
 memory remain in the least to his discredit, with those who are
 lovers of their country, and our present happy establishment in
 church and state. The good archbishop had a worse misfortune
 than that of disobliging the princes he lived under, by a firm ad-
 herence to the laws and liberties of the kingdom, which was that
 of killing a park-keeper accidentally in shooting at a deer. This
 misfortune gave him a real and a very sensible uneasiness, all his
 life after : he kept the anniversary of it with the strictest fasting
 and humility, and settled a decent annuity on the man’s widow.
 His grace also founded an hospital for men and women, with a

plentiful endowment, at Guilford where he was born. We may in my opinion conclude the character of archbishop ABBOT, by saying, that he was a man of good parts and learning, as a divine, that he was a prelate of a very pious exemplary conversation, and an archbishop who understood the constitution of his country in church and state, to which he stedfastly adhered, without any regard to the favour, or the frowns of princes.

The death of this prelate made room, as I said, for LAUD to come to the height of all his greatness, and to have no man stand above him next the king. He had been his first minister already ever since BUCKINGHAM'S death, and had ruled every thing, in a manner, ecclesiastical as well as civil. We are now to see how he moved in the sphere of an archbishop. His first care was to promote Dr. JUXTON, an old acquaintance of the same college with him, to the diocese of London; and he was an honour to his recommendation. But if ABBOT attended to nothing more in religion than to prevent the encrease of popery, it is certain that his successor aimed at very little else besides the advancement of the hierarchy, and the destruction of the puritans. In order to retrench the number of lecturers, and domestic chaplains which many gentlemen at that time entertained, who were not strictly conformable to the ceremonies of the church, the archbishop procured an order from the king, in the first days of his primacy, for the strict observance of the canons of the church relating to ordination without a title; that no one should be ordained without he had a benefice, curacy, or fellowship, or lived in the university at his own expence. The design of this canon, and the observance of it, are laudable, and necessary to the good of the church; in order to prevent the clergy from wandring up and down for a maintenance, or from being obliged to submit to a mean allowance; because where there are so many supernumeraries, if one will not accept it, another will. But it was pressed evidently at this time, for the reason which I have given above; that the puritans might have no chaplains in their houses. There was another thing however advised at this time by the archbishop, which very justly gave more offence to all serious people, in the church, and out of it; and the occasion of it was this. A complaint having been made to two of the judges on the Western circuit, of the great inconvenience arising from revels, sports, and church ales on Sundays, they made an order, at the request of the justices of the peace, for suppressing these occasions of riot and debauchery on

those days ; enjoining every parish minister to publish this order yearly in his church, on three particular Sundays, and punishing some few for their disobedience to it. The archbishop, being informed of this proceeding of the two judges, complained to the king of their invading the episcopal jurisdiction, and prevailed with him to summon them before the council. RICHARDSON, chief justice, one of the two who had made the order, defended it by alledging, that it was at the request and unanimous consent of the bench of justices, and by producing precedents in the two foregoing reigns, as well as the present. But all he could say signified nothing ; he was sharply reprimanded, and enjoined to revoke his order at the next assizes : and when he came out of the council chamber, he told the earl of DORSET with tears in his eyes, “ that he had been miserably “ shaken by the archbishop, and was like to be choaked with his “ lawn sleeves.”

The primate having thus humbled the judge, and taken this affair into his own hands, prevailed on his majesty to republish his father's declaration “ concerning lawful sports to be used on “ Sundays after divine service,” with this addition ; “ that it “ was out of the like pious care for the service of God, and “ for suppressing of those humours which opposed the truth, “ and for the ease, comfort and recreation of his well deserving “ people, he ratified his blessed father's declaration.” The publication of this command was to be by order from the bishops thro all the parish churches of their diocese. This declaration revived the controversy about the morality of the Sabbath, which had slept for several years : and instead of convincing the sober part of the nation, it struck them with horror, to see themselves invited by the king's authority to that which looked so contrary to God's command. It was certainly out of character, for bishops and clergymen, who should be the supports and encouragers of religion, to draw men off from the practice of it in their families, by encouraging public sports. But such was the piety and the wisdom of those times ; and the court had their balls, masquerades, and plays on the Sunday evenings, whilst the youth of the country were at their revels, morrice-dances, maygames, and churchales, and all kinds of diversion. The bishops were ordered to take care of the publishing of the declaration in the parish churches ; but the imposing it on the clergy, which was not required, made strange havock amongst them for seven years. It would be endless to relate all the par-

particulars of the suspension, deprivation, and other persecutions in the high commission court, for not reading the book of sports. In short, at that time, the archbishop was so far from undeceiving those who falsely imagined that the church was leaning to popery, that he seems to have taken care to confirm them in their suspicion, by industriously conforming to the church of Rome, in matters of little moment, and without any necessity, on purpose as it were to brave them, and out of mere wantonness of power. There was scarce a church then in England, except the cathedrals and the king's chapel, where the communion table was placed altarways at the upper end of the chancel. But this was ordered in a church, by the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, of which they were the ordinaries, and was complained of by the parishioners in the court of arches. The king, sometime after, commanded this cause to be heard before the council; where his majesty himself directed the dean of the arches to confirm what had been done: and this sentence, pronounced by the king's authority, without the judgment of the court, to which the cognizance of this affair belonged, was a source of oppression, to many ministers and parishes who were unwilling to comply with it, from the high commission. It is almost incredible, what a prodigious ferment this trifling alteration occasioned over the kingdom. Books were written for and against it, with the same earnestness and contention for victory, as tho the very being of religion was itself at stake. The archbishop, even by lord CLARENDON'S own account, "prosecuted this affair more
" passionately than was fit for the season, and had prejudice
" against those who out of fear, or foresight, or not understanding the thing, had not the same warmth to promote it.
" So that from this unhappy subject, not in itself of that importance to be either entered upon with that resolution, or to
" be carried on with that passion, proceeded upon the matter a
" schism among the bishops themselves, and a great deal of uncharitableness in the learned and moderate clergy towards one
" another." As the archbishop and his party were thus indiscreet on one side, so the zeal of the puritans on the other, betrayed them into very intemperate and indecent practices towards the established government of the church. But they were not the only people who were dissatisfied with the novelties which had been introduced, and who were jealous that something more was intended than was hitherto proposed.

The archbishop had brought part of the business of Westminster

minster hall into the spiritual courts; and had procured some privileges and orders from the king, in behalf of the civil law, even with an exclusion of the other. He had prevailed with his majesty to direct, that half the masters in chancery should be civil lawyers, and that no others should serve him as masters of request. This was the ready way to disgust a profession, which in this nation will always be very powerful; and which every great minister, in church, and state, should make it his business to keep well with. But the archbishop believed unhappily, that the government was so settled that no imprudences of his could shake it; and whilst he had the power to aggrandize the church, he was resolved to use it. Thus he likewise prevailed with the king at this time, to allow the bishops to hold their courts in their own names, with their own seals; and thus also the bishops framed new articles of visitation, in their own names, without the king's seal and authority, and administered an oath of enquiry to churchwardens. These, being thought encroachments, were much complained of by those, who had no objection to the established government of the church: and the ill humour they occasioned, we may be sure, was not lessened, when they saw the bishops were not content with spiritual jurisdiction. LAUD had been sometime a commissioner of the revenue, and now he put the staff of lord treasurer into the hands of Juxton bishop of London, which enflamed the nobility to a great degree. But these were not the only causes of complaint. The Roman catholicks had not neglected their interest with the queen; and she had so great an ascendant over his majesty, that he had consented that she should have an agent from the pope, for directing her affairs in religion, provided he was not a priest. Moreover, in consequence of the king's connivance and the queen's favour, the papists appeared in great numbers at court, and frequented their devotions at Somerset house without any restraint. The archbishop, in order to stifle the clamour which this proceeding occasioned, remonstrated against it to the king in council, and ordered a conference between his grace, and FISHER, a jesuit, to be reprinted with enlargements. But the papists, says lord CLARENDON, "had for many years enjoyed a great calm, being on the matter absolved from the severest parts of the law, and dispensed with for the greatest. They were looked upon as good subjects at court, and good neighbours in the country. They attempted, and sometimes gained, proselytes of weak uninformed ladies, with such circumstances as provoked the rage, godd
8 " and

“ and destroyed the charity of great and powerful families which
 “ longed for their suppression.”

In this situation were the affairs of England, when the king found himself under a necessity, from a war with his Scotch subjects, to call a parliament, after an intermission of above eleven years. The two houses met, according to their summons, in April sixteen hundred and forty, with their usual formalities; to whom his majesty only said, “ that there never was a king, “ who had a more great and weighty cause to call his people “ together, than himself: he would not trouble them with the “ particulars, having informed his lord keeper, and commanded “ him to speak, and desire their attention.” Sir JOHN FINCH then opened, in a long speech, the proceedings of the Scotch against the king, and his majesty’s pressing necessities for such a supply as would provide for the vindication of his honour: intimating to them at the same time, that the king was far from an intention of precluding them of their right to enquire into the state of the kingdom, and to offer him petitions for redress of grievances. But the house of commons, tho generally, says my lord CLARENDON, “ exceedingly disposed to please the king, “ and to do him service,” instead of beginning with the supply, as his majesty wished and had directed, appointed committees for religion, and grievances; which disobliged the king so much, that after several fruitless attempts to persuade them to grant him a subsidy, he hastily formed and executed a resolution to dissolve the parliament: and as if there were not already sufficient grounds of complaint, his majesty still persevered in those misguided counsels, which from experience he might have known were dangerous and destructive. The convocation met the day after the parliament, and the customary formalities being gone thro, the archbishop produced a commission under the great seal, “ empowering the two houses to consult and agree upon “ the explanation or amendment of any canons then in force, “ or for making such new ones, as should be thought convenient “ for the government of the church.” This commission was to remain in force during the present session of parliament only; and by an extraordinary clause in it, nothing could be transacted unless the archbishop was a party at the consultation. The latitude of this commission was very acceptable to the majority of the convocation; and in return for this testimony of his majesty’s confidence, they voted him six subsidies, to be paid in six years, at the rate of four shillings in the pound. The arch-
 bishop

bishop then brought in a canon for suppressing the further growth of popery, which he delivered to the prolocutor in the same form it stands at present. Another canon was levelled against spreading the socinian heresy, which had been lately introduced: and at the same time it was decreed, that all those proceedings and penalties mentioned in the canon against popish recusants, should, as far as they are applicable, stand in full force and rigour against all separatists and sects whatever, who refuse repairing to their parish churches, for hearing divine service, and receiving the holy communion.

Thus far the convocation had proceeded, when the parliament, with which it had generally begun and ended, was unhappily dissolved: and the custom would probably have been at this time observed, if one of the lower house had not acquainted the archbishop with a precedent, in the time of ELIZABETH, of the convocation granting a subsidy, to be raised upon all the clergy, after the breaking up of parliament, and levying it by their own synodical act under the penalty of ecclesiastical censures. Hence it was concluded, that they might sit independent of the parliament. But as several members were dissatisfied with this authority, especially as the commission for making and amending canons was to expire with the session of parliament, a new commission was granted to continue the convocation during his majesty's pleasure, in order to finish the canons and constitutions, and to grant the subsidies which had been voted. The king's power, however, of continuing the convocation during a recess of parliament having been much questioned, the case was sent to the judges; who gave it as their opinion, that the convocation being called by the king's writ under the great seal, doth continue till it be dissolved by writ, or commission, notwithstanding the dissolution of the parliament. With the new commission for their continuance, a message was sent from his majesty by the secretary of state, "that it was his royal pleasure
 " none of the prelates or clergy should withdraw from the synod
 " or convocation, till the affairs they had in command from the
 " king were perfected and finished." Thus reassured, they sat above a month, under the proper title of a synod, made canons, which it was thought they might do, and gave subsidies out of parliament, and enjoined oaths, which certainly, says my lord CLARENDON, they might not do. The canons having been approved of by the privy council, were subscribed by as many of both houses of convocation as were present; and being then

transmitted to the provincial synod of York, by whom they were subscribed without any debate as to matter or form, they were confirmed by the king's letters patents under the great seal. The irregularity of continuing the synod after the dissolution of the parliament has been concluded from hence; that the convocation consisting of bishops, deans, archdeacons, and proctors of the clergy, the three former act in their personal capacities by virtue of their offices, and may give for themselves what subsidies they pleased. But the proctors, being chosen for their respective dioceses or cathedrals, to sit as long as the parliament continues, lose the character of representatives and public persons, as soon as that is dissolved; and so cannot vote away the estates of their order unless they are reelected. But this point will be spoke to presently.

The canons of this synod consisted of seventeen articles, which the reader may judge of by the following abstract. The first is concerning the regal power; by which it is decreed, that the most high and sacred order of kings is of divine right, being the ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime laws of nature and revelation, by which the supreme power over all persons ecclesiastical and civil is given to them: that they have the care of God's church, and the power of calling and dissolving councils, national and provincial: that for any persons to set up in the king's realms any independent coercive power, either papal, or popular, is treasonable against God, and the king: and for subjects to bear arms against the king, either offensive or defensive upon any pretence whatever, is at least to resist the powers ordained of God, and tho they do not invade, but only resist, St. PAUL says they shall receive damnation: tho tribute and custom, aid and subsidy be due to the king, by the law of God, nature and nations, yet subjects have a right and property in their goods and estates; and these two are so far from crossing one another, that they mutually go together for the honourable and comfortable support of both: that if any clergyman should voluntarily and carelessly neglect to publish these explications, upon one Sunday in every quarter of the year, he shall be suspended; or if in any sermon, or public lecture, he shall maintain any position contrary to it, he shall be forthwith excommunicated, and suspended for two years; and offending a second time, shall be deprived. The next canon appoints an observance of the day of the king's inauguration with morning prayers, and a sermon, at which every one shall be present.

The third is intended for suppressing the growth of popery; and after directing private conferences with popish recusants by the clergy, and in failure of them, presentment and excommunication, it proceeds to require every bishop, to send a certificate of the names of those who have stood excommunicated, beyond the time allowed by law, that a writ for seizing them may be sent out at once against them all. The fourth canon decrees, that no person shall import, disperse, or print, any socinian books, on pain of excommunication, and further punishment in the star chamber. The fifth ordains, that the canon against the papists, shall be in force against sectaries, as far as it is applicable; and the clause against the books of socinians, should be in force against all the books that are written against the doctrine, and government, of the church. Those who resorted to their parish churches, and did not join in the public prayers, were to be subject to the same penalties with recusants and sectaries. The sixth canon decreed the following oath to be taken, by all archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, before a public notary, within six months: "I A. B. do swear, that I do approve the doctrine, and discipline, or government established in the church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation: and that I will not endeavour by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in popish doctrine, contrary to that which is so established: nor will I ever give my consent, to alter the government of this church, by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand; nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpation, and superstitions, of the see of Rome: and all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasions, or secret reservation whatever: and this I do heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the faith of a christian. So help me God in JESUS CHRIST." If any beneficed person in the church refused this oath, he was after a month to be suspended from his office, after a second month from his benefice, and after a third, deprived. All the present members of the universities, or who were to take any degree, whether lawyers, physicians, or divines, were to take the same oath; and all governors of halls, or colleges, in the university, all schoolmasters, and in general, all that enter into holy orders, or have licence to preach. The seventh canon declares, that the placing the communion table at the east end of the church is in

its own nature indifferent, nor does imply that it is, or ought to be, esteemed a proper altar, tho it may be called so in the sense of the primitive church: but as queen ELIZABETH's injunctions have ordered it to be placed where the altar was, it was judged proper, that all churches and chapels should conform themselves to that order: and it is recommended to all people, that they do reverence at their entries in and going out of the church; and that all communicants come to the rails to receive the communion, which has been heretofore unfitly carried up and down. The eighth canon enjoins all public preachers to declare positively and plainly twice a year, that the rites and ceremonies of the church are lawful, to which it is the duty of all people to conform. By the ninth it was decreed, that no other articles of enquiry should be used at visitations, than what were contained in a book drawn up for that purpose by this synod. The conversation of the clergy, in avoiding all excesses and disorders, that they may adorn their holy profession, is the subject of the tenth canon. By the eleventh, the bishops were to grant no patent to chancellors, or officials, for any term longer than their lives, and to reserve in their own hands the power of instituting to benefices and of licensing to preach. The twelfth canon puts it out of the power of a lay chancellor, or commissary, to inflict any censure upon the clergy, for any criminal causes except neglect of appearing; and all others are to be heard by the bishop, or with the assistance of his chancellor, and if the bishop cannot attend, by the chancellor assisted with two grave divines of the diocese, appointed by the bishop. No sentence of excommunication, or absolution, is allowed, by the thirteenth canon, to be pronounced by any but a priest, either in open consistory or in the church, having first received it under the seal of an ecclesiastical judge. The fourteenth admits of no commutation of penance, without consent of the bishop; and the money to be disposed of to charitable uses. The fifteenth decrees, that no executor shall be cited into any court or office, within ten days after the death of the testator, tho he may prove the will within such a time. No other licence to marry, but the archbishop's, is allowed, by the sixteenth canon, to any party; unless the man, or woman, shall have lived in the jurisdiction of the ordinary to whom they apply, a month before the license is desired. The last canon forbids a citation from spiritual courts, except under the hand and seal of one of the judges within thirty days after the crime is committed: and until the party is convicted by two witnesses, he may purge himself by oath, without

paying any fee ; provided this canon does not extend to schism, incontinence, misbehaviour at divine service, obstinate inconstancy, or the like.

It was necessary to give the reader a full view of these canons, because they were made the subject of so much contention and debate in the next parliament ; that he may be enabled to form a judgment of the offence given on one side, and the revenge that was taken for that offence on the other. The oath, it is very certain, was generally disliked by almost all the clergy, when the canons were first published ; and they joined in petitions against it to the king. Upon which, his majesty sent an order to the archbishop by the secretary of state ; “ that as he “ had already directed, that neither the canons, nor the oath, “ should be pressed on those who were already beneficed in the “ church, and administered only to those who were to receive or- “ ders and be admitted, so these should be dispensed with also, “ and that there should be no prosecution further till the meet- “ ing of the convocation.” The causes of disgust, which had been multiplying for thirty years, were now come to full maturity, and threatened the nation with some great convulsion. The king had assumed powers incompatible with the principles of a limited government ; and it was not possible to defend his conduct, except on maxims so odious to the English nation, as were more likely to enflame, than appease, the discontent. Religion and law, the two great supports of public authority, by the servile compliance of the bishops and judges, had lost much of their influence over the people : and as his majesty had but few friends of credit or interest at home, tho his person was generally held in great veneration, so he had nothing to expect from abroad. Amidst this general discontent, the ill situation of the king’s affairs, from the distractions that were in Scotland, and an invasion from thence on the English borders, obliged his majesty to have recourse to another parliament ; “ that he might put himself freely “ on the love and affection of his subjects.”

On the third of November sixteen hundred and forty, this famous parliament met ; which, with some little intermission, continued sitting for eighteen years ; and occasioned such revolutions, in church, and state, as were the scandal of their own, and the surprize of every other country. When the parliament was first opened, it appears from one of the orders of the commons, “ that none should sit in their house, but such as would

“ receive the communion, according to the usage of the church
 “ of England,” that the majority of that body had no intention to make any considerable alterations in the government of the church. But there was in the two houses another party, more powerful by the abilities and dexterity of their leaders than by their number, which was the puritans; who, without discovering themselves any further than was necessary, seemed to confine their design to the redress of grievances, in which all the parliament were almost unanimous. Among the grievances of religion, one of the first things that came before the house, was the canons and subsidy passed in the convocation, when the parliament was dissolved. This occasioned a very warm and long debate; at the end of which it was unanimously resolved, “ that
 “ the clergy of England convened in any convocation or synod,
 “ or otherwise, have no power to make any constitutions, canons, or acts whatever, in matters of doctrine, discipline, or
 “ otherwise, to bind the clergy or laity of the land, without
 “ consent of parliament. Resolved that the several constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, treated and agreed upon with
 “ the king’s licence, by the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of
 “ the provinces of Canterbury, and York, in their several synods,
 “ in the year sixteen hundred and forty, do not bind the
 “ clergy, or laity of the land, or either of them. Resolved
 “ that the several constitutions or canons, made and agreed to in
 “ the convocations or synods abovementioned, do contain in
 “ them many matters contrary to the king’s prerogative, to
 “ the fundamental laws and statutes of this realm, to the
 “ rights of parliament, to the property and liberty of the subject, and matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence. Resolved, that the several grants of benevolences
 “ or contributions, granted to his most excellent majesty by
 “ the clergy, in the several convocations or synods abovementioned, are contrary to the laws, and ought not to bind the
 “ clergy.”

These were the censures passed upon the canons of the convocation; of which it may be said in general, that they shew more of passion and prejudice, than of law or reason. As to the two first resolutions, however expedient or useful it may be that ecclesiastical canons should have the sanction of parliament as well as the royal assent, they certainly could not be justified upon any precedent. The only authority that had hitherto been thought necessary for making canons, was a licence from the crown.

crown to draw them up, and the royal assent to them, so drawn, under the great seal. These resolutions of the commons therefore were grounded wholly on prejudice, and resentment: nor had the objection to the validity of the canons, arising from their being passed in convocation when the parliament was dissolved, any better foundation. The parliament and convocation are separate bodies, independent on one another, and called together by different writs; and therefore the dissolution of the parliament did not necessarily, or in any respect, dissolve the convocation. As to many of the articles contained in these canons, which the commons condemn in the third resolution, I believe archbishop LAUD would have found it difficult to make it good, as he undertook to do in the house of lords, "that all those
 " canons, and every branch in them, were orthodox, just, and
 " moderate, and most necessary for the present condition of the
 " church of England; how unwelcome soever to the present
 " distempers." But I rather think with lord CLARENDON,
 " that the season in which that synod continued to sit was in so
 " ill a conjuncture of time, that nothing could have been trans-
 " acted there of a popular and prevailing influence: and as they
 " did many things, which, in the best of times, might have
 " been questioned, they were sure therefore to be condemned
 " in the worst." As to the last resolution of the commons about the subsidy, it is very evident that the clergy had always had the privilege of taxing their own body; nor from the time of the great charter, till the latter end of HENRY the eighth, was there any parliamentary confirmation of the aids and subsidies which the clergy gave. Besides, there was a precedent in the reign of ELIZABETH, when the convocation granted a subsidy, and levied the money by their synodical authority after the breaking up of the parliament: Nor could the clergy without doors reckon this as a grievance, notwithstanding its irregularity, having engaged themselves in their procuratorial letters to allow and abide by the proceedings of their clerks and proctors; and the subsidy was voted before the parliament was dissolved.

On the same day that the house of commons passed these angry resolutions, many warm speeches were made against the archbishop, as the chief author of the canons; and a committee was appointed to enquire more particularly, how far his grace had been concerned in the proceedings of the convocation, and in the treasonable design of subverting the religion and laws of his country, in order to draw up a charge against him.

At the same time, the Scotch commissioners who were here on a treaty of peace with the king, presenting some articles against the archbishop, which were communicated in a conference to the commons, it was resolved, after a deliberation of scarce half an hour, that an impeachment of high treason should be sent up the next day against his grace to the house of lords. This being done accordingly, the archbishop was committed to the custody of the black rod, till the commons should deliver in their charge against him. After some time, MR. PYM, MR. HAMBDEN, and MR. MAYNARD, carried fourteen articles to the house of lords, in support of their impeachment of the archbishop; reserving to themselves the liberty of presenting some more, relating to time and other circumstances, in order to render their charge more certain and explicit. When the articles were read, the archbishop made a short reply, and the lords voted him to the Tower; where at present we must leave him for three or four years, and turn to other affairs of a more public nature. The clamour against the clergy was by this time become so violent, that they could scarcely officiate in the established form, or walk the streets in their habits, without being reproached as popish priests. The liturgy was called a lifeless form of worship, and a quenching the holy spirit: and the pulpits, being delivered over to puritannical preachers and lecturers, whom the house of commons arbitrarily settled in all the considerable churches, founded with nothing but faction, and fanaticism. But this was not all. The commons ordered commissioners to be sent into all counties, to demolish and remove out of churches and chapels, all images, altars, or tables turned altar-ways, crucifixes, pictures, and other monuments, and relicks, of idolatry. But how far they exceeded their authority by these commissions, and only changed arbitrary power into other hands from the hands of the king, the reader may determine. In order to maintain this high authority which they had acquired, the house of commons judged it requisite to inspire courage into their friends, as well as to confound and overawe their adversaries, particularly to countenance the religious puritans; to whose assistance and good offices they were already so much obliged. Every meeting of the commons therefore produced some vehement harangue against the usurpation of the bishops, against the high commission, the late convocation, and the new canons. These invectives were received without any controul; and no distinction at first appeared, between those who desired only to reform the abuses which had crept into the church, and those who desired totally to

to

to annihilate episcopal jurisdiction. Encouraged by these appearances of a favourable disposition in the commons to redress the grievances in religion, the petulant humour of every enthusiast was indulged in subscribing petitions against the church; and the greatest unfairness was made use of to swell the list. I shall take notice only of three, which were most considerable.

A petition, which, according to the cant of that time, was called "the root and branch petition," subscribed by above fifteen thousand inhabitants of London, was presented to the committee for religion, by an alderman and member for the city; inclosing a schedule of eight and twenty grievances; the chief of which were, the suspension and deprivation of ministers by the bishops, for not conforming to the rites and ceremonies of the church; the discouragement of preaching; the bishops claim of divine right; the oath *ex officio*; and the exorbitant power of the high commission. Wherefore in order to redress these, the petitioners were so very modest as only to desire, that the episcopal government with all its dependances, *ROOT AND BRANCH*, may be abolished. But the house was then so far from being possessed with that malignant spirit against the church which it afterwards discovered, that the utmost which could be obtained, after a long debate upon that petition, was, that it should remain in the hands of the clerk, and that no copy of it should be given. That the reader may be convinced of the malignity and presumption of this petition, I shall give him a short extract from the speeches of the lords DIGBY, and FALKLAND, on this occasion; both of them at that time very zealous for redress of grievances in the church. The former has these words, to be found in RUSHWORTH: "I know not
 " whether it be more preposterous to infer the extirpation of
 " bishops from such weak arguments, or to attribute as they do
 " to church government all the civil grievances; not a patent
 " not a monopoly not the price of a commodity raised, but these
 " men make the bishops the cause of it. For the bold part of
 " this petition, Sir, what can be of greater presumption, than
 " for the petitioners not only to prescribe to the parliament,
 " what, and how it shall do, but for a multitude to teach a par-
 " liament, what is, and what is not, the government accord-
 " ing to God's word. Besides, what is the petition against?
 " Is it not against the government of the church of England,
 " established by acts of parliament, against the liturgy, and
 " against the several forms of divine service, ratified by the same
 " authority?"

“ authority ? Episcopacy is a function, deduced thro all ages
 “ of CHRIST’s church from the apostles times, and continued
 “ the most venerable, and sacred, order ecclesiastical; a func-
 “ tion dignified by the learning and piety of many fathers of
 “ the church, glorified by so many martyrdoms in the primitive
 “ times, and some since our own blessed reformation; a go-
 “ vernment admired, I speak it knowingly, by the learnedest
 “ of the reformed churches abroad; and lastly, a government,
 “ under which till these late years this church hath so flourished
 “ and fructified.” My lord FALKLAND, who in the noble
 historian’s opinion, was the most extraordinary man of his age,
 after speaking with severity of some particular bishops, adds,
 “ and now even in this great defect of the order, there have
 “ been some that have been neither proud nor ambitious; some
 “ that have been learned opposers of popery and zealous sup-
 “ pressors of arminianism; between whom and their inferior
 “ clergy there have been no distinctions in frequent preaching;
 “ whose lives are untouched, not only by guilt, but by malice,
 “ scarce to be equalled by those of any condition, or excelled
 “ by those in any calendar.”

This enthusiastic petition, which among other grievances that required the extirpation of bishops, complains of a licence for the translation of “ OVID’s art of love,” was opposed by another in favour of the establishment, signed by great numbers of the nobility, gentry, and dignified clergy; requesting that for the several reasons they suggest, “ they may still enjoy that go-
 “ vernment which most probably holds its institution from the
 “ apostles, and most certainly its plantation with our christian
 “ faith itself in this kingdom, where it hath ever since flourish-
 “ ed and continued for many ages, without any interruption or
 “ alteration; whereby it plainly appears that as it is the most
 “ excellent government in itself, so it is the most agreeable,
 “ and every way most proportionable to the civil constitution
 “ and temper of this state.” A third petition was presented at the bar of the house by ten or twelve clergymen, pretended to be signed by several hundreds of their brethren, called “ the
 “ ministers petition;” to which was annexed a schedule of the grievances in the church of many sheets of paper, which being referred to the committee, the three following were reported to be only proper for the consideration of the house: “ the
 “ secular employments of the clergy: the sole power of the
 “ bishops in ecclesiastical affairs, and particularly in ordinations
 “ and church censures: the large revenues of deans and chap-
 “ ters,

“ ters, with the inconveniences that attend the application of
 “ them.” All the other particulars were rejected, and ordered
 to be sealed up by the clerk, that they might be perused by no
 body. The house, having debated upon the first of these heads,
 came to these two resolutions: “ that the legislative and judicial
 “ power of bishops in the house of peers, is a great hindrance
 “ to the discharge of their spiritual function, prejudicial to the
 “ commonwealth, and fit to be taken away: that for bishops
 “ or any other clergymen to be in the commission of the peace,
 “ or to have any judicial power in the star chamber, or in any
 “ civil court, is a great hindrance to the discharge of their
 “ spiritual function, and prejudicial to the commonwealth, and
 “ fit to be taken away; and that a bill be brought in to that
 “ purpose.” The king, having been informed of all these pro-
 ceedings, sent for both the houses to White-hall, to whom he
 declared in a speech his readiness to concur with them in a re-
 formation of innovations in church and state; but tho he was
 for a reformation, he was not for an alteration, of government.
 He was not unwilling that the exorbitant power and encroach-
 ments of the bishops, if there had been any such, should be
 redressed like all other abuses; but he should not consent that
 their voices in parliament should be taken away, which they
 have enjoyed ever since the conquest. But this speech, which
 was unparliamentary, did the cause no service.

According to the resolutions which had been voted, a bill was
 brought into the house of commons, to exclude all ecclesiasticks
 from civil employments, and the bishops in particular from a
 right of sitting in the house of lords. Great pains were taken
 by the leaders among the puritans, to dispose the minds of those
 members who were well affected to the church, to concur with
 them in this bill: and HAMPDEN assured the lord FALKLAND,
 that if this bill might pass there would be nothing more at-
 tempted to the prejudice of the church: this his lordship affirm-
 ed openly in the house, and this, he said, he thought as the
 world then went would be no ill composition. The same frau-
 dulent artifice was no doubt made use of with several other
 members; to which it might be added very plausibly, how ad-
 vantagious it was for the king to have at his devotion so great a
 number of voices among the lords, and consequently how im-
 probable it would be to succeed in the reformation of abuses,
 whilst the bishops had votes in the upper house. As the rigid
 puritans, on the one hand, durst not discover their destructive

vows against the church, and seemed to have no other view in the exclusion of the bishops than to facilitate the redress of grievances, so, on the other hand, there were churchmen who thought it would do no harm, if the ecclesiasticks had fewer avocations from their profession, and that the passing of this bill would be an expedient to prevent any further attempts against the hierarchy. Besides, they saw, that if the bill was rejected the puritans would be displeased, who as they were supported by the Scotch, were a very powerful party, of which they had great occasion; since it was by their means that the parliament was enabled to work effectually in the redress of grievances. Upon all these considerations, the bill for suppressing the temporal jurisdiction of the bishops and clergy, and excluding the former from the house of lords, passed the commons by a great majority: but when it was sent to the upper house, the lords did not give it so gracious a reception as was expected. Many of the greatest men in that house grew weary of the malignant empire which the commons had assumed: and some, who had concurred with them hitherto, observing that they had worse designs than they had avowed, deserted them upon this occasion, and inveighed against their project with great acrimony. In short the house would not be prevailed with, so much as to commit the bill, but at the second reading threw it out.

This was the first check which the commons had met with in their career; and they were not a little disconcerted at it. But however, that their spirits might not be thought to fail, they caused a new bill to be brought in, for the utter extirpation of bishops, deans, and chapters, their chancellors, officials, or other officers. It was a long time debated, whether a bill that overthrew so many acts of parliament, and changed the whole frame of the government of the kingdom, for which no leave had been asked, should not be rejected. But as many were desirous to hear it out of curiosity, and more to shew the lords that they were not discouraged, tho the bill was at last read, yet no question being put it was laid by, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity for reviving it. In the mean time, the commons ordered another bill to be prepared against the late convocation, and a second to abolish the high commission. A committee was erected as a court of inquisition on the clergy, and was commonly denominated, “the committee of scandalous ministers.” The leading members were apprized of the great importance of the pulpit for guiding the people; the bigots were
6 enflamed,

enflamed, not altogether without reason, against the established clergy; and both of them knew, that no government could be overturned by strictly observing the principles of justice, equity, and moderation. The proceedings therefore of this famous committee, which continued for several years, were to the last degree cruel, and arbitrary; making dreadful havock on the church, and the universities. They began with harassing, imprisoning, and molesting the clergy, and ended with sequestering, and ejecting them. In order to join contumely to cruelty, they loaded the sufferers with the epithet of scandalous; and endeavoured to make them as odious to the people, as they were wretched in themselves. The greatest scandal however, which after all their enquiry they could reproach most of them with, consisted in bowing at the name of JESUS, placing the communion table at the east end of the chancel, reading the king's declaration for sports on Sunday, the surplice, the liturgy, the ring in marriage, embroidered copes, and the cross in baptism; with some other things which were required of them by the established government in church and state. On account of these, says MR. HUME, were both parties contented to throw the government into such violent convulsions; and to the disgrace of that age, and of this island, it must be acknowledged, that the disorders in England for the most part proceeded from so mean and despicable an origin.

But besides episcopacy and the grievances already mentioned, there was another article in which the commons shewed no great complaisance for the king; which was their proceeding against papists. Tho his majesty was undoubtedly attached as firmly to the church of England and the protestant religion as any man could be, yet partly from the mildness and humanity of his temper, partly from the zeal which they had expressed for his prerogative, and most of all perhaps from the blind condescension he had for the queen, he never put the laws in execution against the papists, and might be said to countenance and protect them. This gave his enemies a pretence to say, that there was a secret design of introducing popery by the queen and her confidants; and that several bishops and other clergymen were in the plot. It is true, that the hatred of the king and his bishops for the puritans, had drawn them nearer to popery than they would ever otherwise have gone, in order to be at the greater distance from puritanism: and this was the cause of the innovations in the public worship, and of their attachment to indiffe-

rent and needless ceremonies. But it is not true, that they had any design of introducing popery on the ruins of the reformed religion: neither ought the faults which were committed by some hot and passionate men, to have been attributed, as they were attributed by the puritans, to the church itself. The face of affairs however being greatly changed, since the sitting of this parliament, it was no longer in his majesty's power to protect the catholicks. All the officers of that religion therefore were removed out of the army, the judges and justices were ordered to put the laws effectually in execution against priests and jesuits, and all the papists in the kingdom were disarmed. In order more effectually to encrease the popular pannick against popery, on the aggravation of a real, or the discovery of a pretended conspiracy against the parliament, a protestation, drawn up and subscribed by all the commons, was sent to the house of lords; where it was taken by all but the earl of SOUTHAMPTON, and the lord ROBERTS, who positively refused it, since there was no law that enjoined it, and the consequence of such engagements might produce effects which were not then intended. The protestation in itself was a very inoffensive and insignificant thing, not material enough to be given the reader; and contained nothing but general declarations, that the subscribers would defend their religion and liberties. Within two days after, without communicating it to the lords, and contrary to the intention of most that took it, the commons voted an explanation of it, that it did not extend to the maintaining of any form of worship or government in the church of England, and lest it should not be subscribed voluntarily by the whole nation as they desired, a bill was passed in the lower house to compel all his majesty's subjects to subscribe the protestation. But the lords rejected it; and the commons in resentment, imputing it to the bishops and popish lords, resolved "that whosoever would not take the protestation, was unfit to bear offices in the church, or commonwealth."

Moreover, at a time when it was little thought of, they called for the bill that had slept so long against the utter extirpation of episcopacy, gave it a second reading, and committed it to a committee of the whole house. But my lord CLARENDON, being in the chair, put some stop, he says, to their haste; enlarging himself at the end of his report of every vote, which in the heat of their passion were sometimes contradictory to one another: and by this means not only three weeks were spent with-

without advancing in the bill, but it was necessary to review the whole from the beginning, which as the king was preparing for a journey into Scotland, they had not time for; and thus it rested without being ever after resumed till the war was entered into. The commons however were not discouraged from taking into consideration the abolishing of deans and chapters, and applying their revenues to better purposes. Addresses were sent from both universities in their favour, praying that the religious bounty of their ancestors for the advancement of learning and learned men, may be preserved from ruin and alienation; but withal to take order, that they may be reduced to the due observation of their statutes, and that all innovations and abuses may be reformed. After a long debate, the commons resolved, "that all deans and chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chanters, canons, and their officers, shall be utterly abolished out of the church; and the lands taken from them put in the hands of trustees, in order to support a fit number of ministers for the service of the church, and the reparation of the cathedrals." But these votes did not pass into a law, from the little prospect there was that the house of lords would concur in an act of this nature so detrimental to the church. The high commission court, so often mentioned, which was intended to preserve the peace and dignity of the church, having overflowed the banks which should have contained it, and having deservedly therefore many enemies, a bill was brought into the house of commons with unanimous consent for its abolition. But the violent party taking advantage of the general disgust against this court, inserted clauses which not only abolished the high commission, but in effect also the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which was not intended. In the hurry however in which things were, the bill passed both houses very smoothly, and met with no demur till it came to the royal assent. The king being then informed, how much the body of the bill exceeded the title, and that instead of reformation it was opening a door to the most scandalous crimes, his majesty made a pause in consenting to it, till both houses might review whether the remedy was really proportionable to the disease. Upon this, says lord CLARENDON, the fire was immediately kindled against the bishops, as the only obstacles to a reformation; with some passionate insinuations, that since they opposed a due regulation of their power, there would be no way but to cut them off, root and branch. This ill temper, and these menaces among the commons, induced some of the bishops, and many others who pre-

pretended a great zeal for the church, to persuade the king to pass the act as it was sent: and accordingly in a few days after, it had the royal assent, accompanied with another bill for abolishing the power and jurisdiction of the star chamber, so grievous to the subjects of the highest rank, as well as the lowest. Thus fell these two great engines of oppression and arbitrary power in church and state: and with the redress of these grievances, and many others which it is not the business of this history to relate, one should have thought that this parliament had little more to do. But these were not times of candour and moderation; they were times of faction and discontent: and as the king had given great occasion of complaint throughout all the former part of his reign, the parliament was not enough satisfied with these marks of trust and confidence in his subjects, to leave the constitution in its natural state. The men of secret designs against the government of the church, and who thought that the diminution of the regal power was absolutely necessary to the execution of that design, were continually enflaming the distrust of the parliament, giving an ill turn to every word and action of the king, and persuading every body there was no other way to secure themselves from past oppressions for time to come, than by putting it out of the power of the king to make any use of them. With this view many malignant and improbable rumours were spread abroad of the king's bad intentions: with the same view, so many violent attempts were made to exclude the bishops from the house of lords: and with no other view could so many mortifications be given the king, as were given him, than that they might drive him on some measures which would convince the most moderate men, that it was dangerous to leave him in the possession of all his power. Thus by means direct, and indirect, the puritans at length succeeded in getting a majority in the house of commons, as to that part of their design of diminishing the regal power: whilst on the other hand his majesty fell into the snares which were laid for him by this faction, and took such steps in preventing the execution of their design as in the end assisted it.

The commons not being able to come at their intended alterations in the church, whilst the bench of bishops remained entire in the house of lords, formed several schemes in order to divide them. At first it was proposed to fine very largely both houses of convocation for compiling the late canons, and a bill for that purpose was brought into the house: but upon further

consideration, it was judged more effectual for the present, to make examples only of those bishops who were the principal leaders in the convocation; and accordingly thirteen of them were impeached at the bar of the house of lords, "for making
 "and promulging several canons ecclesiastical, contrary to the
 "king's prerogative, to the laws of the realm, to the rights of
 "parliament, to the property and liberty of the subjects, tending
 "to sedition, and of dangerous consequence." The commons had flattered themselves, that the bishops would have quitted their votes in parliament to be discharged of the premunire. But in this they were much mistaken. Their lordships had three months time allowed by the peers for making their defence; and it was made by a demurrer, to prove that what they had done in the late convocation could not amount to a premunire. Upon the strength of this plea the prosecution slept, and the bishops heard no more of the impeachment by the commons. The time being come within two or three days for the king's intended journey into Scotland, the house of commons thought it proper to lay aside their disputes upon the church, which grew every day more involved, and to attend to other things which were more necessary for the good of the kingdom. They even sate on a Sunday, and prevailed with the lords to do the same; which had scarcely ever been known before, since the first institution of parliament. Notwithstanding the king's journey which was in the beginning of August, yet both houses continued sitting. The summer being almost spent, and the plague encreasing, many members of both houses went into the country; and those who staid in town were not very solicitous to attend the public service. This was an advantage which the managers of the puritan party expected, and they did not fail to take it.

When there were not therefore above an hundred and twenty commoners, they entered on a debate about the common prayer; and since many things in it, they pretended, gave great offence, or at least umbrage to tender consciences, they proposed there might be a liberty to disuse it. But this motion was at that time of so unacceptable a nature, that tho the house was so thin, and the motion was pressed by those of the greatest power and authority, yet it was so far from being assented to, that it was resolved by a great majority, that the book of common prayer should be duly observed. The next day however, contrary to all order and rules of parliament, many being absent

who had taken a great share in the debate before, the house suspended this order; and came to a resolution, “that the standing
“of the communion table in all churches should be altered, the
“rails should be pulled down, the chancels should be levelled,
“and that no man should presume to bow at the name of JE-
“sus,” tho enjoined by a canon of long use in the church. Having digested these godly resolutions into an order, they carried it up to the lords for their concurrence; assuring themselves, from the inconsiderable number that remained in the upper house, they should find no dissent. But the lords being much offended at this presumption in the commons, relating to an affair in which they had no jurisdiction whatsoever, and which had so plain a tendency to disturb the peace of the church, and interrupt its settled and legal government, not only refused to join with them, but directed an order of their own, made nine months before, to be printed and dispersed; requiring, “the
“divine service to be performed as it is appointed by acts of par-
“liament, and all such as shall disturb that wholesome order to
“be punished severely according to law.” The commons, fired at this refusal, pursued their former order, declaring this of the lords ought not to be obeyed; tho made in full parliament almost nine months before in support of the laws of the land. In the midst of this ferment, and the workings of opposite counsels, the sword having been taken out of the hands of the spiritual courts, it is not to be wondered at, that the state of religion was unsettled, and that the proper forms of worship in the church were not observed; especially as the commons, under pretence of encouraging preaching, had licensed lectures in every parish, and had recommended such ministers in all populous places, as abhorred the present government in church and state.

The two houses not concurring in their sentiments, consented to a recess, and adjourned themselves for six weeks; appointing a small committee in each, tho without any precedent, with very ample powers. Whilst his majesty was in Scotland, a report was propagated very industriously, that as he had yielded so much to the Scotch in abolishing episcopacy, he would be persuaded to introduce presbytery into England at his return; upon which, the king sent a letter to the clerk of the council; “commanding
“him to assure all his servants, that he would be constant to the
“doctrine and discipline of the church of England, and that
“he resolved by the grace of God to die in the maintenance of
“it.” His majesty resolved accordingly to fill up the vacant
sees,

fees, and ordered five conge d' elires to be drawn for that purpose. But as soon as the house of commons heard of this designation, they were much disturbed, that, at the time when they were resolved to take away the old, the king should presume to make new bishops: and they voted a committee to draw up reasons to give the house of lords, for joining with them in a petition to his majesty, that he would suspend his commands till he came home. But this went no further; and the king collated to the vacant fees, men of great eminence in the church, frequent preachers, and not one to whom the faults of the governing clergy were then imputed, or against whom the least objection could be made. The two houses were no sooner met after the recess, than it was moved in the house of commons, to revive the committee appointed at the beginning of this parliament, in order to draw up a general remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, and the particular grievances it had sustained. How proper soever such a remonstrance might be, when the parliament first met after a scene of oppression and arbitrary power for fifteen years together, yet it was certainly very unnecessary and unseasonable at the present time, when the grievances complained of had been redressed; and when the king had denied them nothing which they had asked, to make themselves secure from the like apprehensions for the future. However after a debate of twelve hours, the remonstrance was carried by a majority of nine votes; containing a long and bitter representation of all the illegal acts of administration from his majesty's accession to that hour. When it was presented to the king, it was accompanied with a petition; which, as far as it concerns the church, was to desire, "that his majesty would concur with his
 " people in a parliamentary way, for depriving the bishops of
 " their votes in parliament, and abridging their inordinate power
 " usurped over the clergy, and other his good subjects: for the
 " taking away such oppressions in religion, church government,
 " and discipline, as have been brought in and fomented by
 " them: and for uniting all such loyal subjects as agree in fun-
 " damentals against papists, by removing some oppressions and
 " unnecessary ceremonies, by which divers weak consciences
 " have been offended, and seem divided from the rest."

The king, in his answer to this petition, declares, "that he
 " is very willing to concur with the just desires of his people
 " in a parliamentary way, for preserving the peace of the king-
 " dom from the designs of the popish party: He thought the
 " right

“right of the bishops to vote in parliament was grounded on
 “the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and constitution of
 “parliament; and there needed no other answer to that at
 “present, since they desired his concurrence in a parliamentary
 “way. As for abridging the extraordinary power of the cler-
 “gy,” his majesty said, “that he thought the abolishing the
 “high commission, with that clause relating to all ecclesiastical
 “jurisdiction, had already moderated that power; but if there
 “continued any usurpations, or excesses, in their jurisdiction, he
 “neither had, nor would protect them. Concerning church
 “corruptions, as they were stiled, and removing unnecessary
 “ceremonies,” the king tells them, “that he was willing to
 “concur in the removal of any illegal innovations which have
 “crept in; and if the parliament advises to a national synod,
 “he would consider of it, and apply himself to give satisfac-
 “tion in it. But he was sorry,” he says, “to hear in such
 “general terms of corruption in religion; since he was per-
 “suaded in his own conscience, that no church can be found
 “upon earth, that professes the true religion with more purity
 “of doctrine, than the church of England does, nor where
 “the government and discipline are jointly more beautified, and
 “free from superstition, than they are here established by law;
 “which by the grace of God he would with constancy main-
 “tain, in their purity and glory, not only against all invasions
 “of popery, but also from the irreverence of those many schis-
 “matics and separatists, wherewith of late this kingdom, and
 “this city abounds, to the great dishonour and hazard of
 “church and state; for the suppression of whom he required
 “their timely aid, and active assistance.” To an house of com-
 mons, or their leaders, who wanted to abolish the hierarchy
 and the book of common prayer, if they durst have spoke
 their minds, we may be sure this answer was not satisfactory:
 but the king certainly treated them with more respect than was
 then their due.

The bishops who had been impeached, having put in their
 answer by way of demurrer, as I have said, had dissatisfied the
 commons by not pleading directly to the accusation. The lords
 therefore were now moved to set aside the demurrer, and to
 admit the commons to prove their charge; or else proceed im-
 mediately to judgment. But the lords consenting that the bishops
 should abide by their demurrer, as they desired, appointed a
 day to hear them by their counsel, in the presence of the com-
 mons.

mons. The commons resented this method of proceeding, and would not appear; many of the leaders declaring, with a sort of despair, among their friends, that they would be concerned no further against the bishops, for they saw it was in vain. The truth is, the commons who had formed a design against the king, found it necessary to free themselves from the obstacles which incessantly occurred in the house of lords; where the bishops, and popish peers, were always able by the number of their votes to oppose the execution of this design. They must therefore either give over their project, or take some more effectual methods to obtain by force, what they could not accomplish by fair means. The former was too great a piece of condescension for them to think of; who imagined it to be very easy, by one bold and vigorous assault, to possess themselves of the entire sovereignty of the state. To this purpose, petitions were encouraged by them and their agents, from all orders of people; even from the apprentices, and common rabble of the city of London, against bishops. All this sort of stuff being printed, and dispersed with great industry, the next point was to procure the mob to beset the two houses of parliament; under pretence of waiting for an answer to their petition, but in fact to terrify the bishops and their friends from attending parliament. There is no pretence for covering these tumults with accident, and the discontents of the people, as MR. NEAL, and some other historians do: the whole process shews that they were owing only to the practices of the party against the king; and the great patriot MR. PYM said publicly, when it was proposed to suppress them, "God forbid the house of commons should in any way proceed to dishearten people to obtain their just desires in this way." Such was the zeal of this man, and his friends, for the privileges of parliament, when the privileges of parliament would have been used in favour of the monarchy!

The tumults still continuing about the parliament house, and the commons encouraging them, by voting the watch, set by the justices of peace to prevent this resort, a breach of privilege, tho they had a legal writ under the great seal by the advice of the lords for doing it, the bishops saw that it was no longer safe for them to go to the house. The archbishop of YORK therefore calling as many of his brethren together as were in town, to the number of twelve, drew up a protestation to the king and the house of lords, which they signed, and which his grace put into the hands of the lord keeper LITTLETON to be red

when his majesty was at the house. This is HACKET's account who wrote the life of the archbishop; but lord CLARENDON says, it was given the king, who perused it hastily, and sent it to the lord keeper. But be this as it might; the other bishops trusted to the experience of the archbishop in the rules of the house, where he had sat so many years; and without any further communication and advice, without considering what was fit as well as what was right, they set their hands to an instrument, in which "they protested against all laws, orders, votes, resolutions, and determinations, as in themselves null and of no effect, as had already, or should hereafter pass in that house, during the time of their forced and violent absence." It wanted no great sagacity to discern, that in the humour the two houses of parliament were then in, some advantage and ill use would be made of these expressions, and that it could not possibly produce any good effect. But the archbishop, who had been personally ill treated by the mob, was transported by passion; and his authority imposed on the other bishops. The clause, according to lord CLARENDON, tho no body then durst open his mouth in defence of it, was good law and good logick, because a violence offered to the freedom of any one member is a violation to all the rest. His lordship however condemns the measure of that juncture as indiscreet: and the commons, being informed of the instrument, accused them all of high treason, for which the peers committed them to the Tower. Whatever indiscretion there might be in the thing itself, tho some expressions in it might be unwarrantable, and the form of presenting it might be irregular, yet there could not be any treason in it: and a determination of that injustice, horror, and impiety, of committing twelve bishops to prison for high treason, whereby their honour, lives and fortunes were forfeited, their names exposed to infamy and their families to want, without assigning such a crime as the law had determined to be worthy of imprisonment, made the malignant party more odious, their base designs more visible, and the veneration for parliaments much abated. In short, after the resolution was once formed by the faction of invading the established government, it was not to be expected, that their proceedings in such an attempt should be equitable, or regular. But in their attacks upon the hierarchy, they more openly transgressed all the bounds of justice, charity, and moderation.

On the morrow after the commitment of the bishops, the commons

commons sent to the upper house, to desire they would take into consideration the bill which had been before them for some months, for taking away the bishops votes, under another title. The upper house was now no longer the same since the exclusion of the prelates; and the request of the commons was taken into consideration. However to decline the odium of innovating thus remarkably upon the constitution, some of the lords had tried to prevail with the bishops, to yield up their right of voting in parliament to the importunity of the commons; assuring them, that the temporal lords would hold themselves bound in honour to support them in all the essentials of their character, if they would relinquish their right in this particular. But the bishops would not divest themselves of their peerage, to feed the malignant humour of a factious party, who meant nothing less than to preserve the constitution in its natural state. When the bill was therefore resumed at this juncture in the house of lords, after a few debates, it passed by a great majority; notwithstanding there had been petitions sent from different parts of the kingdom with near an hundred thousand hands in favour of the bishops; and desiring some speedy course might be taken to suppress such schismatics and separatists, whose factious spirits endanger the peace of church and state. The bill however being thus passed, under the title of "a bill for taking away all temporal jurisdiction from those in holy orders," the king was earnestly desired to give the royal assent; to which his majesty answered, that it was a matter of great concernment, and therefore he would take time to advise, and would let them know his intention in a convenient time. But this delay was very unpleasing to those who could make no attempt for the sovereignty, till these votes of the bishops were quite abolished: and therefore they sent the same day to the king, who was at Windsor, to press his compliance upon the following reasons; "because of the grievances the subjects suffered by the bishops exercise of temporal jurisdiction and making a party in the house of lords; because of the great content it would give by the happy conjunction of both houses in their absence; and because the passing this bill would be a comfortable pledge of his majesty's gracious assent to the future remedies of those evils which were to be presented to him." All this, in other language, was to persuade the king to pass this bill, because then he would be able to deny them nothing.

To this modest request, there were those of fidelity about his
 majesty,

majesty, who were ignorant enough of the constitution, and weak enough in their judgment, to join their persuasion that the bill might pass, as the only way to preserve the church. The king thought of this affair much more ably than his councillors: and tho it was a fault which ran thro his government, that he yielded his own understanding upon all occasions, which was generally superior to that of his ministers, yet he was long inflexible upon this point, from every principle which should direct the mind of man. Had his majesty persevered in this inflexibility, he would probably have prevented the greatest part of that confusion, which his compliance with this bill let in like an inundation upon church and state, and which ended in the ruin of both. But he could refuse nothing to the solicitation and importunity of the queen, who, being persuaded that her own preservation depended on his majesty's passing it, made use of all her influence with him for his assent; hoping by that means to lay a popular obligation upon the kingdom, as an act acquired by her condescension to the parliament. In this manner that weak and unhappy woman wrested the king's resolution from him on this article: and when the bill was passed by commission, his majesty sent a message to the two houses, "that he
 " hoped this would serve to assure his parliament, that he
 " desired nothing more than the satisfaction of the kingdom:
 " and yet that he may further manifest to both houses, how im-
 " patient he is till he finds out a full remedy to compose the pre-
 " sent distempers, he acquaints them, that he will require the
 " statutes against recusants to be put in execution, and that all
 " Romish priests shall depart the kingdom within twenty days.
 " Moreover, because great and different troubles are observed to
 " arise concerning the government and liturgy of the church,
 " his majesty declares further, that he will refer that whole con-
 " sideration to his parliament; but desires not to be pressed to
 " any single act on his part, till the whole be so digested and
 " settled by both houses, that his majesty may clearly see what
 " is fit to be left, as well as what is fit to be taken away." But the two houses contented themselves with sending only a short message of thanks, without any other answer, and thought themselves now superior to all opposition. In truth, the king's party was extremely weakened by the passing of this bill: and as they never after retained any confidence that he would deny the parliament any act that was pressed with importunity, so they either for the most part absolutely withdrew, or suffered themselves to be carried along with the stream. The day after the bill

bill was passed, the lords admitted the bishops to bail, who were in the Tower for the treason of their protestation, as it was called; which so offended the house of commons, that they expostulated with the upper house about it in terms of great indignation, and caused the bishops to be recommitted immediately to the Tower. In short every thing tended now to a rupture between the king and the parliament; the legislature was divided, and the constitution broken.

In this situation of affairs, his majesty acquainted the two houses with his design to reside for some time at York; adding, that he expected they should pay a due regard to his prerogative, and to the laws established. A long paper war, the prelude to one of a much more fatal consequence, ensued; which was managed with great warmth and mutual reproaches on both sides, because neither side thought at that time of an accommodation. In order to encourage the factious and schismatical part of the kingdom, which thought the motions towards a reformation in the church were not quick enough, the two houses published a declaration; "that they intended a due and necessary reformation of the government and liturgy of the church, and to take away nothing in the one or other but what should be evil and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary and burdensome, and would speedily have consultation with godly and learned divines: but because that would never of itself attain the end, they would use their utmost endeavours to establish learned and preaching ministers with a good and sufficient maintenance thro the kingdom." This declaration, which was intended to encourage their friends who were in the secret, as well as to lay others asleep who began to be awake with the apprehension of the destruction they saw threatened to church and state, was printed, and dispersed in every market town in the kingdom. On the second of June, the parliament by a committee presented the king with the sum of all their desires for the reformation and security of church and state, in nineteen propositions. Those which related to the former were thus expressed: "That his majesty would be pleased to consent, that such a reformation be made of the church government and liturgy, as both houses of parliament shall advise: wherein they intend to have consultation with divines, according to the declaration just recited; and that his majesty will contribute his best assistance for the raising a sufficient maintenance for preaching ministers thro the kingdom, and will give consent to the laws

“laws for the taking away innovations, superstition, and pluralities, and against scandalous ministers.” To these propositions the king replied, by referring them to his answer to their petition, to his first declaration, and to his message which he sent on passing the bill against the bishops votes in parliament; and to these I shall refer the reader. But as for the bills against superstitions, innovations, and pluralities, his majesty declared he could say nothing to them till he saw them.

It was now apparent to all the nation, that the controversy between the king and parliament, which had been hitherto debated by the pen, must be decided by the sword. Each party therefore called in to their aid all the assistance they could get, and the scene of war began to open. It does not fall in with the design of this history to enter at all into the detail of this scene of misery and confusion; and I must own I am very glad that it does not. It is a scene now as shocking to the humanity of a generous tender hearted man, as it was then cruel and dishonourable to the English nation. It has left a memorable lesson however to posterity, how delusive, how destructive that principle is, by which the pious patriots of those days were animated. If any methods could have been found out, at the time I am speaking of, to restore a mutual confidence between the king and the two houses, the remaining differences in the church might easily have been accommodated. But as the flames of the civil war spread wider and grew more fierce, the wounds of the church were more enlarged; and when the parliament called in the Scotch to their assistance with the solemn league and covenant, and for the sake of which perhaps they principally were called, these wounds became incurable. The state of the controversy was then entirely changed, and the mask was laid aside: the puritans no longer sought for a reformation of the hierarchy, and for indulgence to tender consciences, but for the same spiritual power which had been exercised by the bishops, and to introduce the presbyterian government in its full extent, as the established religion of England. To this purpose a bill was passed by the commons, for the utter abolishing and extirpation of episcopacy; and it was obstinately concluded, that no overtures for peace should be made to the king till this bill was passed in the house of lords, where it would never otherwise have been submitted to. Thus the ancient English hierarchy was suspended, and lay prostrate, for eighteen years; tho it was never legally dis-

dissolved for want of the royal assent. From this time, till the civil war was at an end, there was no established form of government in the church: and learning itself, which tends so much to enlarge the mind and to humanize the temper, rather served on this occasion to exalt the wild enthusiasm, and the epidemical frenzy which prevailed. The puritan divines were zealous calvinists; and having been prohibited for some years from preaching against the arminians, they pointed all their artillery now against them; insisting upon nothing else almost in their sermons, than in the doctrines of predestination, justification by faith, salvation by free grace, and the inability of man to do that which is good. This inability indeed was so much insisted on, and the moral duties of the gospel were so much slighted and contemned, that, verging from one extreme into the other, they made way for antinomianism: and thus at length the weaker sort were lost in the wild mazes of enthusiastic dreams and visions, and others pretended to justify the hidden works of dishonesty. The political principles of these men were not less absurd, nor less destructive of order and good government, than those they were actuated by in religion: and as these were the chief council at this time to the house of commons, and had the greatest influence in their debates, it is no wonder that this unhappy nation should be thrown into convulsions, which overturned the government of church and state. At this period, when all ecclesiastical authority was at an end, when the regular clergy were forced from their cures, and the very face of the church of England was covered with error and fanaticism, it will be proper to conclude this book. It ought not to be concluded however without some reflexions, which tho they may do no great honour to human nature and to the times we treat of, may help to improve the human mind, and to reform the times we live in. The reflexions I mean are these. That it is not more dangerous and destructive to the happiness of the English nation, for the prince to extend his prerogative beyond the laws and liberties of his subjects, than it is for the people to assume an authority which the constitution hath not given them, under a pretence of zeal for the public good. We need not fear the former in the times we live in, but there is too much reason to give a caution against the latter. The other reflexion is as seasonable. That the civil government of the nation cannot be

car-

carried on without the ecclesiastical, which arose, and has been connected with it, from the beginning; to which end it is necessary, that the clergy should be supported and had in honour: that whatever the people may think, or the legislature may contrive, religion without enthusiasm is essential to the state; and religion, and the credit and honour of the clergy, are intimately connected.

THE
ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK XV.

THE parliament having tasted the sweets of sovereignty for a time, proceeded to prosecute it upon the same principles that they began it; and prevented the king from all possibility of an accommodation, by still requiring new concessions, and a further abridgment of the regal power. Of this sort were the nineteen propositions already mentioned, and of others, now to be spoke of, in a treaty for peace at Oxford. Besides other articles, to which a compleat victory could alone entitle them, they required the king in exprefs terms, to abolish episcopacy entirely, and that all ecclesiastical controversies should be determined by an assembly of divines; that is, in the manner the most repugnant to the king, and all his party. His majesty however consented that these propositions should be debated on a treaty; and on his own part required, that a bill should be prepared for the better preserving of the book of common prayer, from the scorn and violence of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other sectaries, with proper clauses for the ease of tender consciences. But this treaty being broke off without any good effect, the parliament passed an ordinance, in the beginning of June sixteen hundred and forty three, “for the calling an assembly of learned and godly divines and others, to settle the government and liturgy of the church of England, and for vindicating and clearing the doctrines of the said church.”

The convocation had been summoned, as usual, at the beginning

ginning of this parliament: but the times were too turbulent for any business to be done; and so they separated without any prorogation by the king's writ, or by any other form. The parliament however were so far from confiding their business to this body of men, that they would not refer the choice of their assembly to the beneficed clergy, according to the customary method of provincial synods. The knights and burgessees were to bring in the names of such divines for the several counties, as they thought fit for constituting such an assembly: but those members who were well affected to the church disdained to be thus concerned in invading its rights in a synod: so that of above an hundred and twenty, of which that assembly was to consist, there were not above twenty, says lord CLARENDON, "who were
 " not declared and avowed enemies to the doctrine and disci-
 " pline of the church of England, some of them infamous in
 " their lives and conversations, and most of them of very mean
 " parts in learning, if not of scandalous ignorance." But as MR. NEAL, and others, have objected to the noble historian's testimony as a prejudiced person, the reader shall see what is said of them by the famous MILTON, a known republican, and enemy to the king. "If the state were in this plight, religion was not
 " in a much better: to reform which a certain number of di-
 " vines were called, neither chosen by any rule nor custom
 " ecclesiastical, nor eminent for either piety, or knowledge,
 " above others left out. The most part of them were such,
 " as had preached and cried down, with great shew of zeal, the
 " avarice and pluralities of bishops and prelates, that one cure
 " of souls was a full employment for one spiritual pastor, how
 " able soever, if not a charge above human strength. Yet
 " these conscientious men e'er any part of the work done for
 " which they came together, and that on the public salary,
 " wanted not boldness, to the ignominy and scandal of their
 " pastor like profession and especially of their boasted reforma-
 " tion, to seize into their hands, or not unwillingly to accept,
 " besides one, sometimes two, or more of the best livings,
 " collegiate masterships in the universities, rich lectures in the
 " city, setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their
 " covetous bosoms.---But while they taught compulsion with-
 " out convincement which not long before they complained of,
 " as executed unchristianly against themselves, these intents are
 " clear to have been no better than antichristian; setting up a
 " spiritual tyranny by a secular power to the advancing of their
 " own authority above the magistrate, whom they would have
 " made

“ made their executioners to punish church delinquencies,
 “ whereof civil laws have no cognizance.----Looking on the
 “ churchmen whom they saw under subtle hypocrisy, to have
 “ preached their own follies, most of them, not the gospel ;
 “ time servers, covetous, illiterate persecutors, not lovers of the
 “ truth, and like in most things whereof they accused their pre-
 “ decessors.”

Before the meeting of this assembly the king forbid it by a proclamation ; declaring that the acts done by them ought not to be received by his subjects, and threatening to proceed against the divines with the utmost severity of the law. Nevertheless, sixty nine assembled in HENRY the seventh's chapel according to their summons, having few or no episcopal divines among them. Having settled the form of their proceedings, the parliament sent them an order to review the thirty nine articles of the church ; but I shall not trouble the reader with the theological debates of this assembly. The parliament finding themselves unable to contend with the king's forces, had called in, as I have said, the assistance of the Scotch. But the Scotch would not hearken to any overtures for an alliance, without the English parliament would be guarantees to the presbyterian government in Scotland, and engage to establish it in the church of England. The English commissioners agreed to these terms ; a solemn league and covenant was accordingly drawn up, and agreed to, by the convention of the states, and the general assembly of the church of Scotland ; and being transmitted hither, and approved of by the assembly of divines at Westminster, it was sworn to, and subscribed, by both houses of parliament, and the assembly, with great solemnity. This “ solemn league and “ covenant,” besides mutual defence against all opponents, bound the subscribers to endeavour without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery, and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and prophaneness ; to maintain the right and privileges of parliament along with the king's authority ; and to discover, and bring to justice, all incendiaries, and malignants. This was ordered to be taken by all persons above eighteen years of age ; and the assembly were commanded to draw up an exhortation to persuade the people to it. Several orders were at the same time issued by the commons, for the spreading this covenant over the whole kingdom, and the names of those who refused it after a second tender were to be returned to the house. As this was a protestation of a mixed nature, and contained obligations upon

conscience which wise and honest men might scruple as being contrary to the laws, tho they were well affected to the protestant religion and liberties of their country, so the imposing it as a test was an abuse of that sovereign power which this very parliament had complained of so much in the king.

His majesty issued a proclamation to forbid the taking of this covenant, which had but little effect. But many complaints have been made, and with great reason, of the execution which this test did upon the established clergy throwout the kingdom. It was a new weapon put into the hands of the commons, which enabled them with more ease and certainty to discover "malig-
"nant or disaffected ministers;" the modest appellation given the episcopal clergy by this patriot parliament. Instead of producing a number of witnesses, which had been the method before, the covenant was now tendered; and the clergy, who refused it, turned out of their livings. A great and barbarous devastation was made of all the painted windows and ornaments in cathedrals, without even sparing the monuments of the dead. In short, they committed every outrage on the churches, which ignorance, fanatic rage, and enthusiasm, could inspire. The archbishop of CANTERBURY, by an ordinance of the two houses, had been forbid to collate divines to any benefices in his gift, whom they did not nominate; and for his disobedience to this order, he was about this time suspended from his office, and benefice, and all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, till he should be convicted or acquitted of the high treason of which he stood impeached. The assembly of divines now did all the business of the church: the parishes chose their ministers, the assemblies examined and approved them, and the parliament confirmed them in their livings. But in order to procure a succession of divines trained up in the principles which the houses had espoused, they ordered the earl of MANCHESTER to purge the university of Cambridge, which was the head quarters of the forces under his command. In consequence of this order, the earl required the attendance of all the masters, fellows, and scholars in the university on a certain day, and the covenant was tendered to all who were suspected of disaffection to the parliament; that is, to all those who had any regard to our ancient constitution in church and state. By this means an hundred and ninety five graduates were despoiled of their livelihood, and banished the university, without any crime or accusation objected against them.

It is difficult to compute the number of clergymen who might lose their livings by order of parliament during the war; nor is it indeed of any great importance. The arbitrary power which was exercised was the same, whether more or fewer suffered from it; and the not putting it in execution might be for want of opportunity, or because they could not. In all probability, by the best computation that can be made, the number may amount to about two thousand, whom this parliament turned out of their livings, for an obedience to the laws and constitution of their country. Tho the majority of the commons had agreed to reduce episcopacy from the beginning, yet they had not determined, till after their application for the Scots assistance, to lay aside the name and function of a bishop, and to establish a presbyterian government. Had this been intended, at least if it had been owned, it would have been impossible to have carried their opposition to the king the length they did. The reader will observe, that I have said it was not the intention of the majority of the commons: for that it was intended from the first, by a few members who were puritans there is no doubt; and they had no chance for carrying their design into execution, but by concealing it industriously from all the rest. The majority however being convinced, that they could not carry on the war against the king, without an assistance from the Scotch, and that this assistance was not to be had but by embracing the presbyterian government, they saw that they must either comply with this model, or lose the fruit of all their opposition to the arbitrary measures of the king: and they thought this neither safe nor prudent. Having thus resigned their opinions to the necessity of their affairs, the puritans had now the direction of every thing in the church; and the assembly of divines were ordered to agree upon such a form of discipline and government, as would preserve an union with the church of Scotland. But as soon as they had got the upper hand, and had extirpated the ancient order of worship and discipline observed in England, the several parties among the puritans, who had before lay concealed under that general name, began to shew themselves; and each of them claimed a share in framing the new model. The name of puritans is from this time therefore to be sunk; and they are for the future to be spoke of, under the distinction of presbyterians, erastians, and independents, who had all their different views. The former had taken their plan from Scotland, and had now advanced it

into a "divine institution," derived expressly from CHRIST, and his apostles: but this met with as much opposition from the other sectaries as episcopacy itself. The craftians, who believed the government of the church to be a creature of the state, would not admit the pastoral office to be any thing more than persuasive; and denied any spiritual jurisdiction or coercive power over the conscience, or that any one form of church government was prescribed in scripture, as a rule to future ages. For this opinion they had the authority of many of our first reformers.

The independents made a third party; the political principles and genius of which were not understood by lord CLARENDON, RAPIN, nor MR. HUME. The fathers of this sect were divines who had fled from England, under the prosecutions of ELIZABETH and in the reign of JAMES, and had settled at Rotterdam, and in Guelderland: where, to use their own language, "they
" looked upon the word of CHRIST, as impartially and un-
" prejudicedly as men are ever like to do; the place they went
" to, the condition they were in, and the company they went
" with, affording no temptation to any bias." The principles upon which they founded their church government, were to confine themselves to scripture precedent, without any regard to ancient practice, or modern innovations; and not to tie themselves up to their present resolutions, without room for alteration upon any further views and enquiry. On these principles they built a system, "that every particular congregation
" of Christians has an entire and compleat power of jurisdiction
" over its members, to be exercised by the elders thereof with-
" in itself." But they did not claim such an entire independency with regard to other churches, as that an offending church is not to submit to an open examination by other neighbouring churches, who may renounce communion with it for persisting in their error; which was all the ecclesiastical authority which they thought could be exercised, without calling in the civil magistrate for which they found no ground in scripture. They practised no church censures but admonition, and upon obstinate offenders for crimes of the last importance, excommunication. They professed an agreement in doctrine with the articles of the church of England; and their officers and public rulers in the church, were pastors, teachers, and elders, being all ecclesiastical persons separated to that service, and deacons. Tho they did not approve of a prescribed form of worship, yet they thought

thought public prayers should be framed by the meditation and study of their ministers: and they offered up public prayers for kings and all that were in authority, read the scriptures of the old and new testament in their assemblies, administered the sacraments of baptism and the lord's supper, sung psalms, and made a collection for the poor every Sunday. In short, tho they did not admit of persons unordained to any office, except as probationers for the ministry, yet they did not think "preaching" "so peculiarly confined to pastors and teachers, but that others" "also gifted and fitted for it by the holy ghost, and approved," "being by lawful ways and means called thereunto by providence, may publicly, ordinarily, and constantly perform it," "so that they give themselves up thereunto." As to their political principles, which our historians have misunderstood, they set forth a declaration, "that as magistracy and government" "in general is the ordinance of God, they do not disapprove of" "any form of civil government, but do freely acknowledge" "that a kingly government, bounded by just and wholesome" "laws, is both allowed by God, and a good accommodation" "unto men." I have been the more particular in giving the reader this account, not only as the party of the independents grew up into an establishment on the ruins of the rest, but also as almost all our historians, besides those I have mentioned, have confounded them with the anabaptists, who at this time appeared in England, who were republican in their principles of civil government, and had no regard to learning, or ordination, in their teachers.

The assembly of divines having given their advice to the parliament in what manner to provide for a succession in the ministry, the two houses passed an ordinance, in October sixteen hundred and forty four, for ordination; appointing ten of the members of the assembly, and thirteen presbyters of the city of London, to examine, and ordain by imposition of hands, all those whom they thought qualified to be admitted. Seven of these divines were to make a quorum; and "all persons ordained by them, were to be reputed ministers of the church" "of England, sufficiently authorized for any office or employment, and capable of all advantages appertaining to the same." The point of ordination being thus settled, the assembly proceeded next to settle a form of public worship: for tho the liturgy had been set aside above a year before, yet there was no other form appointed in its stead. Such was the pious care of

this religious parliament, when they had once thrown down all the bounds of order in church and state: and from this negligence there arose so many sects and divisions, as it was not in their power afterwards to destroy. Every man, as he was either prompted by the warmth of his temper, excited by emulation, or supported by his habits of hypocrisy, endeavoured to distinguish himself beyond his fellows, and to arrive at an higher pitch of fanaticism, which they dignified by the name of saintship. The soldier, the merchant, the mechanick, indulging the fervour of an holy zeal, and guided by the influence of the spirit, gave himself up to an inward and superior direction, and was in a manner consecrated by an immediate intercourse with heaven. At last however came out "a directory for public worship," established in January sixteen hundred and forty five, by an ordinance of the two houses; allowing full indulgence to the public teachers in their prayers and sermons to whatever their enthusiasm might dictate on the points prescribed.

The ordinance for establishing this directory repeals the acts of EDWARD and ELIZABETH, by which the liturgy had been established; and forbids the use of it in every place of public worship throwout England, and Wales. But it was a considerable time before this great revolution in the form of public worship took place over the kingdom. In some parts of the country, the churchwardens could not procure a directory; in others they despised it, and continued the common prayer book; some would read no form, and others would read one of their own. In order therefore to give life to their establishment, the parliament, in the following summer, called in all the common prayer books, and imposed a fine upon such ministers as should read any other form than that contained in the directory. The same ordinance forbids the use of the common prayer book in any private place or family, under the penalty of five pounds for the first offence, ten pounds for the second, and for the third a year's imprisonment. Whosoever did not observe the directory was to forfeit forty shillings, and those who wrote, preached, or printed any thing in derogation of it, were to forfeit not less than five, nor more than fifty pounds, to the use of the poor. These were the first fruits of presbyterian uniformity; equal to any thing which had been complained of in the severities and oppressions of the two former reigns. For if the parliament had a right to abrogate the use of the liturgy in the places of public worship, which most certainly they had not, yet where was the liberty of

conscience which the presbyterians had made so much noise about for many years, when they forbid the liturgy to closets and to private families? But this was not the only instance which they gave of their love of power, and persecution, when their own uniformity was called in question. The anabaptists made a considerable figure at this time, and spread into several separate congregations with an enthusiastic fury. Several of these were therefore imprisoned, and not with less rigour than the presbyterians had themselves complained of under BANCROFT. Whilst they were going on to press the directory over the kingdom, the king published a proclamation; requiring the common prayer book to be kept and used in all churches and chapels, and that the directory should not be admitted or observed. His majesty likewise issued warrants, under his own hand, to the heads of the university, commanding them to read divine service as usual; and assuring the lords at Oxford, “that he was still determined
“to live and die for the privileges of his crown, for his friends,
“and for church government.”

I must now turn to give an account of the sad catastrophe of the life of archbishop LAUD; who had been imprisoned in the Tower almost four years on an impeachment of high treason. It is beside the purpose of this history to give a narrative of the trial of this famous prelate, which was five months depending, upon this general charge, that he had endeavoured to subvert the laws, the protestant religion, and the rights of parliament. I call this the general charge, because all the particular articles of the impeachment may be reduced to this. His grace made a full and undaunted defence of himself for above twenty days, with great art, vivacity, oratory, and firmness; and, considering the malice and animosity of the managers for the commons against him, with more patience, and discretion, than could be expected from a man of his warm and imperious temper. The lords were not satisfied that the facts alledged against him were treason by the laws of the land; and therefore deferred giving judgment against the primate. The commons, upon this, had recourse to their old expedient, of procuring petitions from the inhabitants of London, to pray for speedy justice; in other terms, to menace and terrify the houses into their measures. But lest this should not prevail, the commons changed their attack into a bill of attainder; against which, the archbishop spoke at their bar for several hours. The lords consented to this bill, notwithstanding his grace produced a pardon from his majesty in proper

form under the great seal; pretending the king could not pardon a judgment of parliament, especially as the nation was in a state of war. It was not without difficulty, that the commons could be prevailed with, that the sentence of hanging should be changed into beheading; which, as the prisoner was a bishop, a privy councillor, and the first peer of the realm, shews the rancour and inveteracy with which they persecuted him to death. His grace's behaviour on the scaffold was truly great and magnanimous; and in my own opinion did him more honour than all the circumstances of his life.

This was the end of the famous archbishop LAUD; of whom all our historians speak with abominable partiality, either in his favour, or dispraise. He was neither the saint which some have represented him, nor the devil which others painted him. As to his temper, it must be allowed, that with great openness and sincerity there was joined an ungoverned heat and impetuosity which put him off his guard, and betrayed him into indiscretions which gave a great handle against him. His spirit being active and uncontrollable, it was a misfortune to him to be placed in the high rank of metropolitan, and prime minister, in which he had so many opportunities to exert it; because, with his high principles in church and state, it made his grace no friend to the laws and constitution of his country, and it raised many enemies against him who were implacable. He was a man of good parts which had been improved by learning; but he was more a man of business, than of letters. Lord CLARENDON has confessed, that he retained too keen a memory of those who had used him ill; and there was something very boisterous and turbulent in his disposition. There is no sort of doubt, let his enemies say what they will, that he was a firm and thorow protestant, without any inclination to become a papist. But as his zeal for the church of England made him a mortal enemy to all the sectaries which divided from it, so, to remove himself as far as he could from these, he countenanced, and introduced some ceremonies into the service, which resembled those in the church of Rome; and which he pressed with as much rigour as tho they had been the essentials of religion. This was the great foible of archbishop LAUD. It must be owned too, that he had a great deal of superstition in his composition, which appears in many instances of his diary. His virtue consisted more perhaps in the severity of his manners, and an abstinence from pleasure, than in any real affections of benevolence, or a true goodness of heart.

heart. Nothing equalled his resolution, but his zeal for the king and the hierarchy; and in obeying the impulse of that zeal, he trusted entirely to his good intentions, without any regard to prudence or politeness; that is, he took no care to make these intentions appear in their best colours, nor pay'd any deference to the sentiments of other people about them, but rested satisfied in his own integrity. He was to the last degree impatient of contradiction, even in the council; nor could he debate any argument, which was not of moment, with the patience and temper which became his character. He was a great benefactor to the college where he was educated, enriching it with a variety of valuable manuscripts, besides five hundred pounds in money. He settled the impropriation of Caddeſden on the ſee of Oxford, and annexed commendams on ſeveral other biſhopricks. He expended large ſums in the repairs, and rebuilding, of the cathedral of St. PAUL's; ſettled two hundred a year on an hoſpital at Reading where he was born; and left ſeveral legacies of the like nature. But with all the virtues and accompliſhments which his moſt partial friends have attributed to him, it muſt be owned he was very unfit for either of the ſtations which he filled in church and ſtate; eſpecially in ſuch times, and under ſuch a monarch as CHARLES the firſt. Upon the whole we may ſay of archbiſhop LAUD, that he had virtues and qualifications, great enough to have made him, as much beloved, and reſpected, in private life, and in quiet times, as he was now diſliked, and diſregarded.

About the latter end of January ſixteen hundred and forty five, a treaty of peace was entered upon at Uxbridge, by commissioners from the king, and parliament; in which the propoſitions relating to religion, on the part of the latter were theſe; “ that a bill ſhould be paſſed for abolishing episcopal govern-
 “ ment; for confirming the ordinance for calling and fitting of
 “ the aſſembly of divines; that the directory for public wor-
 “ ſhip, and the preſbyterian government by congregational,
 “ claffical, and ſynodical aſſemblies, be confirmed, as a part of
 “ reformation of religion and uniformity; that his majeſty ſhall
 “ take the ſolemn league and covenant; and that an act of par-
 “ liament ſhall be paſſed to enjoin it to be taken by all the ſub-
 “ jects of the three kingdoms.” After many diſputes, and a great deal of time ſpent, his majeſty's commissioners conſented to theſe particulars; “ that the penal laws enjoining ceremonies
 “ ſhall be ſuſpended, and every body left to their own freedom:
 “ that

“ that the bishops shall exercise no act of jurisdiction, or ordi-
 “ nation, without the consent of a council of presbyters, to be
 “ chosen out of the diocese: that the bishop shall constantly
 “ reside in his diocese, except when required to attend his ma-
 “ jesty on any occasion, and if not hindered by sickness, preach
 “ every Sunday: that great care shall be taken in conferring holy
 “ orders about the sufficiency and other qualifications of the
 “ candidates: that a competent maintenance shall be provided,
 “ by act of parliament, for vicarages belonging to bishops, deans,
 “ and chapters, out of the impropriations: that no man for
 “ the future shall have two benefices with cure of souls: that
 “ an hundred thousand pounds shall be raised out of the lands
 “ belonging to bishops, deans, and chapters, towards settling
 “ the public peace: and that visitations, fees of ecclesiastical
 “ courts, and abuses in spiritual jurisdiction, shall be regulated
 “ by parliament.” But these great concessions at this time
 from the king made no impression; and, the commissioners from
 the two houses having no liberty to relax a tittle from their
 demands, the treaty came to nothing, as all the others did
 before.

The directory was no sooner established on the ruins of the
 common prayer, and the presbyterian government assumed in the
 room of episcopacy, than the two parties of presbyterians and
 independents, who had agreed in overthrowing the church of
 England, quarrelled, and divided about the divine institution of
 presbyterianism: and the latter being joined by the craftians in
 this dispute, and having the army in their interest, the presby-
 terians were obliged to give way in the point of coercive power,
 which they grasped at with all their might. If the leading di-
 vines among them had come to a temper with the independ-
 ents on the foot of a limited toleration, they would in all pro-
 bability have prevented the disputes between the parliament and
 the army, which were the ruin of both. The king was now
 become their prisoner, by delivering himself up to the Scotch,
 who put him into the hands of the parliament; and as the pres-
 byterians had the majority in the house of commons, they might
 have made their own terms with his majesty. But these enthu-
 siasts were enchanted with the “ beauties of covenant unifor-
 “ mity, and the divine right of their presbytery;” which, af-
 ter all, the parliament would not allow in its full extent. The
 king endeavoured very wisely to make his advantages of these
 divisions, by courting the independents, and promising some
 of

of them valuable compensations for any services they should do him ; intimating to them withal, that it was impossible for them to obtain relief in their scruples, from those who were persuaded they were erecting the kingdom of CHRIST : but tho the independents were enemies to the presbyterian discipline, they would not trust the king. The kingdom of England instead of so many dioceses, was now divided into a certain number of provinces, made up of representatives from the several classes within their boundaries : every parish had a congregational or parochial presbytery for the affairs of the parish : the parochial presbyteries were combined into classes, and these chose representatives for the provincial assembly, as the provincial did for the national. But tho the church government was thus settled, there never was a provincial meeting but in London and Lancashire ; the parliament never came heartily into it, and the interest that supported it was soon disabled.

The great officers of the army, at which CROMWELL was at the head, tho FAIRFAX was the general, being of the party of independents, disliking the presbyterian government as more tyrannical than the episcopal, and having but few preachers amongst them, undertook now themselves to preach, and pray publicly to the troops : and even the common soldiers, as well as the officers, not only prayed, and preached publicly among themselves, but also went up into the pulpits, in all the churches where they were quartered, and harangued to the people with great fervour. The enthusiastic spirit diffused itself like a pestilence ; it was caught by all ranks of men, and even the women “ would not restrain the spirit.” The army consented that presbytery should be the national religion ; but insisted on a toleration of all christians in the enjoyment of their religious rights. But the presbyterians proceeded with equal bitterness against the several sects, as they had done, and continued to do, against the church of England ; little doubting but they should be able, by the power and authority they had in the two houses, to get the better of the army, and new model it again. They had even determined to seize the person of CROMWELL, whose dissimulation was now discovered ; but, having notice of their design the night before, he made his escape. At the same time, the army took the king by violence out of the custody of the parliament ; and began to be more brisk and contumacious with the two houses than they had been before. They made liberty of conscience their great charter ; and till they had obtained it by

a legal settlement they agreed not to lay down their arms. They had fought the battles of the parliament, and therefore they thought it unreasonable to be told, that if they would not comply with presbyterian uniformity, they should be punished as sectaries, and driven out of the land. To avoid this, they treated separately with the king; and offered him much better terms and treated him with much more courtesy, than he had ever met with from the parliament; but his majesty was afraid to trust them. Besides he had adopted a maxim, from which his best friends could not persuade him to depart; which was, that it was in his power to turn the scale, and that the party must sink which he abandoned. This, together with some insincerity which he practised towards IRETON and CROMWELL, who were not themselves sincere, in their treaty with him, proved the ruin of the unhappy king; and which he repented of when it was too late.

There had been for some time a new faction, sprung up in the army, and in the kingdom, of levellers and republicans; and sprung up, without doubt, from that unbounded licence which the meanest persons took, under a pretence of obeying the spirit, to preach and pray in publick. During the contests between the parliament and the army, the general officers put no restraint upon these men: but as soon as the parliament was subdued, it was thought proper to suppress this daring and tumultuous faction; and CROMWELL subdued them, without any assistance, at the hazard of his life. When the university of Oxford fell into the hands of the parliament, they ordered a visitation of it; in order to reduce the colleges to their obedience, and to make them take the covenant. But the university, which had all along continued steadfast in their loyalty to the king, passed a public act and declaration against the covenant, and refused to submit to the authority of the visitors. They continued this firmness, till they were subdued by a military force; and then about three hundred members being expelled, or having absented themselves from it, the rest submitted: and many, says lord CLARENDON, who had been introduced illegally into the vacant fellowships, “applied themselves to the study of good learning, and the practice of virtue, and had an inclination to that duty and obedience which they had never been taught.” The parliament, having been recruited about this time with such presbyterian members as had absconded, or deserted their stations, whilst the army was in their neighbourhood, resumed their courage:

rage: and notwithstanding the independents had all along insisted for an unlimited toleration, the presbyterians took this opportunity of discovering their principles, by passing such an ordinance against hereticks as cannot be censured in terms of too great severity: It ordains, that all persons who shall maintain, defend, or publish, by preaching, or writing, the heresies which are after mentioned, with obstinacy, shall be committed to prison without bail till the next jail delivery, and if the inditement shall then be found, and the party not abjure, he shall suffer the pains of death as in the case of felony. This single ordinance is enough to shew, that the presbyterians would have made a dreadful use of their power, if it had been supported by the sword of the civil magistrate.

I must now turn to give an account of what passed in the last treaty, which the parliament had with the king in the isle of Wight, whither he had escaped from the army, as it related to the church, and to religion. Before the treaty began, the commissioners from the parliament informed his majesty, that they could not permit any other persons besides himself to confer with them upon their demands: and all the assistance he could obtain from the bishops and divines who had been allowed to attend upon him, was, that they might stand behind a curtain, and upon any point of difficulty the king might retire to his chamber for their advice. This was the unreasonable preliminary, to which the king was obliged to submit, before the treaty could begin: and when it was begun, he saw that the commissioners either could not, or would not, relax any point in the propositions they had to offer. Wherefore to shorten the negotiation, and to let the two houses know how far he could comply on the most important articles, his majesty sent a message to explain his intentions; and what he offered on religion was as follows: That the assembly of divines at Westminster may be confirmed for three years, and the directory, and presbyterian government continue for that time; provided that neither himself, nor his adherents, should be obliged to conform to it: that during that period, a consultation should be had with the assembly, and with twenty divines of his own nomination, to determine upon a form of government to be established afterwards in the church, with a provision for the ease of tender consciences: that his majesty would consent that legal estates for lives, or for a term of years, not exceeding ninety nine, might be made from the bishops lands and revenues, for the satisfac-

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tion of those who have purchased them; provided that the inheritance may still remain to the church, and the residue be reserved for their maintenance. These, with some other concessions of less importance, which related to other branches of the same proposition, he delivered to the commissioners as his final answer. It would be very tedious and unnecessary to set down all the arguments which were used on both sides upon the subject of episcopacy. In conclusion his majesty challenged the parliament divines, who were assistants to the commissioners on the head of religion, to shew, that either there is no form of church government prescribed in scripture, or if there be that the civil power may alter it as they see cause, or if it was unchangeable that it was not episcopal; and till this was done, he should think himself excusable for not consenting to the abolition of that church government, which he found settled at his coronation, which is so ancient, has been so universally received in the christian world, confirmed by so many acts of parliament, and been subscribed by all the clergy of the church of England. But the presbyterian divines did not think fit to enter on this debate.

The commons spent several days in deliberating on the king's concessions, and voted them unsatisfactory in the point of episcopacy; the lords, that is seven or eight peers of which alone that house consisted, concurring with them. These votes were transmitted to the commissioners; the king made more concessions; these were not approved of; the time of the treaty was enlarged, and new propositions made the king. At last, there being but one day left to determine the fate of the whole kingdom, the commissioners pressed him earnestly to satisfy the demands of the two houses. His own council, and his divines, besought him to consider the safety of his person for the sake of his church and people; who had some hope still left, whilst his majesty should be preserved, that they should enjoy many blessings, whereas if he was destroyed there was scarce a possibility to preserve them: that upon the best judgment which they could make, the order, which his majesty endeavoured to preserve with so much zeal and piety, was much more likely to be ruined, by his not complying, than by his suspending it till a future government could be settled. Upon all these considerations, which distressed the mind of the poor unhappy king, his majesty told the commissioners, "that after the condescensions he had already made in the business of the church, he had expected not
to

to be further pressed; it being his judgment, and his conscience. He could not however, he said, as he was then informed, consent to abolish episcopacy out of the church: but apprehending how fatal new distractions might be to the kingdom and that he believed his two houses would yield to truth, as he should be ready to do, he did again desire a consultation with divines in the manner he had proposed; and in all the rest, he adhered to his former answers.

A little before the conclusion of this treaty, the army had sent a remonstrance to the two houses in order to obstruct it; and which plainly discovered the intentions of the independents to blow up the constitution, and to bury the king, episcopacy, and presbytery, in its ruins. This remonstrance was backed by many petitions, tending to the same purpose, from different parts of the kingdom; and yet the parliament had the courage to resist. When they saw the violent resolutions in the army, which must have ended in the destruction of the presbyterians, the very same parliament which had a few days before voted the king's concessions unsatisfactory, took his answer again into consideration; and after a violent debate for three days together, it was carried by a majority of forty two, that his majesty's concessions were a sufficient foundation for the houses to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom. But it was then too late. The general had marched part of the army to London; and the next day, when the members went to the house, the presbyterians were excluded by a military force: and the independents who were admitted voted the king's answer to the propositions not satisfactory. The question was then, what was next to be done. It was high time to settle some form of government under which the nation was to live; and to make themselves popular, they declared the parliament should be dissolved on the last of April; and in the mean time they would bring those delinquents to justice, who had disturbed the peace of the kingdom, and put it to such an expence of blood and treasure. But the height of all iniquity and fanatical extravagance yet remained, the public trial and execution of their sovereign. Nothing could be found in the common, or statute law, which could direct, or warrant this proceeding: they were therefore to make a new form; and a new form they did make never heard of before, "an high court of justice to try his majesty for high treason in levying war against his parliament." The

rest need not be told: I shall therefore drop the curtain; and conclude the tragedy by a character of this unhappy prince.

RAPIN has observed, and I believe very justly, that there is not a fair and impartial English historian upon this subject; at least I have never seen one. I am sensible therefore of the delicacy of the task I have undertaken; and that our attachment to party in this country, tho very absurd, is yet so violent, that in giving a character of CHARLES the first, I shall be more likely to displease all, than to gratify any one denomination of English readers. But I am too far embarked in this sea already, and have proceeded with too much integrity and regard to truth in this history, to be terrified now with the apprehension of censure from party spleen: and yet I freely own that I am not insensible to the conflict of the mind which every writer must feel, between the desire of pleasing, and the fear of offending by adhering strictly to the truth. Wherever I differ from other historians in the character of king CHARLES, as differ I do from every one that I have seen, I do it on a calm and candid examination of all the facts in his reign from which his character may be known, and not from the principles of government which he might practise, and I may disapprove of: and if I had not known myself to be free from any of those attachments, which transport men with prejudice towards the persons they have occasion to mention, and whose actions they are at liberty to condemn, I would never have engaged in this undertaking. The temper of king CHARLES, is one of the few particulars relating to him, in which almost all historians have agreed: and if there are some inconsistencies in this temper, they are not peculiar to this monarch, but such as are always to be met with in the human mind. He was very grave without any moroseness, stately without pride, patient in debate and yet hasty in determination, compassionate but not bountiful, condescending and yet inflexible, couragious but not enterprising, chearful without gaiety, and of the same even disposition in all turns of fortune. He was unquestionably endowed with very good natural parts; and neither wanted a quick apprehension, a just discernment of men and things, nor a very solid judgment. But he had such a diffidence of his own abilities, and it was the leading step to his ruin, that he constantly submitted to the direction of those about him, tho he had not often any minister to whom he was not superior in parts and knowledge. As his diversions were few,

few, he applied himself much to study, and had a good taste of learning: but his skill in the liberal arts, especially architecture and painting, was very extraordinary for a prince. He was more a master of the essentials of divinity than his father had ever been, but without the allay of pedantry. He spoke several languages correctly, and with a singular good grace; and his style was easy, strong, and clear when it was not intended to be ambiguous and equivocal. His principles of government were not what he had assumed, but what he had been educated in by his father: and tho these tended greatly to make him absolute, and to establish arbitrary power, in which he persisted for the first fifteen years of his reign, yet it must be considered in his favour, that the bounds of the prerogative were not so fixed and ascertained as they have been since, nor was the spirit of liberty in the parliament so strong, and so general among the people. Here however was the great blemish of the life of CHARLES: and how criminal soever the parliament were, when he had redressed the grievances they had been oppressed with, and given all the security which he could give against any more, yet their opposition to him till that period, was the opposition of a brave people struggling for their rights and liberties against an arbitrary prince, who made his will the law, and who intended to trample those rights and liberties under his feet. But as it often happens when we endeavour to get free from one extreme that we run into another, so the parliament turned the tables upon the king: his majesty became as much too supple as he had been before too arbitrary; and the commons exercised the tyranny they had been contending against in the person of their sovereign. The sincerity of CHARLES's promises and declarations has been called in question by many people; or as MR. HUME expresses it, "some historians have rashly questioned " his good faith:" and notwithstanding that gentleman's opinion, " that the most malignant scrutiny into his majesty's conduct affords not any reasonable foundation for this reproach," yet with submission, I apprehend that this charge is just. I do not say indeed, as many writers do, that the king always made use of doubtful and ambiguous terms, reserving the explication of them as it might best suit his purpose, which is not very consistent with good faith, but it appears to me, I must own, that he sometimes used that artifice with a studied intention to deceive the parliament. But however this might be, which I am willing enough to leave rather probable than undoubted, yet it is notorious that he broke his faith, in confirming the duke

of BUCKINGHAM's false account of the Spanish treaty, in protecting and employing papists, in compounding with recusants, and dispensing with the penal laws against them. Nor is it less notorious, that his majesty broke his faith to the parliament, in the petition of right; and notwithstanding his assurances to the commons of his intention to maintain their privileges, that he violated them within a few days after. The king indeed seems to have learnt a lesson from his misfortunes, which if he had ever been restored to his throne, would probably have prevented this stain upon his honour for the remaining part of his life: because in the last letter which he wrote to the prince his son, he charges him very solemnly among other excellent advices, "that
" if he should be restored to his right upon hard conditions,
" whatever he promises, he should keep." His majesty had such an inviolable attachment to his queen, that he could refuse her nothing: and he suffered more by her counsels after the commencement of the long parliament, than by any indiscretions or ill intentions of his own. The personal virtues of this monarch were very extraordinary. His justice, temperance, humanity, chastity, and forgiveness, made him amiable even to those who disliked the measures of his government; and had he been a private nobleman they would have rendered him very deservedly the delight of all mankind. In truth, the king had but one vice; and that I may not leave it to be guessed at, I shall make no scruple to say, after the instances I have given, that it was his not being faithful to his word and promises. But this perhaps did not merit the appellation of vice in the court of CHARLES; tho it is scarce conceivable how a king can have a quality much more criminal and pernicious. The regularity and the constancy of his majesty's devotion, were to be equalled by nothing but his zeal for religion as it was established in the church of England. His inclination therefore to popery, tho charged upon him in his reign, and by many historians since his death, is a malicious groundless imputation: and there never was a man, I believe, more sincerely attached to the protestant religion with some mixtures of superstition, than this monarch was. The Roman catholicks indeed, as I have said, out of a profound complaisance to his queen whom he loved very passionately, and perhaps on some occasions from mistaken reasons of state, were not only screened from the rigour of the law, but encouraged, and confided in. The king himself however was inflexible in his own religion: and this leads me to speak to that part of his character, in speaking of which I am sensible, that the ground I tread on

is extremely tender: but not to swerve from the rule of integrity which I have professed to observe in this work, I presume to say that I see no pretence for giving king CHARLES the title of a martyr. The protestant religion in opposition to popery was never the thing in question; and there was too great a complication of causes which brought him to the scaffold to ascribe it solely or principally to religion. But should it be allowed that religion was the only cause of his execution, we must then distinguish it away to episcopacy and the liturgy, and say that he died a martyr to the church of England: and yet at the treaty of Newport, he had reduced and suspended episcopacy and the liturgy for three years, and in a great degree given them up. If he was a martyr therefore to any thing it was to monarchy, which is absurd: the truth is, he properly fell a sacrifice to the rage and enthusiasm of some fanatic leaders in the army, who proceeding from one licentiousness to another, had arrived at an implacable, republican, virulent spirit, regardless of all laws divine and human. But tho there is a manifest impropriety in calling king CHARLES a martyr, yet it is but justice to him to say, that he had not only many amiable endowments as a man, and many noble accomplishments as a prince, but that he had also so much zeal for his religion as to have died a martyr, if he had been called upon, to the truth of it. In short, how much soever our indignation may be raised against him for his misconduct in the former part of his reign, yet our humanity is so much shocked at the ignominious treatment which he met with in the latter part, and especially in the last melancholy and unheard of scene, that we are ready to overlook and to forget all his faults, in order to indulge our commiseration that so many virtues in him as a man, had not an happier fate as he was a prince. His character shall be concluded, in the words of his great friend and servant, the earl of CLARENDON, "He was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best christian, that the age, in which he lived, produced: and if he was not the greatest king, if he was not possessed of some parts and qualities which have made some kings great and happy, no other prince was ever unhappy, who was possessed of half his virtues and endowments, and so much without any kind of vice."

The constitution, which had been so much mutilated and reduced in the progress of the war, at the execution of the

king was now dissolved: the small remains of an house of commons forbad the proclaiming of the prince of Wales, or any other person whatsoever, under the pain of high treason; and voted the house of lords to be useless, and the office of a king dangerous to the state. But that they might have some obligation of obedience from their subjects, a new oath was prepared, which they called "the engagement;" by which all persons who held any place or office in church or state were required to swear, "that they would be true and faithful to the government established, without king, or house of peers." The form of government, for the future, was declared to be a free commonwealth; of which the executive power was to be lodged in the hands of a council of state of above forty persons, any nine of whom were to take care of the administration for one year. Such was the foundation of this new constitution; which had neither the consent of the people of England, nor their representatives in parliament. The parliament as I have said consisted then only of about eighty members, all of them independents: and they voted an exclusion of all those who had never sat since the murder of the king unless they took the engagement. Nothing less than an army licentious and republican, which had spread an universal terror, could have procured a power, so excessive and unparalleled, to a parliament whose number was so inconsiderable. The prince of WALES was then about eighteen years of age, and in Holland at his father's death: and after many projects and attempts to make a push for his sovereignty, in Scotland, and in Ireland, was obliged to retreat with his brother the duke of YORK to the isle of Jersey; where he remained for several months. The reader will not expect that I should enter any further into the measures which were taken for settling the government: they do not belong to this design; neither in such a time of universal confusion, where every man was at liberty to profess any principles of religion, and to teach what he professed, can there be any very material transactions to relate which concerned the church. They were rather transactions, which ought indeed to be razed out of the records of time, lest the success of so much villainy, dissimulation, and enthusiasm, should in after ages encourage the same cabals and confederacies against the established constitution in church and state.

The churches and pulpits were now open to all sorts of people who would shew their gifts there; and a general distraction

and confusion in religion overspread the kingdom. An act was brought in, "to appoint commissioners in every county for the approbation of able and well qualified persons to be made ministers, who cannot comply with the present ordinance for the ordination of ministers." A petition was presented to the same purpose, from the general and council of officers in the army, who in fact at this time governed every thing; desiring "that all penal statutes and ordinances, whereby many conscientious people were molested, and the propagation of the gospel hindered, might be removed." But this liberty was not to extend to papists, or the members of the church of England, or to countenance any sort of immorality. The house took the petition immediately into consideration, and after some time passed it into a law. In discouraging licentiousness, the act made adultery, felony; and fornication was punished with three months imprisonment: bawds and panders were whipped, imprisoned for three years, pilloried, and branded in the forehead with an hot iron, for the first offence; and the second was felony without benefit of clergy. But there is nothing which can give a better idea of the total dissolution of all principles of order and moral rectitude at that time, than the act which was now passed against blasphemous, atheistical, and execrable opinions. In the preamble of this act, it appears that there were those who then professed, that all sorts of iniquity were "in their own nature as holy and righteous as the duties of prayer, preaching, or giving thanks to God; that happiness consisted in the commission of such crimes; and that there was really no such thing as heaven or hell, nor any uprighteousness or sin independent of conscience and opinion." Miserable and distracted indeed was the state of religion at this time in England; "when the church was defaced and overspread with errors and blasphemies, defiled with abominations, rent in pieces with divisions, and so swallowed up in confusion and disorder."

The engagement above mentioned, which had been appointed to be taken by all civil, ecclesiastical, and military officers whatsoever, on pain of forfeiting their several offices, was now referred to a committee, in order to make it universally submitted to over the kingdom: and a bill was brought in and passed accordingly, in the beginning of the year sixteen hundred and fifty, to debar every person of the age of eighteen years and upwards, who should refuse to take and subscribe the engagement, from

from the benefit of the law, disabling them from suing in any court of law, or equity. The presbyterian clergy, tho they had crammed down their covenant in full as arbitrary a manner, yet when it came to their own turn to suffer, could see the iniquity of such a violence done to law, and conscience. They inveighed bitterly in their sermons against the engagement, and refused to observe the days of humiliation appointed by the parliament for a blessing on their arms. The body of the common people being weary of a civil war, and being willing to live quiet under any administration, submitted to the engagement: but many of the presbyterian clergy chose rather to quit their preferments in the church, and university, than comply. The parliament tried several methods to reconcile them to the present administration: but when it was found they were in vain, an order was published, that ministers in their pulpits should not meddle with state affairs. The famous MILTON was then appointed to write for the commonwealth: and an act was passed, to sequester from ecclesiastical preferments of every sort, all these who vilified and aspersed the authority of parliament in their pulpits. A declaration was also published complaining of the revolt of the presbyterians to the enemy, because the discipline of the parliament was not the exact standard of reformation. They did what they could however to satisfy them. They determined that all the ordinances should continue, which had been made for the promoting a reformation of religion, in doctrine, discipline, and worship in their full force; and that the government in the church should be the presbyterian government. They ordered the dean and chapter lands to be sold; and the bishops lands, which had been sequestered, were vested by an ordinance in the hands of new trustees, and appropriated to the augmentation of small livings. The first fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical promotions, formerly payable to the crown, were vested in the same hands free from all incumbrances, on trust, that they should pay yearly all such salaries and stipends as had been settled and confirmed in parliament; provided the assignment to any one does not exceed an hundred pounds. The commissioners of the great seal were empowered to enquire into the yearly value of all ecclesiastical livings to which any cure of souls was annexed, that some course might be taken for providing a better maintenance where it was wanting, and that the salary of no incumbent should be less than an hundred pounds a year. A part of the money arising from the sale of the bishops lands, and those of the deans and chapters, was appropriated for the support

port and maintenance of the bishops, and members of the cathedrals, who were displaced by the late acts. These were just and sensible regulations, it must be owned; and they are, as I remember, the only regulations which do any honour to the commonwealth under this parliament. But these however were not sufficient to stop the mouths of the royalists, or presbyterians; and the pulpit, and the press, sounded high their discontent. An ordinance was therefore published, to put the press entirely under the direction of the parliament; and the monthly fast, which had subsisted above seven years, as a fast for debate and strife, was abrogated by another ordinance, that there might be no censures published of their tyranny.

About this time we are to date the rise of the people called quakers, from an illiterate fellow bred a shoemaker, who pretended that all the qualifications necessary for ministers were the anointing of the spirit; "that the people should receive the inward divine teachings of the LORD and take that for their rule." He apprehended the LORD had forbid him to put off his hat to any one, and that he was to speak to the people without distinction, in the language of thee, and thou. In these particularities, many of the enthusiasts of this time concurred; and Fox had soon a great number of followers. Whenever he spoke in publick, it was with convulsive agitations and shakings of the body, asserting it to be the character of a good man to tremble before God: and from hence the name of quakers was given to these sectaries. If they had any design at all, more than to gratify an enthusiastic spirit which was so general in the nation, it was to reduce all revealed religion to allegory, and to extirpate all order and ceremony out of divine service, leaving every thing to the impulse of their own spirits. Their public meetings were occasional, at which one or another spoke, as they were moved from within: and sometimes they departed without any ones being moved to speak at all. They denied the holy scriptures to be the only rule of faith; and maintained that every man had a light within himself which was a very sufficient rule. They were great disturbers of the public religion at that time; but of late years they are become inoffensive people, and by the wisdom of their managers have formed themselves into a sort of body politick.

Whilst all the transactions above mentioned were carrying on in England, the young king was crowned in Scotland, by the

title of CHARLES the second. This drew on a war between the two nations, the particulars of which are not to be expected in this history. It is sufficient to say here, that in the progress of it, the king entered England at the head of a Scotch army; and being proclaimed in several places, was defeated by CROMWELL the English general at the battle of Worcester. His majesty very narrowly made his escape into France, where for the present we must leave him with a very small and necessitous court. The war being now at an end, and the parliament intending to reduce their forces, it was an easy thing for CROMWELL to discern, that this must be his ruin by disarming him of his power, and by reducing him from a great general to the condition of a private gentleman; and indeed the reduction was proposed with no other view. As soon as he made this discovery, he judged that there was no other way to maintain his power, than to make himself master of the parliament, by means of his council of officers in the army. After requiring all the arrears of their pay, they reminded the house of commons how many years they had sat, to the exclusion of others who ought to have a share in the government of their country; and then recommended it to them to settle a new council of state for the present administration of affairs, and to summon a new parliament, and dissolve themselves. But the house instead of taking this advice, at which they were much irritated, appointed a committee to prepare a bill with all expedition, to make it high treason for any one to present any more petitions of that nature. This was exactly what CROMWELL looked for; and being sure that the parliament were as odious to the nation, as they were disagreeable to the army, he went to the house with some officers and a file of musqueteers, and without any ceremony told the members, that he came to put an end to their power, of which they had made an ill use, and that they must depart immediately.

“ In this manner did CROMWELL, without the least opposition, or even murmur, annihilate that famous assembly, which had filled all Europe with the renown of its actions, and with astonishment at its crimes; and whose commencement was not more ardently desired by the people, than was its final dissolution.” The parliament being thus dissolved, the sovereign power was of necessity to be lodged somewhere; and the general might have taken the administration of the government upon himself, by the same authority that he had dismissed

missed the parliament. But it was not yet a time to put his scheme into execution. The council of officers still continued sitting; and CROMWELL brought them to a resolution, that an hundred and forty four persons should be entrusted with the sovereign power, and should be nominated by himself. At the same time that he displayed his abilities in the choice of these persons, he discovered that he had some design, which concealed as it then was, would at a proper season shew itself. They were most of them persons low and obscure in their birth, with no particular merit, and no experience in affairs; and these the general saw would soon grow tired, and find themselves obliged to put the government into his hands. Every thing succeeded as he expected. After a session of five months, in which this parliament of CROMWELL's naming had done little or nothing, besides establishing the legal solemnization of marriage by the civil magistrate, some of them that were in his secret rose up and said, that men of their abilities were unequal to the weight of government; and therefore proposed a dissolution of themselves, and a redelivery of their authority into the hands from which they had it. This motion was no sooner made, than approved and executed: and the council of officers were no sooner invested with the sovereign power from that parliament to which they themselves had given this pretended authority, but they declared that for the future, the government of the commonwealth should reside in a single person, that of OL. CROMWELL, who should have the title of protector of the three kingdoms, and be assisted by a council of twenty one. It was necessary to give the reader this little abstract of these surprizing turns in affairs, in order to connect the history, and make it more intelligible.

The articles which concerned religion, in the instrument of government which was drawn by the council of officers, when they appointed CROMWELL protector, were only these: “ That
 “ the christian religion contained in the scriptures be held forth
 “ and recommended as the public profession of these nations;
 “ that as soon as may be, a provision, less subject to contention
 “ and more certain than the present, be made for the maintenance of ministers; and that till such provision be made,
 “ the present maintenance continue: That none be compelled
 “ to conform to the public religion by penalties or otherwise,
 “ but that endeavours be used to win them by sound doctrine,
 “ and the example of a good conversation: That such as profess faith in God by JESUS CHRIST, tho differing in judgment
 “ ment

“ ment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline, publicly held
 “ forth, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in
 “ the profession of their faith and exercise of their religion, so
 “ as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others,
 “ and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their
 “ parts ; provided this liberty be not extended to popery, nor
 “ prelacy, nor to such as under a profession of CHRIST hold
 “ forth a practice of licentiousness : That all laws, statutes and
 “ and ordinances contrary to the aforesaid liberty shall be esteemed
 “ null and void.” Thus a legal toleration was granted to all
 errors, heresies, and sectaries whatever, and denied to nothing but
 popery, prelacy, and immorality, which were put upon a level.
 The laws in being, relating to the presbyterian government,
 were not to be repealed without consent of parliament, and
 presbyteries were held in every county for the ordination of mi-
 nisters according to the directory : but CROMWELL forbid the
 clergy of every denomination from dealing in politicks, as not
 belonging to their profession.

The time was now come, when by the instrument of go-
 vernment the protector was obliged to call a parliament, and he
 issued writs accordingly ; omitting many of the small boroughs
 and inserting large towns in their stead, and making more mem-
 bers for counties in proportion to their extent : which was an
 alteration generally looked upon, as fit to be made with more
 authority, and in better times. The only restriction which was
 laid upon the elections of members to this parliament, was,
 that none who had been in arms on the side of the king in the
 civil war, nor their sons, should be capable of being elected.
 The parliament met with the usual formalities, and CROMWELL
 made them a long speech : but the commons no sooner entered
 upon business than they took into consideration the form of the
 present government, and the authority which had convened
 them. This was warmly debated for eight days together, with
 many severe reflexions upon the person of the protector ; and all
 the influence of his party could not divert the debate. CROM-
 WELL, mortified and exasperated to the last degree, sent for the
 commons to the painted chamber ; and reprehending them for
 their freedom in debating on the instrument of government, the
 fundamentals of which, he said, were never to be called in ques-
 tion, he told them, that he found it necessary to appoint a re-
 cognition of the authority by which they were made a parliament,
 before they went any more into the house. Accordingly when
 they

they returned they found a guard placed at the door, denying entrance to all who would not subscribe the following recognition: "I do hereby freely promise and engage, to be true and faithful to the lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and will not propose or give my consent to alter the government, as it is settled in one single person, and a parliament." Notwithstanding this was signed by near three hundred members, yet they looked upon it as a violation of the privileges of parliament; and were so far from settling his highness in the government, in the way he wished for, that after the five months spent in wrangling and ill humour which by the instrument of government they were to fit, he sent for them again, and in a tedious, embarrassed, angry speech dissolved them, without confirming any act they had passed.

I must now return to the few affairs of religion, which were in a more unsettled distracted condition, if possible, than those of the state. The approbation of public ministers had been hitherto reserved to the several presbyteries in city and country: but CROMWELL, observing some inconvenience in this method, and not being willing to trust the qualifications of candidates, and the admission into benefices, to the presbyterians only, who might refuse all but their own party, by an ordinance of council appointed commissioners of both denominations with eight or nine laymen; any five of which had power to approve, but none less than nine to reject a person as unqualified. The committee in their approbation gave them an instrument sealed with a common seal, equivalent to letters of institution and induction, which put them into full possession of the livings to which they were nominated, or chosen. But as there was no standard, or rule of examination for the Tryers, as they were called, to go by, they either examined the candidates as to their advances only in grace and the time of their conversion; or if they questioned them in any parts of learning, it was only in the Calvinian system, which they made the door of admission into all church preferments, and exercised a power greater than that of the bishops. By this means, many ignorant laymen, mechanics, and pedlars were admitted to livings, when persons of greater merit were rejected. In order to make it more impracticable still for any of the sequestered clergy to get admission, another ordinance was passed by the protector and his council, requiring these commissioners, "not to give admission to any

“ ministers who had been ejected for delinquency, till by experience of their conformity and submission to the present government, his highness, and his council should be satisfied of their fitness to be admitted into ecclesiastical promotions.” Many complaints were made, and as it appears very justly, of these commissioners for their partiality, to all independents, anabaptists, fifth-monarchy men, and separatists, against the prelatists, and arminians: tho the accusations brought against them for bribery, and other corrupt practices, were rather founded in resentment than in truth. But to humble the clergy still further, and to keep them within the bounds of their spiritual function, another ordinance was passed by the protector and his council at this time, appointing lay commissioners in every county with ten or more ministers for their assistants, and empowering any five to call before them public preachers, and lecturers, curates, and schoolmasters, who are reputed ignorant, scandalous, negligent, or insufficient; to examine into their offences upon oath of the witnesses, and if they find them guilty to eject them, allowing a fifth of their benefice or income for the support of their wives and children.

Tho the church of England was at this time in a most deplorable condition, yet it cannot be denied, that the members of it had a great deal more favour and indulgence than under the parliament. “ The protector,” says bishop KENNET, “ was for liberty, and the utmost latitude to all parties, so far as consisted with the peace and safety of his person and government; and therefore he was never jealous of any cause or sect, on the account of heresy or falsehood, but on his wiser accounts of political peace and quiet: and even the prejudice he had for the episcopal party, was more for their being royalists, than for being of the good old church.” I think it will not be impertinent to the design of this history, to relate, that the society for the relief of widows and children of ministers, since known by the name of the “ corporation for the sons of the clergy,” had its beginning at this time; from which it gradually encreased by annual sermons and collections, till it was established by charter in the following reign, and arrived to the flourishing condition it is in at present.

The protector, being yet invested with his dignity from the hands of those alone who had no power to give it, thought it absolutely necessary to get it confirmed by authority of parliament,

ment, in a legal way. But having felt by experience what a free parliament might undertake, he took the most effectual measures he could to get a majority in the elections, and summoned the parliament to meet. On the seventeenth of September sixteen hundred and fifty six, the parliament accordingly met: and finding by the returns, that many malignant members were elected, and that he was not secure of the majority, he was obliged to have recourse to his old expedient. After he had made his speech to them and dismissed them to the house, the members found a guard at the door, with a paper of recognition for every member to subscribe; wherein they were to promise, "not to act any thing prejudicial to the government, as it was established under a protector." About an hundred members refused to subscribe a paper so notoriously destructive of the privileges of parliament, which made them no longer the representatives of the people but the tools of arbitrary power, and which either admitted or set them aside at pleasure. The authority of CROMWELL therefore was still only founded on the decision of a council; and it was one of those fundamentals which he would never permit his parliament to debate. The sitting members appeared from the first moment resigned to his commands. With very little, or no contradiction, they passed an act, renouncing the title of the king, under the name of CHARLES STUART, or any of that family; which all of them subscribed. With as little opposition they passed another, whereby they made it high treason to attempt any thing against the life of the protector. They passed several others relating to the state, which I shall not mention; and they confirmed the three ordinances of his highness and his council above recited relating to religion, the admission, and ejection of the clergy. All the acts which they passed were presented solemnly to the protector to be confirmed by his assent; and when he passed them he thanked the commons, as he said it had been usual, for their care and kindness.

As soon as all these acts were dispatched, it was proposed by some of his friends to invest the protector with the title, rights and dignity of a king; which was very warmly opposed by many members with very different views. After a debate of two days, it was agreed to make him the offer. A solemn farce was acted between him and his friends upon this occasion, at two several audiences which he gave the committee, who were ordered
to

to make him a tender of the crown. In the end however he found himself obliged to refuse it; and many opinions have been formed upon the wisdom and weakness of that refusal by several writers. But CROMWELL certainly must be allowed to know his own situation best; and it is one of those state mysteries which people at a distance may refine upon, but which they will never be able to unravel. This project however failing, the parliament confirmed him in his dignity of protector, with an addition of greater power than had been given him by the council of officers in the instrument of government. This was done by another instrument, which they called "the humble petition and advice;" insinuating that they did not presume to impose a law upon his highness, but to offer him their counsel in what they thought the best model of government, which he might accept of, or refuse. The articles which relate to religion, and which alone concern this work, were expressed in these general terms: "That the protestant christian religion, contained in the old and new testament, be asserted and held forth as the public profession of this nation, and no other: That a confession, to be agreed upon by this parliament, be recommended to the people, and none to be permitted by words or writing to revile it: That those who professed to believe in God, the Trinity, and the scripture, tho they differed in other things from the public profession held forth, should not be compelled by penalties but protected from injuries, while they abuse not this liberty to the disturbance of the public peace; provided this liberty does not extend to popery, prelacy, blasphemy, and profaneness: That the ministers and public preachers, who agree in the aforesaid matters of faith, shall not only have protection in the way of their churches or worship, but shall be capable of any trust or employment, tho they shall not receive the public maintenance appointed for the ministry: and That all ministers shall remain disqualified from any civil employment." These articles were plainly calculated to conciliate the presbyterians, independents, and other sectaries, to the protector's government, by making the profession of the former the public profession, and by allowing an unlimited toleration to all the latter. The papists, and the members of the church of England, ranked with blasphemers and the prophane, were quite excluded, as equal enemies to the government.

When

When this instrument of advice was presented to CROMWELL and read, after a long pause, casting up his eyes, and using other gestures of amazement and perplexity, which were all pretended, he signed it; making a speech full of the cant and hypocrisy which became his character. In a few days after, he sent a message to the parliament, to desire they would adjourn till the ceremony of his inauguration was performed. This being solemnized with all the pomp of a coronation, he went to the house, gave his assent to the bills which were prepared, and adjourned the parliament to the latter end of January. In this interval, he made use of the power given him in the "Humble petition and advice," to issue out writs to several lords and gentlemen to sit as members of the other house in the next session. The form of the writs were the same as those which had been used to summon the peers: they were in all sixty, among whom were seven or eight noblemen, many knights, and gentlemen of ancient families and good estates, and some colonels and inferior officers of the army. At the meeting of the parliament, the protector addressed his speech to the two houses, in the usual stile of "my lords, and you the knights, citizens and burgeses of the house of commons." But when the commons returned to their house, they called for the third article of the humble petition and advice, which allowed no exclusion of their members but by consent of the house; and immediately voted the admission of all those who had been excluded on the first day of the former session. This giving his enemies a great majority, they declared themselves against the protector; and refused to acknowledge the authority of the other house which he had established. They even questioned the validity of the humble petition and advice, as being voted by a parliament which lay under force; which proceeding shook the protectorship itself that was confirmed by that parliament. CROMWELL, exceedingly surprized and mortified at the freedom of these debates, had sagacity enough to see, that there was no time to be allowed to this malignant parliament, which would soon put an end to his power. After they had sat therefore but a fortnight, he went to his house of lords, and sending for the commons, dissolved them with expressions of great anger and displeasure. This is the last act which I shall have occasion to mention during this usurpation: for nothing more passed relating to religion, till after the death of CROM-

WELL, which was on the third day of September following; a day which he had always thought very propitious to him, and on which he had twice triumphed for two of his greatest victories.

The family of CROMWELL was originally of Glamorganshire under the name of WILLIAMS, which assumed that of CROMWELL, and transmitted it to posterity, by a marriage with a daughter to the earl of ESSEX of that name, in the reign of HENRY the eighth; who has been often mentioned in this history. He was educated at Cambridge, and then went to Lincolns-inn; but there was nothing in his genius at that time which seemed to promise any figure in the further progress of his life. He rather gave into all the follies of gaiety and intemperance which young men relish; and it was not till he was of the age of forty that he was returned to parliament. He had before that a great while reformed his conduct, and engaged himself with the presbyterians. Having acquired some reputation, for his good behaviour, and good principles in religion and government, he was chosen a member for the town of Cambridge, at the beginning of the long parliament, and having no talents as a speaker sat two years undistinguished. In this period, he engaged in the independent faction, which was covered with the name of the rigid presbyterians; and being entirely devoted to the views of the parliament against the king, it was no difficult matter for him to procure a command in the army at the breaking out of the civil war. In this situation it was that his genius began to shine; and he had all the qualifications which were necessary to the profession of arms. Successful in every post, and in every enterprize, his reputation rose so fast, and his zeal for the cause was so ardent, that he became major general of the army in a short time; then lieutenant general under FAIRFAX, whom he had the address to govern, and at last to succeed, in the first post as captain general. His capacity for civil affairs was not much inferior to his military talents. He had an admirable sagacity in discerning the particular humours and natures of different men, and as great a dexterity in accommodating himself to them when he had any point to carry. He would condescend even to buffoonery with the common soldiers, when he was a general officer, in order to win their affections; and with the religious enthusiasts, he would cant, and pray, and preach, as well as the best of them. All this time, he had certainly no other intentions

tentions than to keep alive the malignant spirit against the king, and to prevent an accommodation, which must have produced a reduction of the army, and in the end the loss of that power which he had thus acquired. Finding this was in great danger, he readily acquiesced in the murder of the king; for it is impossible to say who projected it. CROMWELL had most certainly a principal hand in bringing it about; for which he is inexcusable. When men embark in such violent measures of faction, as CROMWELL did embark in against church and state, it is impossible for them to say, or to know, at what violence they will be content to stop: which should be a lesson of caution to us all, how we enter into the measures of any faction. As bad an hearted man, as I am afraid CROMWELL was, he would probably have been shocked at the thought of that wickedness, when he entered into the war, which he found it necessary to commit, as his ambition, and the rage of the faction carried him on, till he was taken out of the world. He certainly caught some of the enthusiastic fire, which blazed about the time of the civil war; and which, meeting with a great natural warmth in his constitution, made him a great proficient in the religious frenzy so much then in fashion. This could not be exerted so assiduously, as it was exerted after all thro his life, without a great deal of hypocrisy towards God. His profound dissimulation, after he took the reins of government into his hands, has been justified by some writers as necessary to his safety. But what a justification is this? What title had he to that superiority over others, and what called him to it? His own ambition evidently, without any regard to right, or truth. It is a strange solecism in ethicks, to vindicate the wicked acts of an usurper, by saying, that his usurpation made them necessary. Tho he was a man of little learning, yet he was a patron of learned men, and the liberal arts: and when he was necessitated to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecorum, notwithstanding it was a part which was wholly new to him. His private deportment, and his social character, have not been censured: he was very temperate in his diet, and tho he would sometimes drink freely, yet it was not to excess. He never had to the last any abilities as an orator, and rather left others to pick out his meaning from his public speeches, than declared it himself. In so great a man, this was thought to be affected: it might be so, in one or two instances after he was protector, but the truth is, he had not a talent for elocution. Without departing

parting from œconomy, he was generous to those who served him; and he knew how to find out, and engage in his interests, every man possessed of those talents which every particular employment required. It must be owned, that in his civil and domestic administration, he had as much regard to justice, and clemency, as his usurpation, founded only on the sword, could possibly permit. As to his religion, which almost all historians agree in, it is to me, I must confess, the most inexplicable part of all his character: and tho they rank him among the independents, yet it is certain, that for many years of his life, he was a presbyterian; and after he arrived at his dignity, he had chaplains of both denominations, and allowed the presbyterian to be the public profession of the nation. He was a protestant without doubt, and had great notions of religious liberty: but I believe all his religion, after he first entered on the war, till he became protector, was enthusiasm, without any rational, or solid principles. Ambition and a lust of power were his ruling passions; and these put him on imbibing those dangerous maxims, “that in extraordinary cases the moral laws may be dispensed with, and that private justice must give way to public necessity.” These led him to have a great share in putting the late king to death; and these drove him on to assume the sovereign power. When he was once possessed of this dignity, he was neither presbyterian, independent, republican, nor enthusiast: so says RAPIN, but he says nothing further. But it is natural to ask then what he was, if he was none of these? To speak my mind freely, I think it is most likely, that he was a deist. In short CROMWELL seemed to be a man entirely calculated for those times, and those times for him: amidst any other, he would have made a very insignificant figure; but amidst these, he made a greater figure, than any private man in England, either before, or since, ever attained to. He had great penetration and address, invincible courage, firm resolution, and a thorow command of all his passions when it was necessary: he had many good qualities amidst the greatest dissimulation; and with a wicked heart, had the appearance of the most transcendent piety.

No sooner was OLIVER dead, than his eldest son RICHARD, nominated as his successor, was proclaimed protector, and addresses of congratulation from all parts of the kingdom poured in upon him. But the spirit of the father did not dwell in the son.

son. RICHARD was without the courage, the address, and resolution of his father; and he was likewise without his enthusiasm, his wickedness, and his ambition. Under such an head, every faction conceived hopes of acquiring the superiority; and every faction tried for it in their turn, and for a short time each prevailed. RICHARD having neither spirit, genius, nor friends, neither treasure nor army to support him, without any struggle withdrew, and became a private gentleman. The contention lay then between the army, and that small party of the long parliament, called the RUMP, which had been dissolved by CROMWELL. This contest encouraged MONK, who was at the head of the army in Scotland, to march into England; under a pretence of assisting this parliament, against the council supported by the English army, but in reality, as many say, to contribute to the restoration of the king. The general however never declared his purpose to serve his majesty, till it was actually in his power to do it: and had he not observed this inviolable secrecy, it would have been impossible for him if he was ever so much in earnest, to have effected that service which he afterwards rendered to the king. My design however does not permit me to enter into any of the particulars which fell out after OLIVER's death; as the affairs of religion were never resumed by any party, till the restoration of the king was agreed upon, by his friends, and the presbyterians. His majesty then sent over a declaration, promising "a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that he would be ready to consent to such an act of parliament, as upon mature deliberation should be offered to him for the full granting that indulgence." When this declaration was read in the house of commons, which MONK had ordered to be elected freely, with a letter accompanying it full of gracious expressions from his majesty, the commons immediately voted, "that according to the ancient constitution, the government of this kingdom, is, and ought to be, in king, lords, and commons;" and a committee was appointed to draw up a dutiful letter inviting his majesty to return to his dominions. "From this time there was such an emulation and impatience, in both houses of parliament, in the city, and in the country, who should make the most lively expressions of their duty and their joy, that a

“man could not but wonder,” says my lord CLARENDON, “where those people dwelt who had done all the mischief, “and kept the king so many years from enjoying the comfort and support of such excellent subjects.” But it must be remembered, that the bringing the king home after this manner, without any treaty, and without any security for religious and civil liberty, was the foundation of all the misfortunes under his reign. In a few days after this vote of the commons, the king was proclaimed all thro the kingdom with the usual formalities, but with uncommon transports of joy: and “in this wonderful manner, and with this “incredible expedition, says the noble historian, did God “put an end to a rebellion which had raged near twenty “years, and been carried on with all the horrid circumstances of murder, devastation, and parricide, that fire and “sword, in the hands of the most wicked men in the “world, could be instruments of; almost to the desolation of “two kingdoms, and the exceeding defacing and deforming “of the third.”

The reader, as well as the historian, must be very glad to part with these unhappy times, and to enter upon those of law, and order, and regularity in church and state; when the ancient constitution of England was restored, and the reign of enthusiasm and confusion was at an end. But so liable are the people of this country to run from one extreme into another, that in order to throw off the rigour and preciseness which the religious sectaries had observed, and to be as far distant from them as possible, many of the royalists, it must be owned, laid aside religion itself: And instead of canting, praying, preaching, and other marks of a fanatic zeal, which their enemies had exercised along with their power, they gave too much countenance to every kind of debauchery. This was one terrible effect of the enthusiasm of the late times; and an effect from which this nation has never since recovered. The very professions of piety and virtue were thrown off, under colour of drinking the king's health: and several, who had gone all the lengths of the independents in their religious frenzy, thought there was no better way to redeem their credit with the loyal party, than by laughing at all religion, and telling, or making stories, to ridicule their former friends. The king himself had no principles of religion, and was devoted

voted to his pleasures; and from the court, the contagion spread among the common people, to a degree that is inconceivable. But this state of morals and religion will come more properly under our notice as we go further on: and having seen the end of that anarchy, by which the legal constitution was broke to pieces, the period of this book is naturally pointed out.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XVI.

WHEN CHARLES the second ascended the throne of England at the restoration, in sixteen hundred and sixty, he was about thirty years of age, had a very good understanding, and knew the state of affairs both at home and abroad perfectly well. In two days after his arrival, his majesty went to the house of lords; and after a short congratulatory speech, passed an act to turn the convention which had called him home into a parliament. After which, the two houses, claiming his gracious promises of a pardon, prepared an act of indemnity, for all who had been concerned in the late transactions except the judges who condemned the late king, and two or three others. Upon his majesty's arrival at White-hall, the hurry of the church of England was restored in his majesty's chapel, and in many other places in town and country. For as all the acts and ordinances of the long parliament which had not the royal assent, were null in themselves, therefore episcopacy was still the only legal establishment, and the common prayer the only legal form of worship. The king, in the declaration which he had sent over from Breck, had desired, that the protestants would read so much of the hurry as they themselves had no objection to, but very few of them would accept of that proposal. All the old reformed clergy took possession of the living: from which they had been ejected; but where the incumbent was dead, the living was continued to the present possessor. An order was sent from the house of lords, "that the chancellors of both the universities

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3 " universities

“ universities should take care, that the several colleges in the
 “ said universities should be governed according to their respec-
 “ tive statutes; and that such persons who had been unjustly
 “ put out of their headships, fellowships, or other offices, re-
 “ lating to their several colleges, or universities, may be restored
 “ according to the statutes.” Pursuant to this order, a con-
 siderable change was made in the universities; and all the fellows
 who were unmarried were restored to their fellowships: the
 honours of the universities were likewise offered to those who
 had suffered for the royal cause, and had been ejected from the
 university by the visitors of the parliament. These promotions,
 which were readily accepted by above an hundred and fifty
 doctors in divinity, as well as those in other faculties, prepared
 the way for filling up the vacancies in the cathedrals; and before
 the end of the year, all the several dignities were supplied with
 new divines, many of them very ingenious and deserving men,
 who did honour to the church of England by their lives and
 learning. There were nine of the bishops alive at the restoration,
 and the good old bishop of LONDON was translated to the see of
 Canterbury. Four or five of the vacant bishopricks were offer-
 ed to the leading divines in the presbyterian system, but one of
 them only would conform; and all the sees were filled with men
 of no very moderate principles.

The church of England being thus restored to its ancient
 splendour, except the peerage of the bishops, the next ques-
 tion was, what should be done with the male-contents; whether
 concessions should be made, and pains taken to gain them, or
 not, especially the presbyterians. Notwithstanding a great num-
 ber had been removed by the course of law, as men illegally
 possessed of the rights of others, yet many of them were still
 in great benefices in the church, and eminent posts in the uni-
 versities, which they were legally possessed of: and several of
 these, in the city of London especially, had gone in so signal
 a manner into the design of the restoration, and with such suc-
 cess, that they had certainly merit with this government, and a
 just title to high preferment. The king himself, and the earl of
 CLARENDON, now lord chancellor and prime minister, were for
 gaining the presbyterians, and making some concessions. But
 the bishops had high notions of the episcopal form of govern-
 ment as essential to a Christian church: they were likewise not
 without their resentments against those who had contributed to
 their sufferings; and they thought if there must be a schism,

that it was better to have it out of the church, than in it. To amuse however the presbyterians and keep them quiet for a time, the king required them to draw up such proposals, as they thought meet for an agreement about church government, and to set down the most they could yield; promising them a conference in his presence with some of his own divines, when these proposals were ready. Accordingly, after some consultation among themselves, the leading presbyterians drew up their paper and presented it to the king; who received it favourably, and promised to bring both parties together. The bishops however contented themselves at present with drawing up an answer in writing to these proposals. The king's concessions were then put into the form of a declaration, which the lord chancellor delivered to the presbyterians; and his majesty appointed a day, to hear what could be said on both sides, attended by the earl of CLARENDON, and five other temporal lords. There were six bishops, and two deans on the side of the church; and seven divines of the presbyterian party, to conduct the conference: not that there was to be any argument, but as the chancellor read the declaration, each side were to make their exceptions, and on those the king was to determine. When the whole was gone thro, his majesty told them what he intended should stand in the declaration; and ordered two of the bishops, and two of the presbyterians, to determine the form of words, and if they could not agree, then two of the lords to settle it.

The declaration, being thus amended, was issued out by the king as supreme head of the church; in many parts of which, he assumed a legislative authority in ecclesiastical matters. But the English government was not then reduced in every circumstance to the strict limits of law: and if ever prerogative was justifiably employed, it seemed to be upon this occasion; when all parts of the government were torne with the late convulsions, and required the moderating hand of the chief magistrate to bring them back to their ancient order. I shall lay before the reader an abstract of this declaration; not that it was ever carried into effect, or, one would think by the sequel, was ever intended to be so by the king and his ministers; but because of the admirable spirit of wisdom and charity which it contained. His majesty promises, that he would encourage the public exercises and observation of the sabbath, and that insufficient and scandalous clergymen should not be admitted into the church: that he would prefer none but men of learning and virtue to the
pre-

prelacy, who should be frequent preachers: that in extensive dioceses, he would appoint a sufficient number of suffragans: that no bishop should confer ordination, or exercise any episcopal jurisdiction, without the advice and assistance of presbyters chosen by the diocese: that the preferments of deans and chapters should be given to the most learned and pious presbyters of the diocese: that confirmation shall be rightly and solemnly performed, by the information, and with the consent of the minister of the place, who shall admit none to the sacrament till they have made a credible profession of their faith: that all diligence shall be used for the instruction and reformation of scandalous offenders, who shall not partake of the LORD's supper till they have testified their repentance, provided there be place for appeals to superior power: that every rural dean, assisted by three or four of the clergy to be elected by a majority of the deanry, shall meet once a month to receive complaints from the ministers and church wardens of parishes, and to compose such differences as shall be referred to them by arbitration, reforming such things as are amiss, by their admonition, or presenting them to the bishop: that no bishop shall exercise any arbitrary power, or impose any thing on his clergy and people, but according to the law of the land: that the liturgy shall be reviewed with an equal number of divines of both persuasions, and such alterations made in it as are thought necessary, and in the mean time none to be troubled or punished for not using it: that none shall be compelled to receive the sacrament kneeling, nor to use the cross in baptism, nor to bow at the name of JESUS, nor to use the surplice, except in the royal chapel, and in cathedral and collegiate churches: that subscription and the oath of canonical obedience should not be required at present, for ordination or institution, only the oaths of allegiance and supremacy: that none should be deprived of their preferments for not declaring their assent to the thirty nine articles, provided they read and declare their assent to all the doctrinal articles, and to the sacraments.

This was the declaration which his majesty published, and to which "he conjured all his loving subjects to submit and acquiesce, concerning the differences which have so much disquieted the nation at home, and given offence to the protestant churches abroad." Tho the high presbyterians, whom nothing would satisfy but the covenant, were displeased with this declaration, yet all the others were content: and had the bishops been

been possessed of that spirit of wisdom and charity which this declaration breathed, it would in a great measure have prevented the separation which followed, to the disturbance of the church, and the dishonour of true religion. I lay this at the door of the leading bishops, because my lord CLARENDON, as well as the king, was at that time thorowly on the side of the declaration; and it is most probable that he drew it. A few days before it was published, the chancellor told the two houses, “ that they
 “ would soon see by a declaration, which his majesty was going
 “ to publish, what pains he had taken to compose the distractions in this kingdom on the subject of religion: and that it
 “ was a consideration which must make every heart bleed, to
 “ see religion, which should be the strongest cement of affection and brotherly kindness, made now, by the perverse wranglings of froward and passionate men, the ground of all animosity, malice and revenge; and this unruly and unmanly
 “ passion too frequently transports those who are in the right,
 “ as well as those who are in the wrong, and leaves the latter
 “ more excusable than the former.” These were then the sentiments of the lord CLARENDON, and they were sentiments which did him honour: but the bishops having served him soon after in the business of his daughter’s marriage with the duke of YORK, as we are told by bishop BURNET, the chancellor went off from these designs, and took part with the bishops against all the schemes of a comprehension. The two houses of parliament, upon the reading of the declaration, agreed to wait upon his majesty in a body and to return him thanks for it, and the commons ordered a bill to be brought in to pass it into a law: but when the bill had been read the first time, and the question was put for the second reading, it passed in the negative; one of the secretaries of state opposing it. This was an evident intimation, that the court did not intend the declaration should be continued, but only serve as a temporary expedient to amuse the presbyterians till some other scheme was ready.

The king had promised in one part of it that the liturgy should be reviewed, and all the necessary alterations made which should be agreed upon: and therefore a commission was granted for a conference in the Savoy, at the Lady day following, to continue for four months, between one and twenty bishops and dignitaries on one side, and the same number of presbyterian divines on the other. When the conference was opened, SHELDON, bishop of London, moved that all the exceptions and com-

complaints against the liturgy, with the additions proposed, might be made in writing at once, that the bishops might see how far their demands extended. But the presbyterians were divided in their sentiments on this head; several inclining only to insist on a few important points, and others, who were the majority, extending their desires to the utmost, without considering what an aspect this would have to the world, and what an influence so many demands might have in the minds of those who were in power. It would interrupt the course of this history too much, to insert all the exceptions of the presbyterians to the present liturgy, and the papers that passed between the commissioners; neither is it at all necessary, as they were never carried into execution. The whole matter was at last reduced to one single point; "whether it was lawful to determine the certain use of things indifferent in the worship of God." The bishops insisted upon this as the hinge on which the whole controversy turned; and challenged the presbyterians to shew that any of the things imposed were in themselves unlawful. Tho the presbyterians declined this in some measure, yet they all undertook to prove, that other circumstances might make it become unlawful to settle a peremptory rule about things indifferent, which they applied to several particulars; such as not admitting to baptize without the sign of the cross, and not admitting to officiate without a surplice, but principally as not admitting any to the LORD's supper without receiving it kneeling: this they looked upon as sinful, inasmuch as it was a limitation in the point of communion put on the laws of CHRIST, which laws alone ought to be the condition on which it should be received. After a great deal of loose discourse, it was agreed to debate this article. "The two men," says bishop BURNET, "who had the chief management of this debate, were the most unfit to heal matters, and the fittest to widen them, that could have been found. They spent several days in much logical arguing, to the diversion of the town, who thought here were a couple of fencers engaged in disputes that could never be brought to an end nor have any good effect." In conclusion, the bishops insisted upon the laws that were still in force, to which they would admit of no exception, unless it was proved that the matter of those laws was sinful. They accused the presbyterians with making a schism, upon a charge against the church for things which they could not now prove to be sinful. Their lordships added, there was no reason to gratify such a sort of men in any thing; and that all authority in church and

state was struck at by the position they had insisted on, "that it was not lawful to impose things indifferent;" since indifferent things seemed to be the only proper matter in which human authority could interpose. Thus ended the conference without doing any good, which occasioned many sharp reflexions on both sides; and it is much to be feared that the minds of neither party were then in a temper for charity and condescension.

The convention parliament having been dissolved at the end of the last year, the king issued his writs for calling a new parliament on the eighth of May, which met accordingly. Great pains had been taken by the earl of CLARENDON, and the court, to procure the elections in favour of the royalists, and zealous churchmen; and they so far succeeded, that notwithstanding the bulk of the nation appeared at the restoration to be presbyterian, there were but about fifty of that persuasion returned to the house of commons: a number too inconsiderable to oppose, or retard, the measures of a majority devoted to the court. The king acquainted the two houses at the opening of the session, that he valued himself much upon keeping his word, and upon making good whatsoever he had promised his subjects. If this was true, it is greatly to be lamented, that his ministers did not enable him to preserve his probity. My lord CLARENDON, in enlarging upon his majesty's speech, held another language; and notwithstanding the declaration sent from Breda, and the other lately published which his lordship himself had made a flourish about at the dissolution of the last parliament, he now recommended to the two houses the utmost severity against seditious preachers, without naming any, or giving any instances of such sedition; intending thereby to include all who were not of the church of England. The first thing the commons voted, was that all their members should receive the sacrament according to the liturgy of the church of England, within a certain time, on pain of being expelled. In a few days after, they ordered the "solemn league and covenant" to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, with several acts that had been passed in the time of the usurpation. The bishops, tho' restored to their spiritual authority, were still excluded from parliament by the act which the late king had been compelled to pass, and therefore that act was now repealed. Several other acts relating to the state were passed with great unanimity and dispatch; and then

then the parliament was adjourned for some months. It was not intended at first that the convocation should be summoned with this parliament, but that the conference at the Savoy should be in the room of it. But on a representation to the ministry, that the clergy could not be governed by the acts of that assembly, the convocation were as usual called by the king's writ; and great care, it is said, was taken in the choice of members with very undue proceedings. They did little more however this session, than grant the king a benevolence, and appoint committees for drawing two forms of prayer, for the thirtieth of January, and the twenty ninth of May. When the parliament met after their adjournment, the king, tho it was not usual, came to the house of lords, and sending for the commons made a speech; in which, among other things he takes notice, that there were many wicked instruments, who laboured night and day to disturb the public peace; that it was worthy of their care and vigilance to provide proper remedies for diseases of this kind, and if they found new diseases they must study new remedies; that these difficulties which concerned religion were too hard for him, and therefore he recommended them to their care who could best provide for them. The reader sees that in this speech, the king was beginning to relax from his declaration, and to furnish the parliament with a pretence for those severities which were afterwards laid upon the presbyterians. Their name indeed is from this time to be sunk into that of dissenters or non-conformists; under which general title they were industriously and affectedly blended with all the other sectaries.

The only pretenders to religion who had attempted any thing against the government, was a small number of enthusiasts, called "fifth-monarchy men," who went about proclaiming king JESUS, and making some disturbances in the city. But they were entirely quelled in two or three days, and never amounted to above fifty in the violences they committed. The independents, anabaptists, and quakers, thought fit to disown by separate instruments this mad insurrection; and the presbyterians thought it beneath them to take any notice of it. The storm however was gathering against the latter, to which the king's speech was to lead the way: and in a conference between the two houses, the chancellor positively assured them, that there was a real conspiracy against the peace of the kingdom. Upon this information, a committee was appointed to enquire into the

the truth of it; and great pains were taken by some hot spirits, as bishop BURNET calls them, to fasten something on the dissenters: but after all examination, not a single person was put to death, or so much as prosecuted, on account of this "real conspiracy against the peace of the kingdom." The learned historian acquits the chancellor from having had any hand in this artifice: but it seems very unaccountable, that that great minister should go so far as to name the persons concerned in it, and the manner in which it was to be executed, and that after all it was an invention which had been imposed upon him. Upon the rumors however of this imaginary conspiracy, the commons took fire at the non-conformists; and immediately brought in a bill, ordaining that every mayor, alderman, common councilman, or any other officer in a corporation, should be obliged, besides the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and a particular declaration against the league and covenant, to take another oath, declaring that it was not lawful upon any pretence whatever to take arms against the king; and that he did abhor that traiterous position of taking arms by his authority, against his person, or against those commissioned by him. The same bill provided, that no one should be capable of being elected into any of the aforesaid offices, who had not received the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England. This might perhaps be intended only to turn out all the non-conformists at once out of the magistracy; but the oath most certainly robbed them, and every other person, of their right as subjects, and gave up the whole constitution, under a pretence of preserving the monarchy. The high churchmen, who had smarted under the evils of a civil war from an attack on the legal power, had gone into the other dangerous extreme, and excluded the right of any defence against it: And it is no wonder if many of the clergy, as well as the laity, espoused a doctrine from this oath, which, if taken in its full literal sense, was hard to be reconciled to the revolution afterwards.

When the convocation met again after the adjournment, the forms of prayer for the thirtieth of January, and the twenty-ninth of May, were examined and approved of; and a form for the ministration of baptism to those of riper years, was referred to the care of a committee of both houses. The Savoy conference having ended without any success, the king wrote a letter now to the convocation; commanding them to review the book of common prayer, and to make such amendments and additions

as they thought necessary. Letters to the same purpose were sent to the archbishop of YORK, to be communicated to the clergy of his province; who for the greater expedition sent proxies to the province of Canterbury, and obliged themselves to abide by what they should transact in that business under the forfeiture of all their goods and chattels. The review of the common prayer employed the convocation about a month, in which a great many inconsiderable alterations were made. The most material are such as follow. The collect for the parliament was then first inserted, in which a new epithet of most religious king gave great offence, and occasioned, says bishop BURNET, much indecent raillery. It was not easy to give a proper sense to this epithet; since whatever the signification of religion might be in the Latin, as importing the sacredness of the king's person, yet in the English language it carried a signification that was no way applicable to CHARLES the second. The prayer for all conditions of men, and the general thanksgiving, were added at this review; and the declaration which had been in king EDWARD's liturgy, and omitted by queen ELIZABETH, explaining the reasons for kneeling at the sacrament, was now again inserted. The office for administering baptism to grown persons abovementioned was added, as well as those for the martyrdom of the late king, and the restoration of the present; and forms of prayer to be used at sea. These were all the material alterations; and upon these Dr. TENNISON, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, has this observation. "If there was reason for these changes, there was equal, if not greater reason, for some further improvements. If they had foreseen what is since come to pass, I charitably believe they would not have done all they did, and just so much, and no more; and yet I also believe, that if they had offered to move much further, a stone would have been laid under their wheel, by a secret but powerful hand; for the mystery of popery did even then work."

The common prayer book, thus altered and amended by the convocation, was sent up to the king and council, by whom it was transmitted to the house of lords, with a message importing their approbation; and that his majesty recommended it to the house, as the book which should be established by act of parliament, to be used in all churches and chapels throwout England and Wales. When it was under examination in the house of lords, some of the alterations met with considerable opposition;

but in the end it was carried to send it down to the commons, as they had received it, and to thank the convocation for their care and pains. The commons had had it at their heart for some time, to take as much care of the church as they had done of the monarchy: and in order to vindicate the king's honour in his declaration from Breda, and his majesty's and their own ingratitude to the presbyterians for contributing so effectually as they did to the restoration, in the violence which they intended to treat them with, conspiracies and plots against the government were founded continually by the chancellor and his party, which had no manner of reality. Under a pretence of these however it was, that the act of uniformity took its rise; by which the forms of admission into the church of England, were much stricter than they were before the civil war. The truth is, that the papists, and those who disguised their principles of that sort, as the king himself did, animated the chief men of the church to carry the points of conformity as high as possible, that there might be a great number to stand out, and to make a toleration necessary; under which popery might be favoured. These practices of the papists had too great an influence on the leading churchmen, whose spirits were sowered by their ill usage in the time of the usurpation; nor were they wholly without success on the dissenters, who were secretly encouraged to stand their ground; being assured that the king's temper and principles, and the consideration of trade, would certainly procure them a toleration. The act of uniformity is in every body's hands, being prefixed to the common prayer book, and so need not be recited in any particulars. It passed the house of commons by a majority only of six, and not without many long and warm debates. It received the royal assent on the nineteenth of May sixteen hundred and sixty two, and was to take place on the twenty fourth of August following, without making any provision for the maintenance of those who were to be deprived; which was a severity not to be justified. The account is much exaggerated when it is said, that there were two thousand ministers ejected out of the church by virtue of this act: their hard usage however cannot be remembered without regret; those who quit their interests are certainly in good earnest, and deserve a charitable construction. "Here were many men," says bishop BURNET, "much valued, some on better grounds and others
 " on worse, who were now cast out ignominiously, reduced to
 " great poverty, provoked by much spiteful usage, and call
 " upon those popular practices that both their principles and cir-
 " cumstances

“ circumstances seemed to justify, of forming separate congrega-
 “ tions, and of diverting men from the public worship, and
 “ from considering their successors as the lawful pastors of those
 “ churches in which they had served.” The blame of all this
 fell heaviest on bishop SHELDON, and the chancellor; who, be-
 sides their own high principles, had measures to observe with the
 court, which, from reasons of popery, were then measures of
 severity.

When the convocation had gone thro the book of common
 prayer, it was in the next place proposed, that according to the
 clause in the king's licence, they should consider the canons
 of the church; but tho some progress was made, yet nothing was
 concluded before they were prorogued by the king's writ. There
 was then a glorious opportunity for reforming many abuses;
 but particularly to have provided an effectual remedy to that
 which has been so long the reproach of this church and nation,
 the miserable condition of the inferior clergy. Almost all the
 leases of the church estates over England were fallen in, either
 by being determined, or by deaths; and the fines raised by
 renewals amounted to near a million and half of money. The
 law, it is true, made this the property of the incumbents:
 but the incumbents, except nine bishops, were all newly ad-
 vanced, and it was unreasonable to permit them to carry off such
 a treasure into their private families, without making a law on
 such an extraordinary occasion, to apply half the money at least
 towards buying tithes and glebes for the little vicarages, and the
 great cures in market towns. Had all the bishops indeed laid
 out these fines, as one of my family bishop WARNER did, in
 erecting and endowing colleges to provide for the widows of all
 their clergy who could be supposed to die in want, this would
 have been some remedy to the evil of an insufficient maintenance:
 and yet he was not then first advanced to his bishoprick. He
 was bishop of Rochester before the civil war; and tho from the
 poverty of that bishoprick his fines could bear but a small pro-
 portion to many others, yet besides this college which I speak
 of, and which provides for all the widows of that diocese, he
 gave in royal presents, benevolences, subsidies, and redeeming
 captives, above five and twenty thousand pounds. A noble
 collection indeed was made amongst them all, for redeeming
 the English slaves that were in Barbary: but in some fees, says
 bishop BURNET, forty or fifty thousand pounds were applied
 towards enriching the bishop's families. In this lord CLARENDON
 was

was very heavily, and not unjustly, charged; who shewed himself more a personal friend to the bishops than a man truly concerned for the honour and interest of the church. There was indeed a bill brought in, during the last session of parliament, "for encreasing the maintenance of ministers;" and the members were desired by the house to enquire into the value of all livings within their several precincts, and to inform the house at the next meeting after their recess. "But the king's craving wants of aid and supply, the jealousy and avarice of some lay patrons and impropiators, and the prophaneness and irreligion of many of the leading courtiers," says bishop KENNET, "let this design drop into a forgetfulness of God, and the cure of souls."

The king, having promised some of the leading presbyterians that he would either not consent to the act of uniformity, or else procure them a clause of exemption, was petitioned by them, within two or three days after it had taken place, that they might be continued in their ministry. The petition was considered in council the next day, and the king declared his opinion for an indulgence, in which he was seconded by several others. But the chancellor, and bishop SHELDON, declared for the strict execution of the law with great vehemence; and they carried it that the act should take its course. The papists thinking this a time to put their project in execution which they had been long contriving, the earl of BRISTOL drew a great number of them to his house, and under an oath of secrecy, advised them to try their utmost among all their friends, to procure a toleration for the non-conformists, that they might themselves be comprehended in it. The king was therefore so far prevailed upon, by the united council of his catholic friends, which was agreeable also to his own opinion, that without communicating it to his minister the earl of CLARENDON, his majesty drew up a declaration at Christmas, assuring all his loving subjects, "that as for what concerns the penalties upon those who, living peaceably, do not conform to the church of England, thro scruple or tenderness of misguided conscience, but modestly and without scandal perform their devotions in their own way, he would make it his special care, as far as in him lay, without invading the freedom of parliament, to incline their wisdom at the next approaching sessions, to concur with him in making some act for that purpose, as may enable him to exercise, with a more universal satisfaction, that power of

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“ dispensing which he conceives to be inherent in him : that as
 “ to the papists who had deserved so well from his father and
 “ himself, in adhering to them with their lives and fortunes,
 “ it was not his intention to exclude them from all be-
 “ nefit of such an act of indulgence, but that they are not to
 “ expect an open toleration ; and he refers the manner of that
 “ indulgence to the approaching session of parliament, which
 “ he doubts not will concur with him in the performance of his
 “ promises.” This declaration was thought to be framed at Som-
 erset-house, where the queen mother kept her court : but the
 wiser nonconformists, who saw what all this was aimed at, re-
 ceived it very coldly ; whilst the papists were very busy in pre-
 paring a scheme for a general toleration. When the earl of
 BRISTOL produced the declaration at the council board, the
 chancellor, and the bishops opposed it, and with great reason.
 But tho it carried a claim of the dispensing power, and spoke a
 good will towards papists, yet as it was modestly expressed and
 referred all to the parliament, the majority of the council was
 on the side of the declaration. The lord BRISTOL looked on
 this as a great victory over the chancellor ; and the duke of
 BUCKINGHAM, and all his enemies, took part against him openly
 from this time.

At the meeting of the parliament in February sixteen hundred
 and sixty three, the king confined his speech to the subject of
 his declaration, assuring them “ that tho several of the papists
 “ might justly claim a share in that indulgence which he would
 “ willingly afford to other dissenters, yet he did not intend
 “ them to hold any places in the government ; for he would
 “ not yield to any, no not to the bishops themselves, in his zeal
 “ for the protestant religion and his liking the act of uniformity :
 “ and yet if the dissenters would behave themselves peaceably
 “ and modestly under the government, he could heartily wish
 “ that he had such a power of indulgence to use on all oc-
 “ casions, as might not needlessly force them out of the king-
 “ dom, or staying here, give them cause to conspire against
 “ the peace of it.” This speech of his majesty’s, added to his
 late declaration, gave a great alarm to the house of commons,
 and even to his minister the earl of CLARENDON, who was not
 in the secret of the king’s religion. By his management there-
 fore the thanks of the house were voted for his majesty’s resolu-
 tion to maintain the act of uniformity, but that it was their
 humble advice that no indulgence be granted to dissenters from

it. This did not satisfy them: they ordered a committee to collect and bring in the reasons for this vote, to be presented to his majesty in an address; which was done accordingly. The address is penned with great spirit and vigour, but the reasons do not appear to be very cogent. They were in substance as follows; that the indulgence proposed would establish schism by a law, expose his majesty to importunity, encourage sectaries to the prejudice of the protestant religion, discredit the wisdom of the legislature, take away all means of convicting recusants, and occasion great disturbance in the kingdom. Weak however as the reasons were in themselves, they were strong enough to convince the king, that he should never obtain from the commons a power of dispensing with the act of uniformity. Accordingly after thanking them for their address, and taking time to consider of their reasons, his majesty sent them a message in writing, "that his meaning had been ill understood." The commons having carried this point, and being secretly pushed on by some of the chancellor's friends, they addressed the king to put the laws in execution against papists; and a proclamation for form's sake was soon after issued; but care was taken by the very terms of it to render it ineffectual. This opposition to the king, and the Roman catholicks, by the earl of CLARENDON and his party, laid the foundation of his ruin sometime after; and his lordship visibly declined every day in his credit at court. Even in this session of parliament, the earl of BRISTOL impeached him in the house of lords, tho against the king's consent; but his articles were so contradictory, so improbable, and so void of legal form, that the impeachment was unanimously rejected. The summer being far advanced, and the parliament, and the convocation, having passed large subsidies to the king, they were prorogued till March in the following year.

About this time died at a great age archbishop JUXTON, who had been superannuated before the restoration, and could not therefore do any service to the church, in the high post he was then promoted to. But as he had been a long and faithful servant to CHARLES the first, was the senior bishop both in rank and age, and a man of an unexceptionable character, it was judged decent to advance him to the primacy, when the church was restored to its ancient lustre. He was of the same college with archbishop LAUD, and much esteemed and promoted by him when he was prime minister, tho a man of a very different temper from himself. He obtained the bishoprick of Hereford

for him, and before he was possessed of it, LAUD procured him the see of London, on his own translation to the primacy. In a short time after that, he was made lord high treasurer, which he filled with probity and approbation, tho' not without a great deal of envy, on account of his being a churchman very little known, and that post being the most beneficial as well as the highest next the great seal of any in the kingdom. He resigned it a little before the late king's breach with the parliament, and attended quietly to the duties of his station during the war. After he waited on his majesty on the scaffold at his execution, we hear no more of him till the restoration; and he was then so infirm and aged, that he could not acquit himself of the duties of his high station to which he was then advanced. He was a man of great moderation in his temper, much beloved, and of a character unexceptionable. But if his abilities and learning were considerable, we have no remains of them; and he may be said to have been rather of the number of the good, than of the great archbishops. He was immediately succeeded by SHELDON, who wanted not for a very active spirit, and who had indeed had the chief management of all ecclesiastical affairs during JUXTON's primacy.

The parliament met in March sixteen hundred and sixty four according to their prorogation; and taking advantage of some late pretended plots, which, MR. LOCKE says, were invented by those who spread the report of them, an act was passed for three years for suppressing seditious conventicles. This not only confirmed the severe act of ELIZABETH, which condemned all persons who refused appearing at church to banishment, and in case of return, to death, but it further enacted, that if any one above sixteen years of age was present at any meeting under a pretence of exercise of religion, in any other manner than was allowed by the liturgy of the church of England, where there were five more than the family, for the first offence should suffer three months imprisonment or pay a fine of five pounds, for the second offence six months or ten pounds, and for the third should be banished to the plantations in America. At this time, the usual method for the clergy to tax themselves in convocation, was discontinued by a private agreement between the archbishop and the chancellor and other leading ministers: when it was concluded that the clergy should silently wave the privilege of taxing their own body, and permit themselves to be included in the

the money bills prepared by the commons. To encourage their assent to this cession, two of the four subsidies they had granted the king were to be remitted; and a clause was inserted into the act, that it should not be to the prejudice of their ancient rights. This has made convocations unnecessary to the crown, and inconsiderable in themselves. By virtue of the act against conventicles, the jails in the several counties were filled with religious dissenting protestants, whilst the papists had the good fortune to be covered under the wings of the prerogative, and whilst the common people gave themselves up to drunkenness, gaming, lewdness, and all sort of iniquity. England, it must be owned, at this time was in a very dreadful state. A fatal war was entered into against the Dutch, and the plague which began soon after, had continued and spread itself in a great degree over the country. The court was therefore obliged to remove to Oxford, where another parliament was held in sixteen hundred sixty five: and as it happens in popish countries, that when any general calamity befalls the people, it is imputed to too great an indulgence to hereticks, so here the war and the plague were made an argument to rain down vengeance on the nonconformists; and another act passed in this parliament at Oxford, requiring all the silenced ministers to take an oath, "that it was not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the king, or any commissioned by him, and that they would not at any time endeavour an alteration in the government of church or state." Whosoever refused this oath, was not to come within five miles of any city, corporation, or borough, or of any church where they had served since the restoration, upon forfeiture of forty pounds for every such offence: neither could they be capable of teaching any public or private schools, or of taking any boarders to be taught and instructed, under the same heavy penalty. This was much opposed in both houses, but especially in the house of lords, as enforcing an oath unjustifiable in itself, and such as my lord SOUTHAMPTON said, "no honest man could take." But however it passed, with the assistance of the court, who stood too much in need of money to disoblige the commons; and it likewise forwarded the maxim of the friends of popery, which was to bring all the nonconformists into such a desperate situation, as that they should be at the king's mercy, and desire a general toleration upon any terms that he would give it. But as all this severity in a time of war, and of such a public calamity, drew very hard censures, says bishop BURNET, on the promoters of

of it, who were chiefly the chancellor and the archbishop, so it raised the compassion of the nonconformist party so much, that they were supplied more plentifully at that time than ever.

The iniquities of the nation not being sufficiently punished by pestilence and a war, it pleased God the next year to permit the city of London to be laid in ashes by a dreadful conflagration. The beginning of this fire was generally laid to the charge of the papists: and the parliament, which met about three weeks after, addressed the king to put the laws in execution against Romish priests and jesuits, who took indefatigable pains to pervert his subjects. But they began at last to admit a little reason with their anger against the nonconformists, and to see, what they might have seen long before, if their zeal and revenge had not blinded them, that the more their breaches were widened, the weaker they grew, and the more they were set against each other, the less they attended to the growth of popery; which now began to alarm them. The principles of persecution, it is certain, are not the principles of the church of England, and one would be willing to conceal that it had ever been practised by it; if the truth of history had not made it necessary to relate all the severities which were exercised in this reign, against their protestant nonconformists who were not enemies to the state. But at last the spirit of persecution began to abate. It was more and more discovered that the papists had a great influence in the court; and that the proclamations published against them, at the desire of the parliament, were far from being executed as they ought to have been. The earl of CLARENDON, whose credit had been on the decline for some time, was now turned out with marks of the king's indignation; and the lord ARLINGTON a concealed papist, but an avowed protector of all who went under that name, was advanced to the post of favourite, if not of chief minister. This began to produce suspicions little to the king's advantage: and these suspicions, together with the fall of the earl of CLARENDON, who had been the chief promoter of all the severities against the nonconformists, and which was indeed the great blemish of his administration, induced people to have a little more compassion for their protestant brethren, and to turn their zeal against the common enemy who was threatening destruction to them all.

At this time therefore, a project was formed by the lord keeper BRIDGMAN, bishop WILKINS, chief justice HALE, and some
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others, for a comprehension of those who could be brought into the church by some abatements, and a toleration for the rest. Instead of the reordination of the presbyterians, it was proposed, that they should have the imposition of the hands of a bishop, accompanied with words importing that the person so ordained was received to serve as a minister in the church of England. Instead of all former subscriptions, after the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, it was provided that they should subscribe the following declaration: I do hereby profess and declare, that I approve the doctrine, worship, and government established in the church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation; and that I will not endeavour by myself, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any doctrine contrary to that which is so established; and I do hereby promise, that I will continue in the communion of the church of England, and will not do any thing to disturb the peace thereof. It was further proposed, that the cross in baptism, kneeling at the sacrament, and bowing at the name of Jesus, should be left indifferent, or taken away: and lastly, that if the liturgy and canons should be altered in favour of the dissenters, then every preacher upon his institution should declare his assent to the lawfulness of the use of it, and promise that it shall be constantly used at the time and place accustomed. The proposals for a toleration were, that all those protestants who could not accept of the comprehension, might have liberty for the exercise of their religion in publick; that their names should be registered with the congregations they belonged to, and the names of their teachers: that they should be disabled from bearing any public office, and fine for offices of burden: that they should be exempted from the legal penalties which are inflicted on those who absent from their parish churches: and that they should not be punished for meeting in conventicles by confiscation of estates, provided they pay all public duties to the parish where they inhabit; and this indulgence to continue for three years. According to these heads of agreement, a bill was prepared for parliament by lord chief justice HALES; but bishop WILKINS, whose heart was much set on carrying this affair, communicating it to WARD, bishop of Salisbury, in hopes of his assistance in the house of Lords, the design was much talked of. On one side it was said, that the cause of the church was undermined and given up, if we yielded any of those points, about which there had been so much disputing; that there was no reason to think, after we had departed from our grounds which was to confess we had been in

the wrong, we should gain much by it besides scorn and contempt. On the other hand it was replied, that it was well enough known what they had always excepted to, and what would probably bring over most of the presbyterians; that a yielding in some lesser matters would be no reproach but an honour to the church, and how much soever she might be superior in argument and power, that she did of her own accord and for peace sake, yield a great deal in things indifferent. The fears of popery, and the encrease of infidelity, had alarmed many wise and good men; and they thought this a call of providence to attempt every thing that could be attempted without sin, in order to heal our divisions and to restore peace to the church. But these were not the sentiments of the greatest part of the bishops, and of the house of commons; and therefore as soon as the parliament met, the commons voted that no bill for the purpose of a comprehension should be brought into the house. Not contented with this step they addressed the king to look strictly to the execution of his proclamation against conventicles, which the archbishop had procured from him just before; and they appointed a committee to enquire into the behaviour of the nonconformists. Besides this they revived the act against conventicles which was expired, and to which they added two extraordinary clauses. Every person frequenting such conventicles, above sixteen years of age, were to pay five shillings for the first offence, ten shillings for the second; and the preachers twenty pounds for the first offence, and forty for the second; and those who permitted such conventicles in their barns, yards, or houses, were to forfeit twenty pounds. Then followed the extraordinary clauses; "that if any justice of peace refused to do his duty in the execution of this act he should forfeit five pounds; and that all clauses in this act should be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof." Many justices quitted the bench, who would not be the instrument of severities which did good to no body but informers, who supported their debaucheries from the spoils of their conscientious neighbours. When the act was debating in the house of lords, bishop WILKINS argued long and with great spirit against it; tho the king who wanted it to pass, that he might have the nonconformists at his mercy and to sue for a toleration, had pressed him vehemently not to oppose it, or to stay from the house while it depended. His answer was so much becoming an honest man,

a christian, and a prelate of the church of England, that I shall give it the reader in his own words. He told his majesty, that he thought it an ill thing in conscience and in policy; and as an Englishman, and a bishop, he was bound to oppose it. As to absenting himself from the house, he said that by the law and constitution of England, and by his majesty's favour, he had a right to debate and vote; and he was neither afraid, nor ashamed, to own his opinion in that matter, and to act pursuant to it. The archbishop was a man of another stamp, and sent circular letters to all the bishops of his province, to put this very act in execution with the utmost rigour; in which he was assisted by WARD and GUNNING. But the other bishops chose the side of charity and moderation, and threw off the odium on the civil magistrate.

Whilst the protestant dissenters were thus harraßed in all parts of the kingdom, the Roman catholicks had the liberty of resorting to mass at the houses of foreign ambassadors, and other chapels in town and country: and the duke of YORK the king's brother, and immediate heir to the crown after his majesty, who had had no children by his queen, made a formal abjuration of the protestant religion at this time, and openly declared himself a papist. The parliament were so alarmed at this, that the two houses joined in an address to his majesty, to represent the causes of the dangerous growth of popery, and what they conceive are the proper remedies for those growing mischiefs. The king promised to do what they desired, and in a few days issued a proclamation, which run much in the same stile with those which had been published on the same occasion before, and was just in the same manner neglected. The three kings of this family, the reader must observe, had never made any scruple to answer the instances of their parliaments to prevent the growth of popery, with publishing proclamations for that purpose: but the publication, and the execution, were two different things. It is certain, that the king at this time was so far from intending to prevent the growth of popery, that he intended now to introduce it. He had got a set of arbitrary ministers, who were called the cabal, who had formed a project to render the king absolute; in order to which it seemed necessary, in the opinion of these ministers, that liberty of conscience should be established, to gain the nonconformists, from which so much opposition was to be feared, to favour at least the papists. But when the declaration for this liberty was drawn up, the lord keeper BRIDG-

MAN refused to put the seals, as judging it contrary to law: upon this he was dismissed, and the earl of SHAFTSBURY, the ablest man of the cabal, was made lord chancellor. He not only sealed the declaration, but asserted that it was for the interest of the church of England; which had placed themselves upon so narrow a bottom, and proceeded by measures so contrary to the properties and liberties of the nation, as must needs in a short time prove fatal to them. This was true, so far as it related to dissenting protestants, but it was not true as it included papists; nor had his majesty any right by virtue of a dispensing power to suspend the laws against either. The declaration however was published, and his majesty's resolutions in it were, that the church of England should be preserved entire in her doctrine, discipline and government as it now stands; that no person shall be capable of holding any ecclesiastical benefice who is not exactly conformable; that the execution of all penal laws against all sorts of nonconformists and recusants shall be suspended immediately; that he will always allow such a number of places as shall be desired, in all parts of the kingdom, for such as did not conform to the church of England to assemble in; that none of his subjects should presume to meet in any such place till it was allowed, and the teacher approved of by him; that this indulgence shall extend to all except Roman catholic recusants, to whom he will only indulge their share in the common exemption from the penal laws, and the exercise of their worship in their private houses only. Great endeavours were used by the court, when this was published, to persuade the nonconformists to make addresses and compliments upon it; but they were not so blind as not to see, that it was not granted for their sakes, nor would continue longer than it served the interest of popery; besides they were not very fond of accepting their liberty by virtue of a dispensing power. They presented however an address of thanks, with which a body of them waited on the king; and after having been so long and so dreadfully harrassed on account of conscience, they were glad to have some rest. But they all soon saw, as well as their leaders, what would be the consequence: and, as we shall presently see, disclaimed this indulgence.

The parliament, and the king, had hitherto agreed extremely well: and they had given him in the course of twelve years such immense sums of money on frivolous and unjust pretences, that it was generally suspected many of the leading members

had themselves a share of it. Nay some historians have gone so far as to say, that the price of every man was known. But be this as it might; several of the old members having been dead, or called up to the house of peers, the new ones elected in their room had not those high notions of monarchical power, or were not so susceptible of impressions from the court as the others were. Besides, the designs of the king and his ministry being every day more visible, many of the same members, who thought they could not do too much for the king, whilst they had no apprehensions from popery and arbitrary power, adopted other sorts of notions. The parliament had now been prorogued almost two years; and in that interval the king had taken some steps which had given great uneasiness to his subjects. On the fourth of February sixteen hundred and seventy three, it was again summoned to meet: and in the king's speech at the opening, his majesty told the two houses, "that he had found a
 " good effect from his declaration of indulgence to dissenters;
 " but he did not intend it should any way prejudice the church,
 " which he would support in its rights and in its full power:
 " and having said this, he should take it ill to receive contra-
 " diction in what he had done; for he would deal plainly with
 " them, he was resolved to stick to his declaration." It was now that the king and his ministers began to perceive for the first time, that it was not so easy to carry what they pleased, as in the beginning of this parliament. The commons were no sooner settled, than they took this declaration, which his majesty was resolved to stick to, into debate; and after some warm, and not very respectful speeches, they informed him in an address, "that penal laws in matters ecclesiastical could not be
 " suspended but by act of parliament; and therefore they hum-
 " bly besought him to give such directions, as that no appre-
 " hensions or jealousies might remain in the hearts of his faith-
 " ful subjects." The king assured them in answer to this address, that he was very much troubled his declaration should prove the cause of disquiet, and give occasion to the questioning of his power in ecclesiastics, which he found not done in the reign of any of his ancestors; that he never thought of using it otherwise than for the peace and establishment of the church of England; and that his only design was to take off the penalties inflicted by statute on the dissenters, which he believed they themselves would not wish to see executed according to the rigour of the law. Neither had he done this with any thought of avoiding or precluding the advice of his parliament; and if
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any bill should be offered to him which should appear more proper to attain the ends and secure the peace of the church and kingdom, he would shew how ready he was to concur in all ways that should appear for the good of the kingdom. But the commons were not satisfied with these assurances. Wherefore three days after they presented another address; in which they tell his majesty, "that his answer was not sufficient to clear the
 " apprehensions that might justly remain in the minds of his
 " people, by his majesty's having claimed a power to suspend
 " penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, and which his majesty did
 " seem still to assert to be entitled in the crown, and never
 " questioned in any of the reigns of his ancestors: wherein they
 " conceived his majesty had been much misinformed, since no such
 " power had ever been claimed or exercised by any of his pre-
 " decessors. They therefore with unanimous consent became
 " humble suitors to his majesty, that he would be pleased to give
 " them a full and satisfactory answer to their last address, and
 " to take such effectual order, that the proceedings in this mat-
 " ter might not for the future be drawn into consequence or
 " example." Whatever the dissenters might think at first of this indulgence, they saw now they were only tools to advance the interest of the Romish religion: and therefore in these debates, alderman LOVE, a city member and a leading presbyterian, spoke with great zeal and resolution against the declaration; assuring the house "that they would rather go without
 " their desired liberty, than have it in a way that would prove
 " so detrimental to the nation." The house of commons, which had for these ten years been loading the nonconformists with one penal law after another, were so wrought upon by this sacrifice which they now made of their liberty to the interest of religion and the kingdom, that they ordered a bill to be brought in, which should take off the penalties of the act of uniformity, and lay nothing more upon them than the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The bill passed the house of commons with great alacrity, but the lords having detained it with some amendments, the parliament was prorogued before it could be made ready for the royal assent. At the same time that the commons were employed about this bill, they ordered another to enjoin frequent catechising in the parochial churches for the instruction of youth, in order to shew the fears they were in of popery.

The king had never been in so great perplexity since his coming

ing to the throne as he was at present ; and the time was now come, that he must either give way to the proceedings of the commons, or break with his parliament, and have no money. After many consultations with his brother and his ministers, to say nothing of his ladies who are supposed to have determined him, his majesty called for the declaration of indulgence, and broke the seal with his own hands. In a few days after, he came to the parliament ; and pressing the commons very earnestly to dispatch the money bills, he assured them, “ that if there were
“ any scruples yet remaining with them touching the suspension
“ of the penal laws, he there faithfully promised, that what he
“ he had done in that particular, should not for the future be
“ drawn into example, and that he would willingly pass any bills
“ they should offer him, that would give them satisfaction in all
“ their just grievances.” The two houses were so much pleased with this answer, that they went in a body to return their thanks to his majesty for it. The commons, taking the king at his word, prepared a bill to prevent the dangers which may happen from popish recusants ; requiring all persons who enjoyed any office or place of trust or profit, to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy in public court ; to receive the communion in some parish church immediately after divine service, which was to be certified by the minister and church wardens, and attested on the oaths of two credible witnesses ; and to make and subscribe a declaration, that they believe there is not any transubstantiation in the sacrament of the lord’s supper, at, or after, the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever. When this bill, which has always since been called the “ test act,” was brought into the house, the court endeavoured all they could to prevent it, by dividing the church party with a proposal for some regard to the protestant dissenters. But alderman LOVE, seeing into their project, stood up again on this occasion, and said, “ he
“ hoped the clause proposed in favour of the dissenters would
“ occasion no intemperate heats, and that he should move for
“ passing the bill which was such a barrier against popery, without any alteration, and without interposing any thing till it
“ was finished ; the dissenters choosing rather to lie under the
“ severity of the laws for a time, than clog a more necessary
“ work with their concerns.” This open declaration from one of the leading men amongst them, defeated the scheme of the court ; and the bill passed the commons with little more opposition. The ministers in the house of lords, the chancellor excepted, exerted all their strength against it, in the presence of
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the king and the duke of YORK. But there was no such thing as getting the money bill without this security against popery; and his majesty must either risk a second civil war, or give full content to his parliament by permitting the bill to pass. The last was most agreeable to his temper; and out of necessity for money, he gave up the papists: the commons voted him an immense sum of money; the king gave the royal assent to the test act, and prorogued the parliament, after a session of seven weeks, till October following.

Tho the protestant religion stood in need of the united strength of all its professors against popery, and of all the securities of a civil nature that could be given for the preservation of church and state, yet I presume to say, that it is not only a great prostitution of the sacrament, to make it a qualification for civil offices and employments, but an infatuation to suppose that it can be any security for our religion. The zeal however of this house of commons against popery, inclined both churchmen and dissenters to pass the act; and it has ever since continued, much to the dishonour, I think, of our holy religion. The two parties, who had so long had a mutual animosity against each other, uniting their efforts now against popery, it was thought adviseable by the king and his ministers to set up another test that should again disunite them, and even make a division among the churchmen. For this, the archbishop, and bishop MORLEY, with all those high divines of their party, who had lately been upon ill terms with the court for opposing the king's indulgence, were now invited thither; that as the attack on popery had been changed the court might now change its defence. Accordingly they suggested to the ecclesiasticks, that the majority of the commons intended to overturn every thing that had been done in favour of the monarchy and of the church, and that without a timely precaution the nation was in danger of becoming republican and presbyterian. Having made themselves sure of the bulk of the prelates by this representation, a bill was brought into the house of lords, in the session of parliament which met in April sixteen hundred and seventy five, tho much against the opinion of the duke of YORK, "to prevent the dangers which may arise from persons disaffected to the government." The design of this bill, was to oblige all persons enjoying any office, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, all privy councillors, and members of parliament, to take the oath which had been introduced into the corporation and five mile

acts already mentioned, "of the illegality of taking up arms
 "against the king or any commissioned by him, and that they
 "would not at any time endeavour the alteration of the govern-
 "ment in church or state." The debates in the house of lords
 upon this bill lasted seventeen days, and by the weight of the
 bishops it would certainly have passed that house, they having
 carried every vote relating to it. But the two houses coming
 to a rupture about a breach of privilege, the king prorogued
 the parliament till October, and the court had never strength
 enough afterwards to revive this motion. When the parliament
 met again in October, the warmth about privilege was renewed;
 and the king seeing no expedient for their reconciliation, pro-
 rogued the parliament to February twelvemonth, which was al-
 most fifteen months.

During this interval, the busy restless spirit of archbishop
 SHELDON was quieted by his being laid in the grave. He was
 clerk of the closet to the late king, and during the usurpation
 went thro many difficulties. At the restoration he was made
 bishop of London; and in conjunction with the earl of CLA-
 RENDON, was the chief promoter of all the severities against the
 nonconformists. He was a man of very high principles in
 church and state; which his usage in the civil wars, and under
 the commonwealth, did not at all abate. He was more of a
 statesman than a prelate, according to bishop BURNET, and had
 little other regard to religion than as it was an engine of the
 state. Mr. ECHARD indeed says, that he filled the see of Can-
 terbury with great honour and reputation: but what that
 honour and reputation consisted in, more than in weakening the
 protestant interest by pouring out his vengeance continually upon
 the dissenters, all the history which I have seen of him does not
 inform us. We hear of nothing but his opposing all the mea-
 sures proposed for a comprehension, and of his writing circular
 letter after letter to the bishops of his province, to put the laws
 in execution against the nonconformists. When the parliament
 and the people grew weary of these severities, and began to see
 the ill policy of thus persecuting their protestant brethren when
 popery was at the door, the archbishop retired from all public
 affairs. I dont mean by this to insinuate that he favoured
 popery or that he was not a thorow protestant: but his grace
 had cerainly more animosity against nonconformists than against
 papists; and it is probable that he was not wholly without re-
 venge against the former, for the destruction they had brought
 upon

upon the episcopal church. The desire of preservation however might have some share in the severities which he rained down upon them; that they might never have such another opportunity to overthrow the church of England. Whatever were his motives, it must be allowed that he carried his persecution of the nonconformists beyond the bounds of policy and religion. In all other respects he was unblemished, and for his public benefactions for the encouragement of learning, and for charitable uses, he was a great example. There have been many much better archbishops than SHELDON, it must be granted, and there have been also many worse. There were none of the order at that time, according to bishop BURNET, who were in any sort fitted to fill the chair of primate, whom the court could trust; and therefore Dr. SANCROFT was promoted to it from the deanry of St. Pauls.

From this time to the end of the reign of CHARLES, we meet with little else but quarrels and jealousies between the king and his parliaments; sham plots, and furious sallies of rage and revenge, between the court and country party. There was one plot however, called the popish plot, discovered in sixteen hundred and seventy eight, formidable enough if it had succeeded, to have subverted the constitution, to establish popery, and to extirpate the protestant religion root and branch. The reality of this plot, as it depended on the evidence of OATES and BEDLOE, and which it is not the business of this history to enter into, has been questioned, I believe, very justly; tho the house of commons believed it, and voted "that there had been a damnable hellish plot contrived and carried on by popish recusants against the life of the king and the protestant religion." In this belief, they passed a bill for disabling all papists from sitting in parliament, to which the lords added a clause to except the duke of YORK, and the commons after some debate consented to it. The two houses being so much enflamed with all the circumstances of this plot, which, as far as it related to a design of making the king absolute, and introducing popery, was certainly real, and his majesty apprehending that he should only meet with fresh mortifications if he permitted them to sit any longer, dissolved the parliament, which had continued almost eighteen years; and summoned a new one to meet in March sixteen hundred and seventy nine. The nation, full of fears, of jealousy, and discontent, were resolved not to trust their

their interest in the hands of men of such high principles as filled the last house of commons, and raised the royal power to so great an height the first twelve years of their sitting: and when the returns were made of all the elections, it appeared there was a vast majority who were opposite to the principles and designs of the court of CHARLES. In order to soften men's minds and to prevent any ill impression, the duke of YORK was sent away to Holland; and at the opening of the parliament, the parting with an only brother to remove the jealousy of the people, was magnified with all the pomp of FINCH's eloquence, who had succeeded SHAFTSBURY in the great seal, and was now earl of Nottingham. But the commons, and the king, began with a strong dispute about their speaker, which occasioned great heats in that house, and ended at last in a thorow change of the ministry and the privy council. This change however did not prevent the bringing in of a bill to exclude the duke of YORK from the succession, on account of his being a papist, which was read twice in the house of commons; but before it came to a third reading, the parliament was dissolved, and another summoned to meet in October following. But when that time came, finding much such another house of commons returned as the last had been, the king told his new council that the meeting should be put off till that time twelvemonth, and that he had considered all the consequences so far as to be absolutely resolved, and not to hear any thing that should be said against it. Soon after this, he recalled the duke of YORK, who continued about the king till the next winter when the parliament was to sit. The truth is, the ministry would not undertake to support his majesty, if the duke was in England during the session of parliament. For lord SHAFTSBURY, attended by about a dozen lords and gentlemen of distinction, went publicly to Westminster-hall, and at the bar of the court of King's-bench, by a bill in form, presented the duke of YORK as a popish recusant.

The parliament met in October sixteen hundred and eighty, to whom the king declared in his speech, "that nothing should
 " be wanting on his part to give them the fullest satisfaction
 " their hearts could wish, for the security of the protestant re-
 " ligion, consistent with the preserving the succession of the
 " crown in its due and legal course." But all the mollyfying expressions which the king could use, had no influence with the

commons. Nay so much were the popular leaders determined to carry things to extremity, that in less than a week after the commencement of the session, the bill of exclusion was again brought in, and referred to a committee with this aggravating alteration, "that it should be read to the people twice a year in all the churches of the kingdom, and that every one who should support the title of the duke of YORK, should be incapable of pardon but by act of parliament." But the bill was thrown out by the lords, by a majority of thirty three; eleven bishops, out of fourteen that were present, voting against it. It seemed necessary to take notice thus far of these proceedings between the king and the house of commons, in order to connect the history and render it more intelligible, but it is not consistent with my design to enter any further into these debates. I now turn to the affairs relating to the church. Whilst the commons were in a high ferment about the loss of the exclusion bill, and the terrors of popery, they ordered several bills to be brought in for the security of the protestant religion; and among others, one for uniting the king's protestant subjects. It was intended to agree in a comprehension with the dissenters, upon much the same terms as were before proposed; and that a toleration should be allowed to those who could not be comprehended. But after a strong opposition from the court members, and no vigorous defence from the friends of the presbyterians, it was given up for another less advantageous to them; to exempt them from the penalties imposed on the papists by the act of the thirty fifth of ELIZABETH, which made banishment or death the terms of nonconformity. This repeal, says bishop BURNET, went heavily in the house of lords; because many of the bishops thought the terror of it of some use, tho they were not for putting it in execution, and it had never been executed but in one single instance. The repeal however was carried: but on the day of prorogation, when the bill should have been presented with the rest for the royal assent, the clerk of the crown withdrew it by the king's particular order. His majesty had no inclination to deny it openly, and he had less inclination to pass it, and therefore pursued this indiscreet method of suppressing it. "By this artifice, which was equally disobliging to the country party as if the bill had been rejected, and at the same time implied some meanness and timidity in the king," says Mr. HUME, "that salutary act was for the present eluded." This alone will shew the reader, that in all the steps which the king had taken for indul-

gence and toleration to tender consciences, his view was principally for the Roman catholicks; because as soon as ever the parliament had passed a bill for this indulgence, out of which the catholicks were excepted, his majesty refused to concur with them in it. The commons however were not content with this bill, but having had notice of the king's intention to prorogue them, they met earlier than usual in the morning, and before the king came to the house of lords, they voted "that the laws
" against popish recusants ought not to be extended against pro-
" testant dissenters, and that the prosecution of dissenters upon
" the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the subject, a weak-
" ning the protestant interest, an encouragement to popery and
" dangerous to the peace of the kingdom. " This was thought," says bishop BURNET, " a great invasion of the legislature, when
" one house pretended to suspend the execution of laws, which
" was to act like dictators in the state, for they meant that courts
" and juries should govern themselves by the opinions which
" they now gave; which instead of being a kindness to the
" nonconformists, raised a new storm against them all over the
" nation." In a few days after the parliament was prorogued, it was dissolved; and a new one was summoned to meet at Oxford, in March sixteen hundred and eighty one, the king being offended with the city of London.

The new elections were generally in favour of the members of the former parliament; and at the opening of the session, the king in his speech made severe reflexions on their proceedings. His majesty assured them however, that tho he could not depart from his resolution of maintaining the succession, " yet to remove all reasonable fears that might arise from the
" possibility of a popish successor's coming to the crown, if
" means could be found that in such a case the administration
" of the government might remain in protestant hands, he should
" be ready to hearken to any such expedient, by which the re-
" ligion may be preserved, and the monarchy not destroyed." When the commons had passed thro the usual forms of choosing a speaker and taking the oaths, they moved to enquire into the miscarriage of the bill for repealing the act of ELIZABETH against dissenters; which they thought a precedent of the highest consequence, and a breach of the constitution of the government. In the mean time, till this could be settled by a conference with the lords, rejecting the king's expedient, the commons ordered in another bill of exclusion like the last; and his majesty went suddenly

suddenly at the end of seven days from their meeting, and dissolved the parliament. He never called another parliament after this, but governed all the rest of his life, which was four years, in an absolute manner; and grew as cruel and bloody as he had before appeared humane and merciful. The distinguishing names of Whig and Tory came now to be the denomination of the two parties, against the court, and for the prerogative. The violence of those who were for the bill of exclusion was exclaimed against and exaggerated; and principles the most opposite to civil liberty were every where inculcated from the pulpit. Addresses of the same stamp were procured all over the kingdom; and if words could have been depended on, the nation was running apace into voluntary servitude, and seemed ambitious of resigning all their privileges to the king, which had been transmitted to them thro so many ages by their gallant ancestors. "The clergy," says bishop BURNET, "struck up to an higher note with such zeal in the duke's succession, as if a popish king had been a special blessing from heaven, to be much longed for by a protestant church. They likewise gave themselves such a loose against nonconformists, as if nothing was so formidable as that party; so that in all their sermons popery was quite forgot, and the force of their zeal was turned almost wholly against the dissenters; who were now by order from the court to be proceeded against according to law." It would fill a volume to enter into all the particulars of party rage and animosity against all those who were known to oppose the court: they would be very disagreeable to a tender hearted, good natured reader, and are not the business of this history. Let it suffice therefore to say, that instead of dropping a tear at the funeral of our laws, our liberties, and parliaments, there were men base enough to be then found both in church and state, who made fulsome panegyrics on their murderers, and denounced curses on those who would have retrieved them from destruction.

Amidst these circumstances however, it is certain, that the king was meditating a change of measures, and forming another plan of administration. Some warm expressions had escaped from him of his having been abused; and that if he lived but a month longer, he would find a way to make himself easy for the rest of his life. But in a few days after, he was seized with a sort of apoplexy, and died on the sixth of February sixteen hundred and eighty three, in the fifty fourth year of his

age, and the thirteenth of his reign, from the restoration. There is no proof it must be owned, but there are such strong reasons for suspecting him to be poisoned, that one can scarce avoid entertaining them.

In this manner died CHARLES the second, of whom almost all historians have spoken with great prejudices, on the one side, or the other. A man who has considered his reign attentively, and will speak of it impartially, must speak of it, I think, differently from all that I have seen. There are some strokes in his character indeed which are common to all who write of him. His friends and his enemies have allowed, that he had very fine natural parts, a great quickness of conception, pleasantness of wit, a right judgment of affairs, and great variety of knowledge; that with all these abilities, with all the social qualities that a prince could have to render himself beloved, without any pride, or stateliness, or conceit, he had yet such a carelessness and indolence of temper as disfigured his administration of government all his life. The high principles which he maintained, if we consider all the circumstances of his family and his life, are not only to be forgiven, but excused in CHARLES the second. But his pretended zeal for the protestant religion and the church of England, when he was externally of the Roman communion, and internally of no religion at all, or at best a deist, was a series of dissimulation which there is no defending. It is pity, it must be owned, that so fine a gentleman in his manner, so easy of access, so affable and communicative in his conversation, so entertaining with his wit, and so polite in his reproof and raillery, should at the same time have no sincerity, nor friendship, nor even tenderness in his nature. He had adopted one maxim, it seems, that there was no such thing as honour or virtue in the world, but that the actions of all mankind were the result of interest. Under the impression of such a maxim, it was impossible he should practise friendship, or sincerity; nor could there be any great room for tenderness, more than what he was impelled to by his natural temper. It was not however till the very latter end of his reign, when his ease had been much disturbed by plots, and the heat of contending parties, that CHARLES exercised any cruelty; and his character, in that respect, seems then to have been overcharged. He was so abandoned to sensual pleasures, that he could scarce prevail upon himself, till towards the decline of life, to suspend them for an hour, that he might apply

ply to the affairs of government: and yet when he did apply himself, his judgment was so clear, his penetration was so lively, and his mind was so capable of great affairs, that he could dispatch more in one day, than his ministers in general could in many. His mistresses devoured his time, and his treasure; and it was not the splendour or glory of a crown, but an easy indolent fauntring life, amidst wit, and voluptuousness, which had charms for CHARLES. This is a wretched despicable course of life for a king to follow, it must be owned; but it is made much worse when we consider, that it betrayed him into profuseness which was extremely burdensome to his people; and when he could not get money enough from his parliament to support this profuseness, that he even submitted, with the crown of England upon his head, to be the tool and pensioner of the king of France. But yet with a character so disadvantageous to his subjects, and so inglorious to himself, it must be acknowledged that he made as many concessions to his people, and passed as many acts for their benefit, as any prince that had ever reigned before him. His great concern at last was for the succession of his brother, which yet he would have consented should have been greatly limited: and in his last sickness, when he had time to think over the misconduct of his life and reign, he shewed no remorse for either: not a word about religion dropped from him to any body; no care of his people, no concern about his queen, fate upon his thoughts at all; but he died recommending his mistresses, and his children which they brought him, to the care and kindness of his brother. To conclude his character, we may say, that as a gentleman he was liked by every body, but beloved by no body; and as a prince, tho he might be respected for his station, yet his death could not be lamented by a lover of his country, upon any other motive, but that it introduced a much worse monarch on the throne than he was himself.

THE
ECCLESIASTICAL
HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK XVII.

AS soon as the privy council were returned from proclaiming the duke of YORK, by the name of JAMES the second, his majesty made them a speech, which was immediately printed, and dispersed; in which he told them, “that he would preserve the government in church and state, as it was now established by law; that he knew the principles of the church of England are for monarchy, and the members of it had shewn themselves good and loyal subjects, therefore he should always take care to defend and support it.” The praises of the new king upon this were founded very high, in all the addresses, and in most of the pulpits of the kingdom. The university of Oxford assured him in their address, “that they could never swerve from the principles of their institution, and their religion by law established; which indispensibly binds them to bear faith and true obedience to their sovereign, without any limitation or restriction, and that no consideration whatsoever should shake their loyalty and allegiance.” Whatever is to be said of JAMES, it must be owned he was no hypocrite in the business of religion: for the second Sunday after his accession to the throne, he went openly to mass with all the ensigns of royalty; and by this displayed at once his arbitrary disposition, and the bigotry of his principles, as it was a direct defiance of the laws of the land. He even sent an agent to Rome to make submissions to the pope; in order to pave the way for a solemn readmission of the English nation into the bosom of the
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catholic church. Another step which the king made at the same time, and as it seems without any necessity, was to order the priest who had given the eucharist and extreme unction to CHARLES, to attest publicly to the world that his majesty died a catholic. A parliament was summoned to meet in May; and as the elections were managed principally by the intrigues of the court, the majority of the commons were well affected to the prerogative, and to the doctrine of passive obedience, so much inculcated in the late reign from the pulpit.

At the opening of the parliament, the king made a gracious speech; in which he confirmed the assurances he had given his council, and in the same words, "that he would preserve the government as by law established in church and state." The commons charmed with these promises, and bigotted as much to their principles of government, as the king was to his religion, in about two hours voted him such an immense revenue for life, as enabled him to maintain a fleet and army without the aid of parliament, and consequently to subdue those who should dare to oppose his will. In this manner, and without any further ceremony, did this house of commons deliver up the liberties of the nation to a popish arbitrary prince. When they addressed him in answer to his speech, they told him, they relied on his royal word for the security of their religion, which word having never been broken, they esteemed beyond any law whatever. At the same time they would have voted an address, to desire him to issue forth his royal proclamation to cause the penal laws to be put in execution against dissenters from the church of England; but it was rejected because they could not confine it to the presbyterians, without taking in the papists, which would be offensive to the king. This however brought down the storm on the nonconformists, and revived the persecution which had slackened a little on the death of the king. This persecution, we may be sure, was not lessened by the duke of MONMOUTH's rebellion; to punish which, JEFFERYS the chief justice was sent into the West with a special commission, attended by KIRK with a body of troops to keep the people in awe. The cruelty of these monsters is too well known; and England had never seen any thing like it. When the parliament met again in November after the prorogation, his majesty congratulated them on the success of his arms in suppressing the late rebellion; but told them, "that no man must take exceptions that there were some officers
" in the army not qualified according to the late tests for their
" em-

“ employments. The gentlemen, he must tell them, were most
 “ of them known to him; and having formerly served him on
 “ several occasions, he thought them now fit to be employed
 “ under him: and he would deal plainly with them, that after
 “ having had the benefit of their services in time of need and
 “ danger, he would neither expose them to disgrace, nor him-
 “ self to the want of them if there should be another rebellion
 “ to make them necessary to him.” This was speaking out
 plainly, it must be owned; and many of those who had op-
 posed warmly the exclusion bill against this prince, began now
 to open their eyes, and to see that there was no reconciling the
 interest of a professed papist with a protestant kingdom. The
 lords consented, tho not without warm and long debates, to
 thank the king for his speech: but COMPTON, bishop of Lon-
 don, moved that a day might be appointed for taking the speech
 into consideration, in which he was seconded by some of the
 temporal lords. JEFFERYS, who was then chancellor and a peer,
 opposed the motion; and seemed inclined to be as arrogant and
 as brutal there as he had been long on the bench: but he was
 soon taught to know his place, and proved a mean and despica-
 ble wretch where others were at liberty to chastise his insolence.
 The commons would have granted the officers an indemnity for
 what was passed, but the king would not accept it, and ex-
 pressed his resentment with great vehemence. He saw that the
 two houses were now so fixed in the business of the test, that
 he should make nothing of them unless he gave it up, which
 he was determined not to do: and therefore after a session of
 eleven days he prorogued them, and they never afterwards met
 till they were dissolved.

The commons in their great zeal had enabled the king to
 keep up an army, to employ popish officers, and in short to
 have no occasion for a parliament; and the king was now de-
 termined to pursue his grand project of making himself absolute
 in order to establish his own religion. The maxim which he set
 up, and with which he entertained those about him, was the
 great happiness of an universal toleration; and he reflected on
 the church of England for the severities with which the dis-
 senters had been treated. How just soever this might be, yet it
 was strange doctrine in the mouth of a professed papist, and on
 whose account, and by whose direction principally, the church
 had been pushed on, but too obsequiously indeed, to that un-
 christian rigour. But since the churchmen began to awake

out of their dream and would no longer be the tools of his arbitrary power, applications were now made to the dissenters; and all on a sudden they were as much cherished, as they had been before oppressed and persecuted. They were encouraged to open their conventicles again, which had been for some time discontinued; and intimations were given that his majesty would be displeased if their meetings were disturbed. Some of them began to grow insolent upon this shew of favour: but the wise men among them saw thro all this, and perceived the design of the popish party was to set them against the church; that by worrying one another to death, the papists might step in and decide the contest to the ruin of them both: and therefore tho they returned to their conventicles, yet they had a just jealousy of the intention of the court, and expressed no resentments against the hierarchy for the late cruel treatment which they had undergone. The eyes of many of the considerable clergy were now opened; and they set themselves generally to study the controversy and to preach against popery, that they might rescue the protestant religion from the danger which their own absurdities had brought it into. The points of popery were all examined with a solidity of judgment, a depth of learning, and a vivacity of writing, which had never appeared before in the English language. But if they are justly to be reckoned among the best writers that have appeared on the protestant side, it must likewise be said, that those they wrote against were certainly among the weakest that had ever appeared on the side of popery. Besides these books of controversy, which were very industriously dispersed, there were many sermons preached and printed on these heads; which both instructed, and animated those who read them. The popish priests, being enraged at this opposition from the clergy, advised the king to send a circular letter to the bishops, with an order to prohibit the inferior clergy from preaching on the controverted points of religion. DR. SHARP was informed against as having broke thro this order; and the earl of SUNDERLAND secretary of state required the bishop of LONDON, in his majesty's name to suspend the doctor immediately, and then to examine into the information. The bishop replied, very honestly, and very truly, that he had no power to proceed in such a summary way; but if an accusation was brought regularly into his court, he would proceed to such a censure as the ecclesiastical law would authorize. However, he said, he would do what upon the matter should be a suspension, for he

would desire Dr. SHARP not to officiate till the affair was enquired into, and determined.

Among all the engines of authority employed formerly by the crown, none had been more dangerous, or even destructive to liberty, than the court of high commission; which had been abolished in the reign of CHARLES the first with marks of the highest indignation, and with a clause which expressly prohibited the erection of a court in any future time. But now JEFFERYS suggested the expedience of reviving it, under the name of an ecclesiastical commission, pretending it was only a standing court of delegates; and the king was so obstinate and imperious in his councils, that he regarded no obstacles from former laws, when they were in prejudice of his absolute power. A new court was therefore erected, by which seven commissioners were vested with full and unlimited authority over the whole church of England: they had the same unlimited powers possessed by the high commission, and they were to exercise their jurisdiction, notwithstanding any law or statute to the contrary. The commission was granted the beginning of April, but it was not opened till August; and it might be executed by any three, provided JEFFERYS the chancellor was always one. The reason of this proviso may easily be guessed at with great certainty. The archbishop lay quiet during all this storm at Lambeth; and tho he expressed great zeal against popery in his conversation, yet he expressed it there only, and shewed a timidity that was interpreted much to his dishonour. His name was the first in the new commission; and he contented himself with not having any share in its execution, and with declaring against it only by not attending it when it was opened. Poor spirited, and blameable as this was, in such a time of danger, CREW bishop of Durham, and SPRAT bishop of Rochester, were still less in the interest of their country, and religion: they both assisted in the court; tho the latter indeed to do him justice, opposed every arbitrary sentence passed in it, and at last when he saw the length they intended to go, withdrew himself very honourably; on an intimation, it is said, of what was likely to happen. The first person who was summoned was the bishop of London; and he was attended to it by many persons of great quality, which gave his majesty much offence. The lord chancellor began with his usual brutality, intending to terrify the bishop into a compliance with the jurisdiction of the court: but the

the bishop desired first a copy of the commission which authorized them to sit and to summon him before them, and time after that to make his defence. This could not with any shew of reason or justice be denied him; and he hoped that the king, in the mean time, might accept of some submission and let the matter fall. But when he found all applications of that sort were ineffectual, he stood upon his defence. The first part of it was an exception to the authority of the court, which was not only without law, but even contrary to the express words of the statute which repealed the act for the high commission. This objection however was not insisted on as it might have been, lest it should too much exasperate those whom he had to do with, and was therefore rather modestly opened than strongly argued. The other part of his defence, was, that he had obeyed his majesty's orders as far as he could do by law; he had prevailed on DR. SHARP to act as a man who was under suspension; and he could not inflict a censure on any of his clergy, without a process, articles, and some proof. This was sufficiently evident from the constant practice of ecclesiastical courts, and the judgment of all canon lawyers: and this was no doubt a sufficient acquittal of the bishop in the breast of every honest man. But this would not satisfy the imperious temper of the king, nor the lofty idea which he had entertained of his own authority. As JEFFERYS and CREW only therefore were for suspending his lordship during his majesty's pleasure, and the earl of ROCHESTER, SPRAT, and the chief justice HERBERT were for acquitting him, the king closetted the earl, and dealt so roundly with him, that his lordship concurred in the sentence with the other two, and the bishop was suspended from his office. This was thought however so poor a victory, that the court was not well pleased with it; and the bishop was more considered abroad than ever. In order therefore to get out of this business as well as they could, DR. SHARP was admitted to present a petition, expressing his concern, and desiring to be restored to his majesty's favour; and upon that he was permitted, after a gentle reprimand, to return to the exercise of his function. But the bishop lay under suspension.

The king and his priests were thorowly enraged at the opposition which they met with from the clergy; and therefore to humble them a little further, another commission was issued out for all the counties in England, to enquire what money had been raised, or what goods had been seized by distress on dissenters, or prosecutions for recusancy, for ten years past, and not brought to

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count in the exchequer. This struck a great terror into all the tribe of informers, spiritual courts, and confiding justices, who were many of them ecclesiasticks, and who had used their power in a very scandalous manner. But the protestant dissenters generously refused to appear against their enemies, upon an assurance from some leading men in church and state, that no such severities should be ever used for the future. It was hoped by the court, that this commission would have animated the dissenters to turn upon the clergy with some of that fierceness with which they themselves had been lately treated. But the king's intentions were so obvious, that it was impossible for him to gain the confidence of the nonconformists. They were sensible that the bigotted maxims of his religion, as well as the violence of his temper, were repugnant to the principles of a toleration; and that it was not till after his dangerous schemes were rejected by the bishops and clergy, that he had any recourse to the nonconformists.

The next step which was taken, in pursuit of the great project of subduing the church, and introducing popery, was to get a footing for the jesuits in the universities. To this purpose his majesty sent a mandamus to the vice-chancellor of Cambridge to admit an ignorant benedictine monk to the degree of master of arts. The vice-chancellor called a congregation; and considering that all the king's priests might be let in upon them in this manner, they refused the mandamus with a firmness and unanimity which was not expected. New and repeated orders, full of severe threatnings in case of disobedience, were sent to the university, but to no purpose. The vice-chancellor was summoned before the ecclesiastical commission, and treated by JEFFERYS with his usual inhumanity: but all that was thought fit to be done against him was to turn him out of his office. The university chose a man of great spirit in his room, who promised in the speech which he made at his admission into the office, that neither religion, nor the rights of the university, should suffer any prejudice during his magistracy. After this unsuccessful attempt in Cambridge, another of an higher sort, by a strange fatality in their counsels, was made at Oxford; and which, tho it was not concluded till the following year, it will be better to give the account of all together, than to break again the thread of the history. The presidentship of Magdalen college being vacant, the nomination to which was absolutely

in the fellows, the king sent a mandamus requiring them to elect one FARMER; an ignorant and vitious man, without any qualification to recommend him to such a post, but that of changing his religion. The fellows of the college made very submissive applications to the king to recal his mandate; but the day of election, according to their statutes, coming before his majesty's answer, they chose DR. HOUGH; a worthy virtuous man of their own body, and who had vigour and firmness enough to stand by his rights and the privileges of the college. Their election was confirmed by the bishop of WINCHESTER their visitor, and all the legal forms were observed to put the president in possession. "It was much observed," says bishop BURNET, "that this university which had asserted the king's prerogative in the highest strains of the most abject flattery possible, both in their addresses, and in a wild decree they had made about three years before, which must establish uncontrollable tyranny, should be the first body of the nation that should feel the effects of it most sensibly." In order to punish the college for this contumacy, as it was called, an inferior ecclesiastical commission was sent down, and the president and fellows cited before it. The scandal which FARMER had given was so notorious, and so many just exceptions were made against him, that the commissioners were ashamed to insist upon his election. A new mandate was therefore issued for PARKER, promoted in this reign to the see of Oxford; a man little better in his practice or his principles than the other. The fellows excused themselves on the oath they had taken to observe the statutes; which did not allow them to deprive the president of his office and to substitute another in his room. In opposition to this it was said, that college statutes had always been considered as things which depend entirely on the sovereign's pleasure, so that the oaths to observe them could not be binding when they were in opposition to the king's command. But the fellows did not understand this doctrine; and thus the matter rested till his majesty's progress the next year. Taking Oxford in his way, he sent for the president and fellows, and in a language and manner little suited to the majesty of a crown, he ordered them to go immediately and choose PARKER for their president: they insisted still on their oaths, and pleaded with a submission and humility which they hoped would mollify the king. But all availed them nothing. A new commission was sent down, with CARTWRIGHT a prostitute bishop at the head; the president was turned out by violence, and PARKER put in possession. All the fellows, ex-

cept two who complied, were displaced immediately; and thus, contrary to law and liberty, the private properties of men were invaded by the king's prerogative. The whole nation, as well as the university, was alarmed at this proceeding. They saw the fountains of the church were attempted to be poisoned; and it was generally concluded, that all ecclesiastical as well as civil preferments would be given only to those who were base enough to sacrifice their conscience and religion to the reigning superstition. The connexion is so close between the ecclesiastical establishments and the universities, that I thought myself obliged to give this account very particularly. I must now return to affairs of a more public nature.

The wider and more desperate the war became between the king and the church, the more necessary his majesty found it to shew kindness to the nonconformists. For this purpose he sent out agents to invite some of them to court, and to offer them the royal favour and all manner of encouragement, if they would concur with him in abrogating the penal laws, and test. Whilst his majesty was thus concerting openly with the protestant sectaries at home, he was carrying on a correspondence secretly with the court of Rome. But at last the priests were resolved to strike a stroke which should put that matter past all reconciliation. They prevailed on the king to send an ambassador publicly to the pope, tho it was high treason; and the earl of CASTLEMAIN was sent with great splendour, and at a vast expence. INNOCENT the eleventh then in the chair, instead of being pleased with this forward step, concluded that a scheme conducted with such indiscretion, could never possibly be successful: and the only proof of complaisance which the king received from his holiness, was his sending a nuncio into England in return for this expensive embassy. The nuncio resided openly in London all the rest of this short reign: and four catholic bishops were publicly consecrated in the king's chapel, and sent out as vicars apostolical to exercise the episcopal function in their respective dioceses. Their pastoral letters, directed to the lay catholicks of England, were printed and dispersed by the express allowance and permission of the king; and the regular clergy of that communion appeared at court in the habits of their respective orders. But the steps already made for the interest of the popish religion, were not thought sufficient to secure success. I have already said, that the king courted the nonconformists to bring them into his measures: and the more effectually

effectually to do this, he issued out a proclamation suspending all the penal laws in ecclesiastical affairs, and granting a general liberty of conscience to all his subjects. Imperious, violent, arbitrary, and bigotted to the last degree, he was not deterred by the consideration that this project had been blasted by two fruitless attempts in the late reign; and that in such a government as that of England, the opinion of lawyers and antiquarians was not sufficient to establish a prerogative against the general voice of the nation. In pursuance however of this proclamation, the nonconformists of all sorts were not only set at liberty, but admitted to serve in all offices of trust and profit. Innumerable addresses too were presented by them to the king, on this occasion, from all parts of the kingdom; penned in much higher strains than their old and cautious divines approved of but extremely welcome at court. Some of the dissenters, from an excessive joy at their liberty, and probably too from a strong resentment against their late oppressors, gave too much countenance to the measures of the court, by publishing virulent invectives against the church. But the episcopal party resolved unanimously, and very wisely, to remain silent under their reproaches, for fear of widening the breach between the two parties, at a time when their union was absolutely necessary. It must be said however, that they had not attained this wisdom, till it was almost too late; at least not during the space of twenty years, and till by their absurd principles of passive obedience, taught in their pulpits and acts of parliament, they had enabled the king to become arbitrary and tyrannical. In general it may be affirmed, that if some of the dissenters permitted themselves to be transported by their passion into insults on the church of England, yet they were men of no distinction, and that the most sensible and leading men declared against the dispensing power. "As thankful as they were for their liberty," says lord HAL-
LIFAX, "they were fearful of the issue; neither could any num-
ber of any consideration among them, be charged with ha-
zarding the public safety, by falling in with the measures of
the court, of which they had as great a dread as their neigh-
bours." The churchmen on their side did all that lay in
their power to establish an union, as the only possible means for
their joint security. They published pamphlets from time to
time, acknowledging their error in driving the presbyterians to
extremities; confessing that they were not enough upon their
guard against the artifices of the court; and promising a very
different behaviour on the re-establishment of their affairs. It
must

must be owned that this conduct was dextrous and sensible, as well as just: but it is no less true, that an accusation lies against them, of having forgotten this promise after the revolution, as they did at the restoration of CHARLES the second.

Whilst the king was thus trampling on the religion laws and liberties of his subjects, many of the leading churchmen, spiritual as well as temporal, were carrying on a correspondence with the prince of ORANGE, who had married the king's eldest daughter. They had desired him to use all his credit with the protestant nonconformists to prevent their complying with the measures of the court; and sent over positive assurances to his highness, of the same tenour with those they gave in England, that if the dissenters would now stand firm to the common interest, the members of the church of England would in a better time agree in a comprehension of all who could be brought into a conjunction with them, and in a toleration of the rest. The prince complied with this request; and gave directions to his agent, whom he sent to England, to press the dissenters to stand off, and not to be drawn in by any promises the court might make them, to assist in the elections of a new parliament. According to this advice, the new lord mayor of this year, a dissenter, tho the test was suspended, and the king had told him he was at his liberty to use what form of worship he pleased at Guildhall, refused to take that advantage; he qualified himself for his office according to law, and tho he sometimes went to a meeting of dissenters yet he went more frequently to church, and behaved with more decency than could have been expected. This disoblged the king to an high degree; and he said upon it that the dissenters were an ill natured people that could not be gained. The opposition which the king met with every day from some or other of his subjects, so contrary to the high idea he had formed of his power, served only to heighten his resentments, and to push him on to the most rash and violent measures. Had he proceeded by slow degrees, and secured one conquest before he had ventured on another, he might possibly have succeeded: but by the good providence of God, in favour of the religion and liberties of these kingdoms, he was permitted to deliver himself up implicitly to a few ignorant priests; who advised him to such precipitate and violent measures, as ended in his, and their own destruction.

Tho the schemes of the Roman catholicks, in the opinion of his majesty's priests, were now ripe for execution, yet there was one circumstance which spread a black cloud over all; which was the near prospect of a protestant successor to the crown. The king therefore having in vain attempted to procure the consent of the prince and princess of ORANGE to the repeal of the penal laws and test, his majesty went upon another project which would effectually set aside the protestant succession; and that was to provide the nation with an heir of his own body by the present queen, tho for many years she had been thought incapable of having children. This project was communicated in the gazette of January sixteen hundred and eighty eight, in words to this effect: "that it had pleased almighty God to give
 " his majesty apparent hopes, and good assurance of having
 " issue by his royal consort the queen, who thro God's great
 " goodness was now with child;" and public thanksgiving and solemn prayer were ordered on certain days to be offered in all churches on this occasion. The protestants were struck with an universal consternation; and the conception was talked of by the jesuits as miraculous, and as the effect of a vow which the queen had made to the lady of LORETTO. The whole of this affair being related by many historians, and not falling within the design of this history, must be here omitted. The king being thus emboldened by the prospect of a popish successor, instead of trying what he could do first with a parliament, published another declaration for liberty of conscience, in higher strains, and more advantageous to the papists than the former; to which an order was subjoined, that it should be read immediately after divine service by the clergy in all the churches, on the penalty of being prosecuted in the ecclesiastical commission. For this purpose the bishops were required to send copies of the declaration to all their clergy, and to order them to read it on two several Sundays in time of divine service. The bishops and clergy were put under great difficulties by this order: but after many consultations and considering the case on every side, the most eminent resolved not to obey. The archbishop of CANTERBURY resolved upon this occasion to act suitably to his post and character: he wrote to all the bishops of his province, and desired such as were able, to come up, and to consult together in a matter of this great concern. He found upon this, that eighteen of the bishops, and the main body of the clergy, concurred

in the resolution against reading the declaration; and therefore his grace with six more of his brethren drew up a petition to the king, laying before him the reasons which determined them not to obey the order that had been sent them. "It flowed from no want of respect," they told him, "to his majesty's authority, nor from any unwillingness to let favour be shewed to the dissenters; in relation to whom they were ready to come to such a temper as should be thought fit, when it was considered in parliament, and convocation. But this declaration being founded on that dispensing power, which had been so often declared illegal in parliament, and is a point of so great consequence to the whole nation in church and state, they could not in prudence, honour, and conscience, make themselves so far parties to it, as the publication of it once and again in God's house and in the time of divine service must amount to."

The archbishop was then in an ill state of health; and therefore the other six bishops were sent over with the petition to the king, signed by all of them. When the paper was read to the king, he was vastly surprized, as well as incensed; and in an angry tone told them, that he had heard of it before, but did not believe it; that he did not expect it from the church of England, especially from some of them; that if he changed his mind they should hear from him, if not, he expected to be obeyed; and that they should be made to feel what it was to disobey him. To all which they only answered, "the will of God be done;" and came from the court in a sort of triumph. This was now the crisis on which the fate of the nation was to depend, as to its liberties and religion. The king was engaged on his part; and the church of England by refusing generally to read the declaration, were likewise engaged on theirs. It seems but a piece of justice to the memory of these honest prelates to transmit their names in every history to posterity: they were LLOYD, KEN, LAKE, TURNER, WHITE, and TRELAWNEY; and tho some of them had long concurred in the slavish doctrine of unlimited obedience and non-resistance, yet they found now to their sorrow the destruction it was likely to bring on liberty and religion. The sense of the nation, as well as of the clergy, appeared so signally on this occasion, that the king had not only the seven petitioning bishops to deal with, but the main body of all his subjects. His majesty was long in perplexity what course to take, and consulted for several days with people of every sort. The most violent counsels were what suited best with his temper and

and his principles; and the bishops were accordingly sent to the Tower. The whole city, when it was known, was in the highest ferment it had ever been seen in; and the banks of the river, as they went by water, were covered with people who kneeled down as they passed to ask their blessing, expressing their good wishes and concern for their preservation. An universal consternation appeared in the looks of every one: but his majesty was not moved with all this scene. Nay tho he had a fair occasion two days after, on the queen's pretended delivery, to have granted a general pardon to celebrate the joy of that event, the king was inflexible. In a short time after their commitment, the bishops were brought to their trial in the court of king's bench; and after a long hearing acquitted, to the joy of the whole nation, except the catholicks. So critical was the king's situation at that time, that it seemed he could neither go forward with safety, nor recede with honour. His zeal for his religion, his principles of government, his temper naturally obstinate, his compliance with his queen, his submission to the priests and jesuits who surrounded him, none of these allowed him to leave his work unfinished. Tho the seven bishops had been acquitted, yet the new ecclesiastical court did not think themselves bound by that precedent from commanding all chancellors, commissaries, and archdeacons, to make an enquiry, and transmit an account to them, in what churches and chapels his majesty's declaration had been read. But so firm was the church party at that time in their disobedience, that very few took any notice of this command. The commissioners finding this, were a little puzzled what to do: they contented themselves however with issuing another order, requiring an account to be given by the fifteenth of November; but before that day came their authority was at an end.

The whigs, according to their ancient principles of liberty which had led them to attempt the exclusion bill, very easily agreed to oppose a king, whose conduct had made it evident from his accession, that he intended to overturn the constitution of their country in church and state. The tories and high churchmen, finding their past services forgotten, their rights invaded, and the church of England trampled on, agreed to drop for the present their doctrines of passive obedience, and to attend to the dictates of nature. The nonconformists dreading popery, as destructive of every thing they held dear and sacred, were glad to embrace the offers of toleration from a prince who had
been

been educated in those principles, and accustomed to the practice of religious liberty: and thus all faction for a time was at an end, that they might concur in a design to restore the rights and liberties of their country invaded by a popish arbitrary king. Tho the king had fresh instances every day of the discontent of his subjects, yet he never imagined that they would be able to give him any uneasiness; and least of all, that they would find an ear from his son in law the prince of ORANGE. At the latter end of September therefore, he issued out his writs for a new parliament; intimating in the proclamation, "that he would endeavour a legal establishment of an universal toleration, and inviolably to preserve the church of England in possession of the several acts of uniformity, as far as they were consistent with such a toleration: and further, to quiet the minds of his protestant subjects, he was content that the Roman catholicks should remain incapable of being members of the house of commons, that so the legislature might continue in the hands of protestants." Within two days after this proclamation, his majesty received a letter from his minister at the Hague, to assure him that it was very certain, the prince of ORANGE was preparing to invade England with a powerful force by sea and land. The king was as one thunderstruck with the news; he turned pale and speechless, and the letter dropt from his hands; his eyes were opened only to see himself on the brink of a precipice which his own delusion had concealed from him. Like a distracted man he turned himself every way for relief, but could resolve on nothing. His ministers and councillors, astonished equally with himself, saw no resource but in a sudden precipitate retraction of all his former measures. He put off the meeting of the parliament for the present, and applied to the bishops then in town to know what was necessary to make the church of England easy. They advised him to annul the ecclesiastical commission and the dispensing power; to recall all licences and faculties to papists to teach school; to prohibit the four apostolical vicars from invading the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; to fill the vacant bishopricks; to restore the charters; and to call a free parliament, by which the church may be secured according to the act of uniformity, and a provision may be made for a due liberty of conscience. These were things hard of digestion in the stomach of such a king, who thought every thing was to give way to his own will and pleasure. But however it was not now a time to insist upon his prerogative; and he began to tread back unwillingly the steps which he had taken in the full-

fullness of his power; concluding, that if he could but satisfy the bishops, and recover the affections of the church, it might all do well still. But it was too late. The bishop of LONDON's suspension however was taken off, the ecclesiastical commission dissolved, the city charter and the fellows of Magdalen college restored, and some other illegal practices renounced; which were said to be the mere effect of the king's grace and favour. But unluckily for his majesty's honour, an account having been brought that the prince of ORANGE's fleet was dispersed if not perished in a storm, the king recalled the concessions which he had ordered to be made to Magdalen college. The report which occasioned him to alter his measures was not without foundation: but the prince, having repaired the damages of the storm, put to sea again, and in a few days landed in England. A declaration which he brought with him was immediately dispersed over the kingdom, and met with universal approbation. There was a particular and a long recital of all the violations of the laws of England; of the dispensing power; of the court of ecclesiastical commission; of the filling all offices with catholics, and the raising a jesuit to be a privy councillor; of the open encouragement given to popery, by building churches, and colleges for seminaries; of the displacing of judges if they refused to give sentence according to the orders they received from court; of the annulling the charters of corporations, and subjecting elections to arbitrary will and pleasure; of the treating petitions from persons of the highest rank, and in the most modest terms, as criminal and seditious; and of the violent presumptions against the legitimacy of the prince of WALES. Upon these grounds the prince declared, seeing there was little hope left of succeeding in any other method, and being invited by men of all ranks, particularly by many of the peers spiritual and temporal, that he was resolved to go over into England, to see for proper and effectual remedies for such growing evils, in a parliament that should be lawfully chosen, and sit in full freedom according to the ancient custom and constitution of England. In particular he promised, that he would preserve the church and established religion; that he would endeavour to unite all such as divided from it by the best means that could be thought on; that he would suffer such as would live peaceably to enjoy all due freedom in their consciences; and that he would refer the enquiry into the queen's delivery to a parliament, and acquiesce in its decision. Another short paper was drawn by bishop BURNET, concerning the measures of obedience, justifying the

design of the prince's coming, and answering the objections that might be made to it.

The situation of the king at this time was terrible; and he seemed in this emergence, when almost all his adherents and his own children deserted him out of regard to public virtue, to be depressed as much with adversity, as he had been before elated vainly with prosperity. The event of this expedition of the prince of ORANGE, is too well known to every Englishman to need relating; and the particulars of it, if it was not so, do not at all fall within the compass of this design. It is sufficient to say, that the king departed in a private manner from Rochester into France; leaving a note upon his table, in which after reproaching the nation for forsaking him, he declared, that tho he was going to seek for foreign aid to restore him to his throne, yet he would not make use of it to overthrow the religion established, or the laws of the land. Thus ended the short and unhappy reign of JAMES the second; of whom, as there is no one good thing to be said whatever as a king, and as he had a melancholy reverse of fortune, so I shall not say any more, than that allowing him to have possessed good qualities and good intentions, as some historians have allowed him, "his conduct serves only, on that very account, as a stronger proof, how dangerous it is to permit a prince, infected with popish superstition, to wear the crown of these kingdoms."

A parliament having been called by missive letters from the prince of ORANGE at the request of a great body of the peers of the realm, under the name of a convention, met in January sixteen hundred and eighty nine. In each house was read a letter from the prince; assuring them that he had done his utmost to perform what was desired of him for the public safety, and that it was their business now to lay the foundation of a firm security for their religion, their laws, and liberties. The bench of bishops at the opening of the convention was observed to be very full; but the archbishop of CANTERBURY was absent. He resolved it seems, like a poor spirited pusillanimous man as he was, to act neither for the interest of the king, nor of his country; which, considering the post he filled, was an indecent, and unworthy part. If he thought, as by his conduct afterwards it seems he did think, that the nation was running into treason, perjury, and rebellion, it was strange that his grace, who was at the head of the church of England and the first man then in the

the kingdom, "should sit silent all the while that this was in debate, and not so much as once to assist his countrymen and the clergy by voting, speaking, or protesting on this subject; not to mention," says bishop BURNET, "the other ecclesiastical methods which certainly became his character." There were but two bishops, COMPTON and TRELAWNEY, who voted for deposing the late king, and setting another upon the throne: and considering the principles and doctrines advanced by most of the clergy in the reign of CHARLES the second, and even in the beginning of the last, this is not much to be wondered at. The truth is, by maintaining these extravagant maxims without admitting any limitations, when they thought of guarding only against republicans, they had thrown themselves into a dangerous dilemma, when the protestant religion was so much exposed by those maxims, as that nothing could save it but their acting contrary to them. They had not therefore not only allowed and approved the prince of ORANGE's coming to their relief, but some of them had invited him. The storm however being blown over, the fugitive king, and the catholic party being thrown down to the ground, and all their fears being at an end, they thought they could not decently desert their old principles so entirely all at once, as to deny that the regal power was *jure divino*, and the character of the king indelible. In short they had so entangled themselves with these strange conceits of the divine right of monarchy, and by preaching up passive obedience and non resistance as an essential doctrine of the church of England, that they did not know how to disengage themselves from a snare, which they had never thought they should be caught in. When they came therefore to take the oaths, which were altered from the terms "rightful and lawful king," to avoid any cavils, into "bearing faith and true allegiance," it was visible that many of them swore to obey the king and queen whilst they continued in quiet possession, but that they thought it lawful for them to assist king JAMES, if he should come to recover his crown, as being still their king by right. When the convention was turned into a parliament, and the members in the house of lords called over to take the oaths, eight bishops were absent; of whom the archbishop, and TURNER, LAKE, WHITE, and KENN, had been of the number of those whom the late king had sent to the Tower. But in order to recommend themselves by a shew of moderation, some of them moved the house of lords, before they withdrew, for a bill of comprehension and toleration.

toleration; which were drawn and offered by the earl of NOTTINGHAM.

A solemn tender being made of the crown by the two houses of parliament to the prince and princess of ORANGE, they were proclaimed with the usual formalities by the name of king WILLIAM and queen MARY, and with a general joy. When a bill was brought in to the house of lords for altering the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, a day was prefixed, at the distance of some months, to give the clergy time to study the point; and if they could not then satisfy themselves of the lawfulness of acknowledging the government, it was thought not fit that they should continue in some of the highest posts of the church: but a power was given to the king, to reserve a third part of the profits of any twelve benefices he should name, to the incumbents who should be deprived by virtue of this act. A committee was appointed to insert a clause to take away the necessity of receiving the sacrament in order to make a man capable of enjoying any office, employment or place of trust; but when it was reported to the house it was rejected by a great majority. After this another clause was offered, by which it was provided, that such should be sufficiently provided for any office, who within a year before or after their admission, did receive the sacrament either according to the usage of the church of England, or in any other protestant congregation, and could produce a certificate under the hands of the minister and two other credible persons members of such a congregation. But this was likewise rejected by a great majority. Thus the king's design of an admission of all his protestant subjects to places and offices of trust, which he had signified in a speech to the two houses, not only miscarried, but it much heightened the prejudices of the high church party against him, as bearing no great affection to the church of England when he proposed the opening such a door as they believed would be fatal to them. Tho his majesty had failed however in this design, he succeeded in another for a toleration of all protestant dissenters, by a suspension of all penal laws for not coming to church, provided they took the oaths to the government. While this bill was depending in the house of lords, a motion was made for a comprehension; which was received, and some progress made in it. But a proviso being offered, and pressed with great earnestness by some temporal lords, that, in imitation of the acts of HENRY the

eighth and EDWARD the sixth, a certain number both of the clergy and laity might be empowered to prepare materials for such a reformation of things relating to the church as might be fit to offer to the king and parliament, it was warmly debated, and at last rejected by a majority. Another proviso was moved for by bishop BURNET, who was just then promoted to the see of Salisbury, that the subscription of the clergy instead of assent and consent should be only to submit with a promise of conformity; but this could not be carried. The cross in baptism, and the posture in kneeling, were moved to be dispensed with by this bill, which occasioned another warm debate; because as the posture was the chief objection which the dissenters had to the sacrament in the church of England, it was thought the dispensing with this posture would be opening a way for their coming into employments. But the question was put whether the proviso should be admitted, and the votes being equal, according to the custom of the house, it passed in the negative. When the bill without the clauses was sent down to the commons it was ordered to lie on the table: and instead of proceeding in it, they sent an address to the king, to desire him to summon a convocation of the clergy according to ancient custom on the session of parliament. In short, the party that was now beginning to be formed against the government, pretended, and certainly had, a great zeal for the church; and declared their apprehensions, which they certainly had not, that it was in danger. These, as they went heavily, says bishop BURNET, into the toleration, were much offended with the bill of comprehension; as containing matters relating to the church, in which the representative body of the clergy had not been so much as advised with. The king was not very well pleased with this address, the tendency of which he plainly saw; and as plainly intimated in his answer, that he thought he had already given them sufficient assurances of his intentions to support the church. No further progress however being made in this bill, it was brought on again the next session in a more formal manner, but without any better success.

The king being thus disappointed in one of his great designs at his first mounting the throne, his majesty was advised by bishop BURNET, and Dr. TILLOTSON, to refer the affair of the comprehension to a synod of divines; whose determinations might in some measure stop the mouths of papists, in reproaching the reformation as built chiefly on acts of parliament, and as

what would also be better received by the body of the clergy. It was accordingly agreed in council, that a select number of divines should be appointed by royal mandate, to meet and consult about the most proper methods for healing the wounds of the church; that their determinations should be laid before the convocation, and from thence receive the sanction of parliament. The king, upon this resolution, issued out a commission to thirty divines, ten of whom were bishops, "to prepare such alterations of the liturgy and canons, and such proposals for the reformation of the ecclesiastical courts and other matters, as in their judgments may most conduce to the good order, edification and unity of the church of England." The committee being met in the Jerusalem chamber, a dispute arose about the legality of their commission. SPRAT bishop of Rochester, who had sat all along in the ecclesiastical commission in the late reign till near the end, which was most certainly in defiance of an act of parliament, had his scruples now lest they should incur a premunire, tho there was not so much as a shadow for such a pretence. If the king's supremacy means any thing it empowers him most certainly to appoint proper persons, tho not to make laws, yet to prepare matters for the legislature. However SPRAT, and three others withdrew, some of them saying plainly that they were against all alterations whatsoever; they thought too much was done for the dissenters in granting them a toleration, but they would do nothing to make conformity still easier. The commissioners sat closely for several weeks, and there was an entire correction of every thing digested that seemed liable to any objection. They began with reviewing the liturgy; and when they examined the calendar, they ordered in the room of the apocryphal lessons certain chapters of canonical scripture to be read, that were more to the advantage of the people. The Athanasian creed was left to the discretion of the minister, to read it, or to change it for the apostles creed. New collects were drawn up more agreeable to the epistles and gospels for the whole course of the year, with that elegance and brightness of expression, and such a flame of devotion, says Dr. NICHOLS, that nothing could more excite the hearts of the hearers, and raise up their minds towards God. A new version of the psalms was made more agreeable to the original; and the words and expressions which had been excepted against in the liturgy were changed for others that were clear and plain. The chaunting in cathedrals was to be laid aside; the legendary saints days were to be omitted; the cross in baptism to be left to the choice of the

the parent; the kneeling at the sacrament to be indifferent; the fasts in lent were declared to consist in extraordinary acts of devotion, and not in distinction of meats; the word priest was to be changed for minister; the use of the surplice to be left to the discretion of the bishop; the godfathers and godmothers may be omitted in baptism if desired, and the children presented in their parents names; reordination of those who had been ordained by presbyters was to be only conditional; there was a rubric made for declaring the damnatory clause in the Athanasian creed, not to be restrained to every particular article, but intended against those only who deny the substance of the christian religion. These and some other concessions and amendments would in all probability have brought in the greatest part of the dissenters. But whilst these things were debating with great coolness and moderation, the Jacobite party took hold of this occasion to enflame the minds of men against the government. It was said the church was to be pulled down and presbytery to be set up; that all that was now in debate was only to distract and divide the church, and to render it by that means both weaker, and more ridiculous. The universities took fire upon this, and began to declare against it, as well as against all those who promoted it, as men who intended to undermine the church; tho to those who promoted it, it was in a great measure, if not principally owing, that it was at this time a church at all. Great interest was made every where in the choice of convocation men, to whom the determinations of the committee were to be referred; so that it was quickly visible that the clergy were not in a temper cool and calm enough to encourage the further prosecution of such a design.

When the convocation met, the king sent them a message by the earl of NOTTINGHAM, assuring them of his constant favour and protection, and desiring them to consider such things as he should order to be laid before them with due care and an impartial zeal for the peace and good of the church. But the lower house immediately expressed a resolution not to enter into any debates in regard to alterations; and it was not without difficulty carried to make a decent address to the king. Nay the address was not decent; for they took no notice of the latter part of the king's message, and only thanked him for his promise of protection; which, considering the many solemn promises they had made when popery was at their doors, raised a great and just outcry against them, and brought them into con-
temp.

tempt. His majesty, observing that there was a jealousy and distrust amongst them not to be conquered, put an end to the session; and seeing they were in no disposition of doing good, they were kept from doing mischief by a course of prorogations for ten years: and thus this great and good design, which would have been so much to the improvement of our public worship, to the interest of the protestant religion, and to the honour of the church of England, was defeated by the turbulency and restless spirit, of ignorant, factious, and evil minded men. Why it hath not been resumed in the days of more knowledge, more candour, and christian charity, is a question which many good men have often asked with seriousness and zeal; but which no great men, upon whom it lies to do it, I believe have ever answered.

The king had suffered the deprived bishops to continue above a year at their fees, who all that time did nothing in the concerns of the church; and when they were desired to declare, whether, if an act could be obtained to excuse them from taking the oaths, they would go on in the exercise of their functions, in ordinations, institutions, and confirmation, and assist at the public worship as formerly, they refused to give any other answer than that they would live quietly; that is they would keep themselves close till a proper opportunity should encourage them to act openly against the government. It was visible however to every body that all thoughts of agreement with them must be laid aside. The next thing therefore the king did was to fill the fees vacant by their deprivation. He judged, and he judged wisely, that it was of the highest consequence to his service, and to the interests of religion, to have the primacy filled with a man who would concur with him in his design of healing the breaches of the church; without going into the passions and humours of those, who tho they seemed to court his majesty in an abject manner yet hated him in their hearts. Dr. TILLOTSON had been now well known to the king above two years, and his soft and prudent counsels, amidst a great zeal for his majesty's service, had produced an high opinion of him both in the king and queen. But the good Doctor had no ambition in his temper; and foreseeing what a scene of trouble and slander he must enter on in the decline of his age, he struggled against their majesties request of filling this post, with great and real earnestness. He was a man of generous and extensive principles, without any tincture of enthusiasm or superstition: but

but having never shewed any sharpness against protestant non-conformists, and laying out all his zeal against popery and infidelity, the violent high-church party had always treated him with great acrimony; and he saw this would not be at all abated by his coming into the room of one whom they called a confessor, and who began now to have the compassion of the public on his side. These things were laid before the king by Dr. TILLOTSON in great sincerity, with the conclusion following from them, that his promotion to the primacy would have an ill effect on his majesty's service. But this probity only served to increase the king's affection, and to fix him in his purpose the more inflexibly: so that the Doctor was obliged, tho with great uneasiness to himself, to submit to the king's command and take the chair of primate. Dr. SHARPE was soon after promoted to the see of YORK by the death of the archbishop; and all the other sees were filled with the most learned, the wisest, and the best men that were in the church. To the immortal honour of that nomination it must be observed, as well as in the inferior dignities that became vacant by it, no ambition, nor court favour had appeared. They were able men, of excellent tempers, and true christian principles; who were sought for, and brought out of their retirements, with a real concern for the interest of religion: and the issue of it was accordingly. There was another face of strictness, of charity, and humility, in the nation than had been for many years: the bishops visited and lived more in their dioceses, preached and confirmed oftner than any who had gone before them for time immemorial, and took more care of the admission and behaviour of their clergy than had been practised formerly. But they were faithful to the government, and zealous for it; they were charitable to the dissenters, and were not uneasy at the toleration. This, in the opinion of some of the clergy, was crime enough; who would gladly have remitted some other part of their character, to have had them set a prosecution on foot against the dissenters: and because they would not agree to that, the bishops were represented, with all their pious care, as men who intended to undermine the church, and to betray it. To soften this clamour, some of these furious divines were protected and preferred by several of the bishops: but they took their preferments as the rewards which they believed due to their merit, and employed the credit and authority which these preferments gave them, against the same prelates to whom they owed them.

These were uneasy times for honest and good men to live in, who had the spirit of CHRIST in their principles and temper, and a serious concern in their hearts for the prevalence of his religion. It is amazing to think, to what a length the passions and interests of some men will carry them. A schism was attempted to be raised in the church, and to make the archbishop looked upon as an usurper; on pretence of the invalidity of a parliamentary deprivation, which invaded the intrinsic power of the church. It is impossible but that the men who made this objection, must at the same time remember the deprivations which are recorded in the progress of the reformation, in the first parliament of ELIZABETH more especially, and by their own admired act of uniformity immediately after the restoration. But SANCROFT however was now dead; and died in the same poor and despicable manner in which he had lived for many years, and yet the schism did not cease. This shewed plainly that it was not reason, but a malignant humour, which led them into all their opposition against the present primate. Their opposition indeed was so very unreasonable and so virulent, that he grew very uneasy in his post; and it made a great impression upon his spirits. His grace however was not long exposed to the reproach of evil tongues; for in two years after he had filled the see of Canterbury, it pleased GOD to remove him out of a world that was not worthy of him, and to give him the quiet which he desired. Thus died archbishop TILLOTSON, of whom I once intended to have given a long and particular character: but perceiving, that I should not be able after all to communicate that idea of him to the reader which I have myself, without an imputation of having over charged it, I shall only presume to say of this prelate, that for the sweetness of his temper, the benevolence of his disposition, the rectitude of his principles in church and state, his parts, his learning and the goodness of his heart, he was the best, and the greatest archbishop of CANTERBURY, next to CRANMER, which had ever filled that see, since England had a church. He died so poor, that if the king had not forgiven his first fruits, his debts could not have been paid; nor could his widow have subsisted without an annual pension from the royal bounty. He was succeeded in the primacy by Dr. TENNISON, who had distinguished himself at St. Martin's in the worst of times, with equal prudence, and magnanimity.

The nature of my work obliges me to take notice, of what one would wish to bury in silence, a great controversy which arose in the church in the year sixteen hundred and ninety eight, about the doctrine of the Trinity; which divided the clergy into parties, and much unchristian treatment of one another, to the diversion of infidels, and the scandal of religion. Indeed the minds of men were so much inflamed, and their animosities so much excited by this controversy, that it would have been well for the world and for christianity, if they would have taken things as they found them: and being convinced that God is able to explain himself to the world, as far as he thinks it convenient, so where he hath not used this perspicuity, that they would check their curiosity and content themselves without it. The great doctrine of the Trinity, so universally allowed to be the greatest mystery in our religion, could never surely be intended for debate and controversy; and being a subject incomprehensible, it must necessarily be a subject very unmeet for disputation among frail and short sighted men. It is one of the deep things of God among a thousand others which he hath been pleased to keep far out of the reach of men: and yet from a vain and forbidden search into the mysteries of our religion, and from determining peremptorily and minutely of what hath been left at large, and undetermined, in the revelation which God hath given us, almost all the contentions have arose which have disturbed the peace of the christian church. But this is not the only lamentable effect of these contentions; for by these means the great design of religion hath been perverted, and almost totally destroyed; not to say, that in a great measure, they have been very often the cause of vice and infidelity. This effect was so much apprehended, and in fact, had so much taken place, by the controversy at this time, that it was thought necessary for the king to issue out injunctions to the bishops, “to repress error and heresy with all possible zeal, and to watch against and hinder the use of new terms, or new explanations in the mysteries of religion.”

These prudent injunctions put a stop to this controversy; but it did not put a stop to the petulant humour of many of the clergy against the government. For want of something of consequence to complain of, they complained that the convocation was not suffered to sit, to whom the judging of such points seemed

seemed most properly to belong ; and which, they said, was part of the parliament, and ought always to attend upon it, that they might give their opinions when advised with in matters of religion. This was a new pretension never thought of since the reformation : and “ yet some books were wrote to justify it, “ with great acrimony of stile, and a strain of insolence,” says bishop BURNET, “ that was peculiar to one ATTERBURY, who “ had indeed very good parts, great learning, and was an excellent preacher, but was both ambitious and virulent out “ of measure.” Whatever he wrote upon this subject was fully answered by Dr. WAKE ; who detected all his false quotations, and confuted his facts, to the satisfaction of every man of common sense and impartiality.

The bishop of St. Davids, Dr. WATSON, promoted by king JAMES, was at this time accused of the crime of simony ; and according to the law and usage of the church of England, was tried by the archbishop, who is the only judge of ecclesiastical offences in a bishop, but who called to his assistance six other bishops. Many scandalous things were proved against him to the conviction of the court : and when they were going to give judgment, the bishop, tho he had waved the privilege of his peerage in the house of lords, and had gone on submitting to the authority of his judge, yet then resumed his privilege. No regard however was had to this plea, since it was not offered in the first instance, and the archbishop pronounced a sentence of deprivation. The bishop appealed to a court of delegates, who confirmed the proceedings of the archbishop. But having been promoted by king JAMES, the party of that unhappy monarch, tho ashamed of WATSON as a corrupt and vicious prelate, yet were resolved to support him with great zeal. The archbishop's jurisdiction was therefore excepted against in the house of lords by some of his friends ; under a pretence that he could not judge a bishop, but in a synod of the bishops of the province, according to the rules of primitive times. In answer to this it was shewn, that from the ninth century downward, both popes and kings had concurred to bring this power singly into the hands of the metropolitans ; that it was the constant practise in England before the reformation, and by the provisional clause in the act of the twenty fifth year of HENRY the eighth, empowering a new body of ecclesiastical laws to be drawn, all former laws and customs were to continue in force till that new code was

framed; which confirmed the power the metropolitan was then possessed of. Nor could the archbishop erect a new court, or proceed in the trial of a bishop in any other way than in that which was warranted by law or precedent. To this no answer was made, or could be made; but yet the business was kept up by the bishop's friends, and at last dropped with an intimation, that it was hoped his majesty would not fill the see, till the house was better satisfied with the archbishop's authority. In short all the clergy over the kingdom were at that time much divided. The moderate divines were looked upon with an evil eye; and that which was the result of gentleness of temper, and benevolence of principle, was exclaimed against as disaffection to the church, which was worse than leaning to popery. On the other hand the high church clergy, as they were then called, had never gone in heartily to the present settlement, but were soured with a leaven that had worked too deep to be rooted out: and tho no disorders had been heard of in any part of the nation since the toleration act had passed, yet these gentlemen studied to blow up the fire again, which seemed to be covered over if not well nigh extinguished.

With this situation of affairs in the church and in religion, I come now to the conclusion of the seventeenth century, and consequently to put a period to this work. The church of England, by the revolution under this great deliverer, had been restored to all its ancient privileges and lustre; and there having never been any alteration since, in its constitution, usages, or canons, it appeared to me to be quite unnecessary to carry down its history to any later æra. How little satisfaction soever I may have given the reader in the perusal of this work, a work to me of extreme great labour, difficulty, and hazard, yet I have this satisfaction in myself, that I have thro the whole of it adhered strictly to what I believe to be the truth, without regard to any parties in church or state, with which this kingdom has been long afflicted; having nothing that I know of to hope for, and disdaining to fear, from any of them. I engaged in this history with a view of doing some service to my country; but principally to the younger part of my own order, and to those who shall be admitted to it hereafter into the church: that, at a time when popery and enthusiasm are making terrible advances upon us, they may be enabled from the examples of ages past, to expose the iniquity of

the one, the absurdity of the other, and the danger of them both to the church of England: and if this work is red, with the same impartiality and love of truth, with which it has been written, I shall then be in no pain about any reproach which I may be treated with in the character of an historian.

and at last dropped with an imprecation, that it might not fill the sea, till the house was better furnished with the archbishop's authority. In short all the clergy over the kingdom were at that time much divided. The moderate kings were looked upon with an evil eye, and the violent the rule of gentleness of temper, and benevolence of principle, was exclaimed against as dissipation to the church, which was worse than leaning to popery. On the other hand the high church clergy, as they were then called, had never gone so heartily to the present settlement, but were found with a less ven that had worked too deep to be rooted out: and the disorders had been heard of in any part of the nation since the reformation and had passed, yet these gentlemen refused to blow us the fire again, which seemed to be covered over, it was well nigh extinguished.

With this situation of affairs in the church and in religion, I come now to the conclusion of the ecclesiastical history, and consequently to put a period to this work. The church of England, by the revolution under this great deliverer, had been restored to all its ancient privileges and lustre; and there having never been any alteration since, in its constitution, usages, or canon, it appeared to me to be quite unnecessary to carry down its history to any later era. How little satisfaction is ever I may have given the reader in the perusal of this work, a work to me of extreme great labour, difficulty, and dissipation in myself, that I have the

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A P P E N D I X.

IN giving an account of the transactions which related to the church in the reign of EDWARD the sixth, I was obliged to take notice of the mean provision which is made by law for the greatest part of her ministers; and I intended to add a reflexion on the reproach which it has been to the nation from that time to this, as well as to point out a remedy for it. But as this is a subject, in my opinion, of the greatest consequence to society and religion, and must therefore have been either too much abridged to answer my design, or else must have too much interrupted the thread of the history, so I promised then to reserve it for an appendix; if it pleased God to permit me to finish the work which I had in hand. As that work, I thank heaven, is at length concluded, so I shall now resume the design which I then had, and acquit myself of this engagement to the reader.

The reformation, which swept the corruptions of doctrine and worship out of the church, at the same time deprived the clergy of a great part of their maintenance arising from those corruptions; and no care was taken to remedy this grievance. It was a grievance, and a very great one, pernicious to religion at that time; even when the clergy were obliged to live unmarried, when the bishops had a power of augmenting the income of vicars and curates as they should see occasion, and when the stipend in money bore a proportion to the value of the necessities of life. But this grievance is redoubled on the protestant clergy of the present times, who for the most part have wives and families; and in those vicarages especially, where the stipend from the impropiator is the same at this day as it was at first; tho ten or twelve pounds were then of equal value to an hundred now. This is indeed a grievance, which makes pluralities and non-residence, so much exclaimed against in former times, and by many inconsiderate people in the present, to be absolutely necessary now in the church of England. Whatever scandal they might occasion in times of popery, when in many places there was no resident minister to officiate, and the clergy, tho without families, possessed as many benefices as
they

they could procure---and scandalous they were then indeed--- yet to those who think them scandalous under their present restrictions, and in a married clergy, I must take upon me to repeat, that this scandal is necessary: nay that it is not only necessary, but that the indulgence of it is not sufficient to redress, a scandal still more pernicious to true religion, the wretched condition of our inferior clergy. This is a grievance long lamented, loudly complained of by many serious people, and, as every age becomes more expensive, grows every day worse and worse. It is a grievance however which no legislature, since the time of the reformation, hath ever attempted effectually to redress: and yet there is none perhaps which ought to have been more the object of the zeal and wisdom of every legislature, or the redressing of which would redound more to their honour. I do not forget the bounty of queen ANN, confirmed by parliament for this purpose, which some people have sounded so very high: it has mended the value of some little livings, and has brought them all to be worth now at least TEN pounds a year. A prodigious acquisition! But of the nine thousand and some hundred churches and chapels which we have in England and Wales, six thousand---I speak it on the best authority---are not above the value of FORTY pounds a year. It will indeed be the work of ages, before all the livings entitled to an augmentation can receive any benefit from it: and it will be five hundred years, before every living can be raised to SIXTY pounds a year by this royal bounty; supposing the same money to be distributed as there has been for some years past. How insufficient it is therefore for redressing this grievance, and for making a tolerable provision for the whole clergy of the church of England, there is no need for me to prove: and yet the pastoral care is such a duty, if it was discharged as it could be wished, and as it ought to be, that no rewards are too great for it in large and extensive parishes.

It is impossible that an income, which is scarce a competence for a single clergyman, should provide for a whole family: and the manifold distresses in which our inferior clergy must necessarily leave their wives and children, is an heart distracting reflexion to them all their lives, as well as a reproach to the English nation. The provision which is made for the widows and children of the clergy, in three or four particular counties, and by the corporation established in the reign of CHARLES the second, is extremely insufficient. All these excellent foundations,

put together, take in but a small part of the vast number of objects which deserve relief; and that small part is relieved too in a very scanty measure. To remedy this calamity, which had for several years employed my time and thoughts, and having taken every previous step which I thought, or was told, was necessary, I drew up a scheme for a general annual contribution among ourselves to be executed by charter: and as it had the honour to be examined and approved by many of my lords the bishops, some of the reverend judges, and by gentlemen of great rank and eminence in the house of commons, so about four years ago I made it public. Very numerous were the applications which I had from private clergymen, in almost every part of the kingdom, expressing their approbation, and desiring me to persist in carrying it into execution. But how it happened that a design of this great utility, and so evidently the peculiar object of the charity and attention of ALL the clergy, was not countenanced and supported by those who were most called upon by their rank and station to promote it, I really cannot tell. I have great reason to lament that it was not so supported. It had cost me a great deal of attendance, money, time, and trouble; I had done every thing in my own power towards its execution; and I am still of opinion, that it would have answered very effectually all the purposes intended by it. But finding this design, tho so much approved, was not supported, I turned my thoughts another way. I knew it was a cause of great importance to religion, and to the honour and interest of the order, and the church, to which I belong. I had therefore had it many years, in my head, and at my heart: and that it might not entirely drop, for want of any thing that was left in my power to do, I drew up proposals, in the form of a bill, to make a provision for the widows and children of the clergy by the aid of parliament: and in framing these proposals, I had the honour to be assisted by several members of parliament, of the greatest eminence and abilities. The proposals were revolved over and over, and viewed in every point of light: it was considered attentively and with caution, whether any thing that was material could be fairly objected against them. Some objections, it must be owned, arose upon this consideration; which, tho not weak and frivolous, yet were not of such a nature as to weigh against the evils which were proposed to be redressed; and the scheme was afterwards examined, and approved, notwithstanding these objections, by some of the great-

est men, and of the first consequence in the kingdom. Animated by this approbation, I was determined not to be discouraged by any difficulties from persisting in so laudable and so useful a design: and therefore about two years ago, I published an address to the clergy with these proposals, and with such reflections as I thought necessary to explain and introduce them. Here again I had solicitations from all parts of the kingdom, with an offer of petitions from the majority of the clergy; and I was likewise assured of a powerful assistance in the house of commons. But why these proposals went no further, and no attempt was made in parliament in favour of the distressed clergy of the church of England, when a bill was ready, is what I cannot inform the reader. For may we not suppose, that when men of great understandings dislike a measure, and give insufficient reasons, that the true one is not disclosed? I think we may. Are we not to suppose further, that when men of piety oppose a measure, which is acknowledged to have for its object the interest of religion, and the honour of the church and clergy, that they have certain reasons, tho they conceal them, which outweigh the obligation that we are under to leave the event of such measures to the care of heaven? I think we are: and therefore upon these suppositions, and out of a sense of duty to my superiors, I made a sacrifice of an undertaking, which, unasked and unrewarded, had employed much of my time and thoughts for many years. If there should hereafter be an age of public virtue and disinterestedness, to which these sheets may descend, it will amaze the reader perhaps to be told, that an undertaking of such great utility and importance, and so much countenanced and approved by the first men in the kingdom, was permitted to die away in such a church and nation as this: and when it had been carried on unweariedly, thro a long course of years in spite of many discouragements, at the sole expence and trouble of a private clergyman, of but little leisure, a numerous family, and a slender income, that the author of it was left to languish under the disappointment, without any notice whatsoever. Had the undertaking succeeded --- and surely to the first scheme there were no objections --- my heart would have had a joy which this world cannot give, and I should have been very little concerned about any other reward. I have laid it aside now, for no other reason than what I have given, with a sorrow and a sensibility which the greatest reward cannot extinguish.

It

It is impossible for me however to give up the hopes, that something may yet be done, even in this age of selfishness, to supply the defects of the reformation, in favour of the poor parochial clergy of the church of England, and those who labour under them. It has already been observed, that the first fruits and tenths, which are applied to the augmentation of small livings, are a remedy for this grievance so very flow and ineffectual, in the manner they are now applied, as to be almost no redress at all. Would it not therefore better answer their designation, in relieving the wants and miseries of the inferior clergy, that the tenths at least, if not the interest of the sum accumulated, should be annually divided among such widows or children of the clergy as are in distress? I presume to say it would. The great sum in hand, with the first fruits continually adding to it, would be sufficient to answer the demands of augmentation, according to the present act, for a long course of years; and, if this method was taken of supplying the wants of the families of clergymen, perhaps for ever. Some alteration or other in the distribution of this bounty ought certainly to be made, in order to render it more effectual to the purpose intended by it, than it is at present: and in my opinion, an ample provision out of it, for all the necessitous widows and children of the clergy, is the best alteration that can be thought of. The consequences of accumulating such an immense sum in the hands of the church, which many people pretend to dread already, may by this annual method of distribution be prevented. This is another scheme therefore which I offer the publick, to put a provision for the widows and orphans of the clergy on an established footing, and which will in a good degree supply the want of such a maintenance of the clergy themselves, as was left unsettled at the reformation; which, tho it has been scandalously neglected in this nation ever since, it is the wisdom of every state effectually to provide for. This is taking nothing out of the pockets of the rich and great, for the support of their poorer brethren: it is a fund which arises out of the church; and it ought certainly to be applied in such a manner as will make it of most use and benefit to the clergy. There may possibly be some considerable difficulties in the execution of this scheme; and I know no scheme of public utility and extent that is without its difficulties. But is this a reason for a wise and a good man to give, that it never should be attempted? Had the world been always governed by this maxim, the noblest undertakings we have to boast of, even the re-

for-

formation itself, must have gone no further than speculation; for the greater the design is, the greater always are the difficulties which attend it. Mean and shameful therefore as such an objection is, yet this was one of the strongest arguments made use of against the schemes I have already published: against the first indeed it was the only objection I ever heard.

But should there be sufficient reasons, against any alteration of the act for the augmentation of small livings by the first fruits and tenths, in the way that I have proposed, which at present I must own I do not apprehend there are, yet one remedy is still left for the grievance so long complained of; a remedy which is entirely in the power of the legislature, which infringes on the right and property of none of the subjects of England, and which will be no less serviceable to the state than to the church, that it should be applied to the better maintenance of our parochial clergy. The reader who does not know it, will be surprized perhaps to be told, that estates in this kingdom of no less a value than FOURSCORE THOUSAND POUNDS a year---I believe I speak within compass---are left to the support of religious houses and seminaries abroad. I do not publish this from common fame, for very few even of our great men know any thing of it; but I speak it on authority not to be contradicted. If the parliament therefore would address the crown for these estates, which are justly forfeited, the annual produce of which is sent out of the kingdom expressly contrary to law, and contrary to its religious and civil interests, there is no doubt but the crown would grant them: and these estates, together with the royal bounty, would make an effectual augmentation of all the small livings, as well as some provision for the widows and children of the clergy. To this scheme, which is so much for the interest of the state as well as the church, I hope no objection will be made by those, who have any concern for their country and religion; a concern, which, tho it is pretended almost by every body, is not in the hearts, I am afraid, of the greatest part. Even this scheme however, I am sensible, is not without its difficulties; but they are difficulties which an English parliament, if they set about it in earnest, will easily get thro. A comfortable and established maintenance of the clergy, and a new body of ecclesiastical laws, are the only points which were left unfinished at the reformation: and it is no inconsiderable reproach to England, that these defects should never have been supplied. To this omission, negligence, or whatever name we give it, it

is perhaps principally owing, that the state of morals and religion in the purest church in the world, is so abominable as we have reason to complain it is. Therefore to one of these defects, I have long and often applied my thoughts; upon this proverb principally, that "every body's business is no body's." I have never pretended to any other abilities, than what are common; neither did I apprehend, that any extraordinary abilities were necessary to open the way to such an undertaking as this. I thought it high time, that something or other was done to put the inferior clergy and their families out of distress. Let but this defect of the reformation be supplied; let our small livings be augmented with a decent maintenance, and some tolerable provision made for the widows and orphans of the clergy, that the one may be no longer a scandal to the church, and the other a reproach to the English nation; and I shall be perfectly satisfied with whatever method the wisdom of my superiors shall pursue. Should this design be brought into execution in any method by my means, I shall esteem it the greatest honour and the greatest happiness of my life, that I was steadfast and unmoveable thus far in it. To the providence of God I now must leave it: and if it is not his will that my endeavours should prove successful, I have only left to pray, that he will put it into the hearts of those who have more abilities, in this, or some future age; and to comfort myself with reflecting, that I have done every thing in my power with an unwearied resolution, for the honour of the church of England, for the interest of the inferior clergy, and to provide a better maintenance for their wives and children.

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

I N D E X.

A

ABBOT bishop of London succeeds BANCROFT in the see of Canterbury 497. Refuses to licence SIBTHORP's sermon—offends the king by it—is banished to an unhealthy house in Kent, and suspended 516. Restored to his jurisdiction and reconciled to the king 517. his death and character 522.

Act against pluralities and nonresidence 72. to regulate the ecclesiastical polity 89. 90. to forbid all appeals to Rome—the suggestions in the preamble 108. 9. For regulating the election and consecration of bishops—for repealing the statute of HENRY 4th against hereticks—for empowering thirty two persons named by the king to abrogate or confirm canons 132. 3. for discharging the subject of all dependence on the see of Rome—For confirming the king's second marriage and establishing the succession in the issue of it 136. For the first fruits and tenths to be paid to the king—for suffragan bishops—for attainting SIR THO. MORE, and the bishop of ROCHESTER 141. For confirming HENRY's divorce from his two first queens, for declaring the issue illegitimate, and establishing the succession in the king's issue by any other queen or in those to whom he should give it by will 162. For extinguishing the authority of the bishops of Rome

163. For establishing the law of the six articles 186. For dissolving all the religious houses and to give them the king 188. For establishing precedence among ecclesiasticks and others—for making proclamations as effectual as acts of parliament 191. For suppressing the knights of St. John of Jerusalem 197. For mitigating an article in the bloody statute 201. For annulling HENRY's marriage with ANN of Cleve 201. For the advancement of true religion 213. 14. For establishing the succession—for qualifying the severity of the bloody statute 217. For repealing the bloody statute and the laws against the Lollards--those relating to treason and felony----and those which made proclamations as valid as acts of parliament. 251. For giving the sacrament in both kinds and to prevent private masses 252. For setting aside the choice of bishops by Conge d'elire, and that processes in the spiritual courts should be in the king's name. 253. For giving the colleges, chantries, and chapels not possessed by HENRY to the present king 255. For allowing the clergy to marry----for confirming the new liturgy compiled by CRANMER-----against eating flesh on fasting days 270—2. For confirming the new liturgy with the ordination office—for making the marriage of the clergy valid ---for suppressing the see of Westminster 301. For repealing the divorce of queen MARY's mother and declaring

- ring her marriage lawful 332. For repealing all the laws of EDWARD about religion 333. For repealing all the acts against the see of Rome 360. For restoring the first fruits, tenths and impropriations to the crown 411. For recognizing queen ELIZABETH's title ----- for restoring every thing in religion as it was under king EDWARD 412. 13. For confirming the queen's supremacy--for translating the bible and common prayer book into Welsh. 427.8. For declaring assent to the articles of religion 439. For retaining the subjects in their due obedience 451. Against Roman catholic priests 458. For obliging every one to come to church 465. For preventing estates to be conveyed away from bishopricks --- for restraining proceedings in spiritual courts in the king's name 487. For abolishing the star chamber and high commission 543. 4. For uniformity 606. For suppressing conventicles 611. For taking an oath of obedience and nonresistance 612. For qualifying for places and offices by a test 620.
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652. Fills the vacant sees—makes
TILLOTSON archbishop of Canter-
bury, and SHARP archbishop of
York

653.

Winchcomb abbot of, preached a ser-
mon against the act passed in this
reign for trying ecclesiasticks in the
civil courts—publishes a book upon
it and incenses the parliament—ar-
gues the case before the king and
judges

15. 16.

WOLSEY introduced to king HENRY
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—addresses himself to the king's
inclinations—gets an absolute sway
over him and is prime minister 14.
His speech to the king about con-
vening clerks into temporal courts,
and the king's answer 19. Is no-
minated to the see of Lincoln, but
before he was settled translated to
York—is made a cardinal 20.
Grows more vain and imperious
than ever—has the cross carried be-
fore him in the province of Can-
terbury—has the great seal given
him—made legate—has a bull
from Rome to visit all monasteries
and ecclesiasticks and to dispense
with all the laws of the church
for a year—is advised not to use
this power 21. 22. Appears against
the hereticks and summons a meet-
ing of all the bishops and canonists
about town 25. Advises the king
to call a parliament—assembles the
convocation of the province of
York a month before the parlia-
ment—summons WARHAM and
his prelates and clergy to appear
before him as legate in a national
council—recommends it to them
to give the king a large supply 26.
But is much opposed—violates the
order of the church by removing
the convocation 27. The subsidy
he asked, granted 28. Forms the

design of erecting a college at
Oxford and another at Ipswich
—applies to the pope for a dis-
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in this by the doctrines of the
age 28. Issues orders in the king's
name to levy subsidies from the
laity and clergy 29. First made
acquainted with the king's scruples
about his marriage—comes to
no resolution himself but advises
the king to an expedient 34. Writes
a long dispatch to CASSALL the
king's ambassador at Rome for a
divorce 41. 2. Writes letters by
GARDINER to the pope and cardi-
nals to gratify the king with a di-
vorce 45. Part of his letter to
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with CAMPEJIUS to try the king's
cause in England 46. Writes to
him to hasten over 47. Propo-
ses the suppression of more mo-
nasteries, to enlarge the number of
bishopricks and cathedrals 49. Tries
to be elected to the popedom on
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he pursued—gets the see of Win-
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and CAMPEJIUS write to the con-
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vorce 56. Prosecuted by the king
—deprived of the great seals—
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—and himself banished into the
country 68. Receives a kind mes-
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TON 236. Falls into disgrace 239.

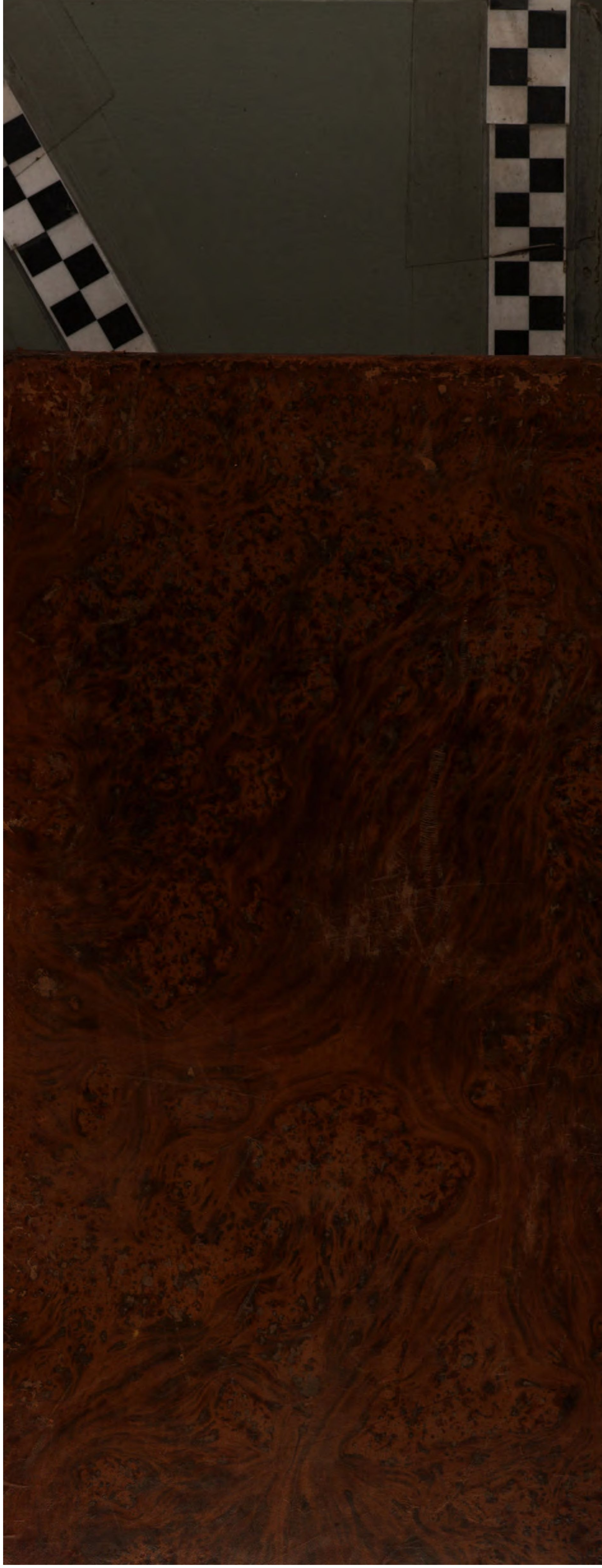
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